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February 4th, 1880.

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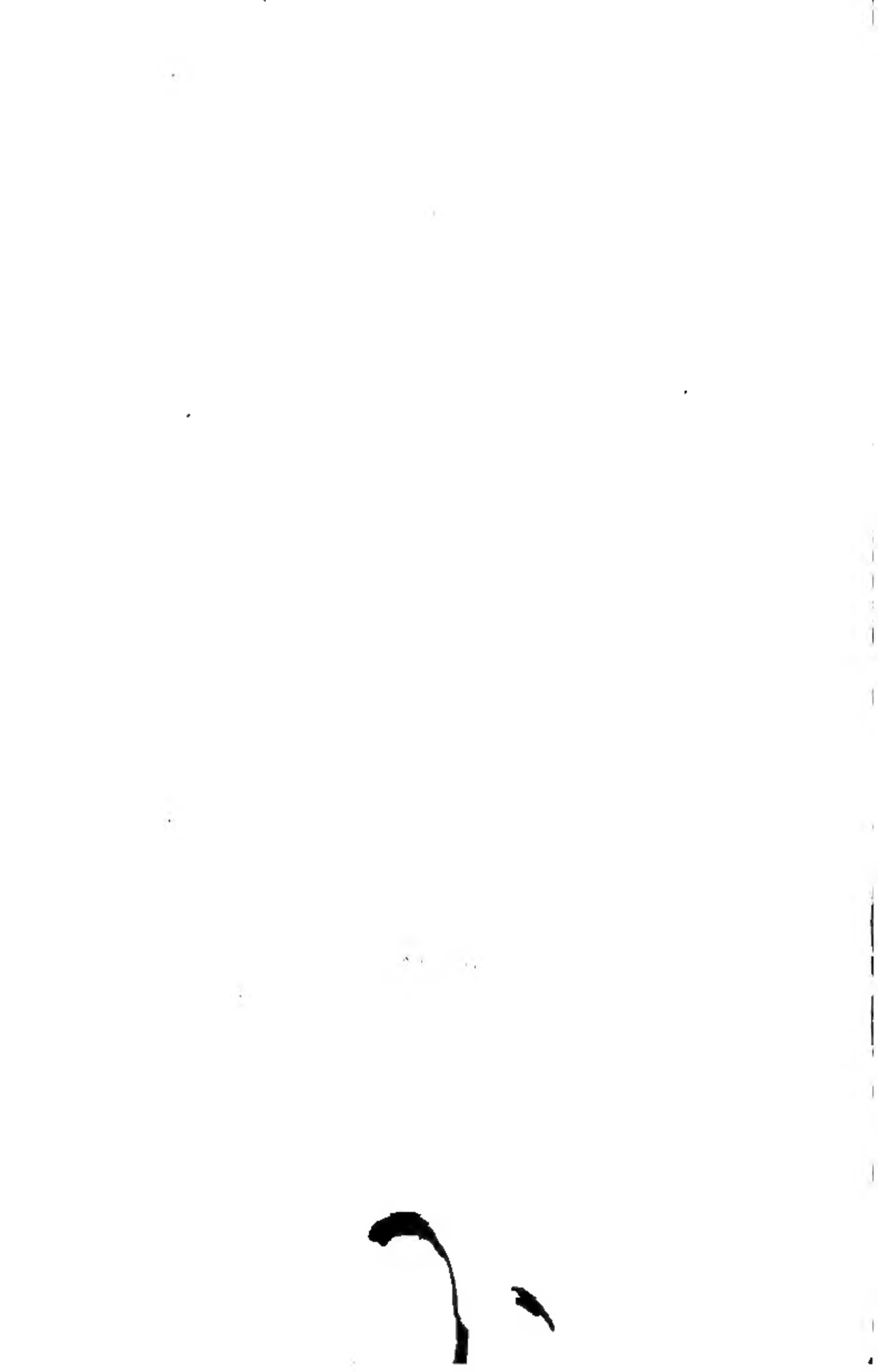
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## ART. I.—*Arabic Poetry.*

BY PROFESSOR S. M. ISFAHANI.

*Read before the Persian Section on 17th January 1905, in connection with the Centenary Celebration of the Society.*

In the absence of any authentic history or any other reliable sources of information, it is not possible to speak with certainty as to when the Arabic language was first put into writing. European scholars, with all their latest researches, have not come to any definite conclusion in this matter. Arab historians who flourished after the rise of Islam have given different views on the subject. Most of them believe that Ismail, the son of Abraham, first invented the Arabian characters and wrote the language, while others say that the Arabs knew the art of writing in the time of Job the Prophet, whose sermons, which were originally in Arabic and are now lost, were translated into Hebrew by the Prophet Moses. This view has been supported by many orientalists.

A tradition ascribes the authorship not of the Arabic characters alone but of all other languages to the father of mankind. To teach his posterity their languages, 300 years before his death he wrote down the characters of the different tongues, which his children were to speak, on bricks which he had especially made for the purpose, and deposited them in a safe place. During the deluge the one on which the Arabic characters were inscribed was lost; but after the building of the Kaba by Abraham, his son Ismail discovered the hidden treasure through a dream, and with the aid of the Angel Gabriel he read the characters, and taught them to his community. The majority of historians considering the story too fabulous give a more recent origin for the Arabic characters. Muramer, the son of Murrah, who belonged to the tribe of Tai and was a native of Anbar, was the first to introduce the art into Arabia, himself possibly learning it from the Phoenicians.

The tribe of Himyar had a kind of script in which the letters were written separately, called the Musnad or Makeli writing. It was jealously guarded against the touch of the vulgar, and the teaching of it required a license from the authorities. It gradually travelled to Hira, a town on the borders of the Persian Empire, where it was

zealously studied under the patronage of the Munzer family, the vassals of the Persian Kings. A short time before Islam it was introduced amongst the tribe of Koraish, to which the Prophet Mohamed belonged. It then passed through the hands of many reformers and travelled through many cities and towns till, about the end of the 3rd century, in Bagdad, the city of the Khalifs, it was moulded into a definite shape, which it retains to the present time. In the 4th century it was reduced to a regular art, comprising several kinds of penmanship on which a large number of books are written. The history of these reformers and the famous caligraphists of the third and fourth centuries belong to the second period of Arabic literature, and will be given later on. However, the art of writing, before Islam, was known to a select few ; and therefore we see the prophet of Arabia, though he was illiterate and was never "schooled," advancing his claim to prophetic rank by the production of his Koran. Thus the Arabic language spread not over the land of its birth but all over the world, and gave birth to a literature which has been the wonder of the civilized world. Arab conquests carried the language to the remotest corners of the East and West and made it the permanent tongue of the places conquered, and mixing with the local tongues it branched off into many dialects. With the exception possibly of Sanskrit, no other language in the world seems to have become the parent of so many daughters. Thus it was not by the children of the soil of Arabia that this vast literature was produced, but authors from the hearts of Africa and Europe, Egypt and Abyssinia, Constantinople and Cordova, Persia and even India, have contributed their quota to the general stock and helped in raising this huge monument of Arab intellect. It may be remembered that the contribution of Persia to this fund was very large indeed. A reference to the writers and authors of the first five centuries of Islam will show that the Persians stood as the first masters in every department of learning then known. I am inclined to say that if we were to compare the parts played by the pure Arabs and the Persians in the production of this literature, and to strike the balance, it will go in favour of the latter, at least in point of quality and originality. Hence, in treating of Arabic literature one has to take into account the parts played by other nations ; for it did not come into existence by the fostering care of the pagan Arabs and the votaries of Islam alone, but Christians and Jews also lent a helping hand to its expansion. It is, therefore, a literature produced not by the Arabs, but by the Arabic-speaking people.

Arabic literature has been divided into three periods : (1) the pre-Islamic period, which comprises about two centuries ; (2) the period

after the rise of Islam down to the fall of Bagdad in A. D. 1258 or A. H. 656 comprising about six centuries ; (3) from the fall of Bagdad down to the present time ; which three periods, properly speaking, represent its birth, growth and decline.

It has been said that the literature of every nation commences with poetry. This is perfectly true of the Arabic literature. To the ancient Arabs poetry was everything : it was the record of their war and peace, the book of their philosophy and learning, —in fact, the sum total of their wisdom and intellect. The poet was not only revered but worshipped. His word was law. At his command they undertook war, and at his suggestion made peace.

It is impossible, since poetry existed before writing, to trace the origin of Arabic poetry or to point out the person who first composed it. "The long caravan marches across the monotonous deserts when the camel's steady swing bends the rider's body almost double, turning the unaccustomed traveller sick and giddy, soon taught the Arab to sing rhymes. He even noted very soon that as he hurried the pace of his recitation, the long string of camels would raise their heads and step out with quickened pace. This creature, stupid and vindictive though it be, is sensitive to some extent to music, or, at all events, to rhythm. Its four heavy steps gave the metre, and the alternation of long and short syllables in the spoken language, the successive pulsation of the said metre."

I have quoted the above passage for what it is worth, but I cannot believe that the "long caravan marches" taught the Arab to sing rhymes, nor that the camels' "four heavy steps" gave the metre. In this connection we may just turn to the poetry of other nations in the East and West. Was it the "long caravan marches" that taught the Chinese to sing rhymes, or "the four heavy steps of the camel" that gave the Romans and the Grecians their metre? The most barbarous people in the world, be they the Zulus in the veldts of Africa or the Red Indians in the prairies of America, in their rudest state of life have sung rhymes and given expression to their emotions and feelings in rhythmical language, not through the instrumentality of any outside influence as has been suggested above, but through the inspiration of nature and nature alone.

It is interesting to see the Arab authors vying with one another to fasten the fathership of Arabic poetry on different individuals. Âd, Samud, and Himyar have by turns been mentioned as the first poet, and some have even gone further and ascribed it to *Ayyub* the Prophet, who lived sixteen centuries before Christ and who is given the *palm* of superiority or at least priority to Homer, the best poet of ancient times.

It is stated that he composed some sermons in Arabic verse, now lost, which were rendered into Hebrew by the Prophet Moses. We even find some Arab authors quoting fragments of poetry supposed to have been composed by both the male and female members of the tribe of Amalek, the fifth ancestor of Ayyub.

It may naturally be asked, how is it that poetry precedes prose? The reason is not far to seek. Poetry is the expression of strong emotions and passions excited in the heart, clothed in every-day language; but prose is an art which requires training and study. The poet's language is not fettered by the artificial rules which the prose writer is bound to follow; he has many licenses with which the prose writer is not blessed. In short, poetry is the language of the heart, and therefore natural, while prose is the language of the *educated* man.

During the Days of Ignorance, as the pre-Islamic era and the primitive state of the Arabs is called, the whole Arab learning amounted to a rude knowledge of the firmament and its luminaries, whose movements they had been witnessing for generations past, and to whose agency they ascribed all their happiness and misery, and an empiric acquaintance with medicine, founded either upon imperfect observations and experiments, or learnt from the Persians and Indians. But on the other hand nature had compensated them by endowing them with quickness of comprehension, subtlety of thought, and a high degree of eloquence. Therefore most of them were able to compose poetry. It is said that every Arab is a poet by nature. We give below a proverb the origin of which is traced to an Arab named Kunfuz-el-Kalabi, whose son Jowshan suddenly developed as a poet to the utter surprise of his father, who did not wish his son to meddle with poetry and therefore prevented him from giving vent in verse to the emotions, that made his heart restless. But the storm that raged in his heart was too strong for him and he succumbed to it. The father, becoming aware at the last moment of the mischief that he had done, gave him permission to compose his verses: but it was too late, and the son before he died could only exclaim "Hal-ul-Jariz-Dun-al-Kariz"—"Death intervenes between me and poetry now." Although this gift of nature was common to the whole Arab nation high and low alike, still the Nobility were adverse to it and looked askance at those of their own class who were possessed of it and desired to utilise it. We find proof of this in the case of Amra-ul-kais, the poet-king as he is called, who stands at the head of the ancient Arab poets. He was banished by his father for indulging in the composition of poetry.

Simple desert life with few wants to provide for and fewer civic duties to attend to, gave the primitive Arab ample time to improve his tongue,

and bring it to a high degree of perfection. It was the labours of these silent workers of the desert that in later times bore fruit in the form of huge and numberless works on Lexicography and Philology compiled by Muhammadan travellers and scholars after the spread of Islam. Every part of the body of the camel, the most precious property of the Arab, was minutely observed, studied and a name given to it; the creature itself bears a thousand different names, and its various gaits even have been noted and named. The lion, the greatest enemy of the dweller in the desert, has received five hundred names and titles; wine, perhaps the only luxury the Arab could enjoy in his own tent, being provided mostly with it by the early Christian merchants, was called by a hundred names. Along with the above mentioned development of the language, poetical composition, which afterwards played such a prominent part in the Arabic literature, was being evolved. The specimens that have been handed down to us of those compositions, though very meagre and fragmentary, yet are sufficient for a comparison with the forms that poetry took in later times.

The earliest remnants of Arabic poetry are some pieces relating to satire; and it is therefore believed that poetry with the Arabs first assumed that form. The Arab, so jealous of his honor, would fall an easy prey to excitement at a word of ridicule. Satire, it seems, was a secondary kind of warfare, to which the Arabs resorted in early times. The honour of the whole tribe depended upon the magic word that issued from the mouth of the poet. The adversary whose honour was assailed could not rest till he had retaliated, and so the *Hejá* or satire passed from lip to lip and spread over the whole desert. But this was not the only use that the poet made of the inspiration with which he was supposed to have been gifted. Often did he record in verse the events of his times; the exploits of heroes and warriors, the generosity of chiefs and lords were put into verse and sung by the members of his tribe. In fact, in the absence of any other means, this was the only way in which they could preserve the memory of those events. The description of the English ballad exactly represents the state of the primitive Arabic poetry. "Most of these ballads were never written down, never printed, but were carried about in the memories of the Englishmen for hundreds of years. But though the ballads were altered to suit the circumstances, national feeling or personal preference, yet they have kept their purity except in a few cases when passing from the mouth of the reciter to the ear of the hearer. These ballads were recited, chanted or sung to the harp by the itinerant minstrels, strollers from the hall to the hamlet, from the town to the cottage, from the fair to the market, with songs old or new or newly revised." This is a true picture of the state of Arabic

poetry in the fifth and sixth centuries of the Christian era. It was to recite or chant these poems that in those times poets were invited to the courts of Princes and great Amirs. These poets travelled to distant places and everywhere were received with great honour. They carried the fame and ill-fame of the tribes in their hands. A slight indifference or discourtesy shown to them would jeopardise the reputation of the whole tribe. It may be noted here that the satires composed during this period were far above the type to which they were reduced in later times. The words were poignant, sharp and biting, but within proper limits. But the successors of these satirists passed all bounds of modesty and decency, even degenerating into abuses and obscenities.

Towards the beginning of the sixth century we notice a change for the better which comes gradually over the Arabic language. Its vocabulary is enriched and the meanings of words became fixed. The poet feels conscious of his power and duty. The *kasideh* takes its definite form; the tone of the language appears to be chaste and at times philosophic. The verses of the poet are interspersed with words of sound advice to the community, and the poet tries to quench the fire which his predecessors used to fan. It is also at this time that we find poets attached to the courts of Princes and Nobles, and, being called court poets in contradistinction to the desert poets, laying, so to speak, the foundation of the future post of Poet Laureate.

The gift of poetic inspiration was not monopolised by the males only; the fair sex had also a full share in it. At this period Arabia produced some poetesses who could well compete with the best of the poets. The custom of mourning and lamentation by women following a funeral procession is of ancient origin. Like Indian women, Arab women continued to mourn for many days, and at times other women were hired to mourn with them. They followed the bier barefooted and bareheaded, sometimes even with shaven heads, moaning and uttering plaintive words with a cadence which gradually resulted in the composition of elegies, for the production of which the fair sex is no less renowned than is the sterner one for the production of eulogy. An Indian writer has given a very fine picture of Arabic poetry of this time, which I quote here, though with some reservation: "They (the Arabs) had at that time no rules of grammar or versification to guide them; and yet their verses were scrupulously accurate, and hardly ever went wrong. They had neither any fixed criterion of rhetoric nor any canons of criticism; yet their idioms, expressions, images, similes and metaphors were as accurate, as clear, as lucid, and as perspicuous as any of the subsequent established schools of the post-Islamic times. One of the distinctive features of the primitive

literature of the Arabs was that it possessed the real and rare beauty of being a faithful representation of nature, inasmuch as their images were derived directly from nature, and their composition was merely a real expression of their real feelings and a true reflexion of their mental workings. False fame, vain glory, flattery and empty praise were motives not known to those early Arabs who led a simple innocent life, in the lap of nature, invested with all its concomitant virtues—bravery, courage, gallantry, truthfulness, innocent and sincere love, fidelity, generosity, liberality, charity, hospitality, and a hatred of cruelty and oppression. With the Arabs of those times poetry was a gift of nature, commonly bestowed on all alike, whether old or young, man or woman, rich or poor, high or low, noble or mean, townsman or peasant, who used it as a tangible expression of their emotions and a ready vehicle of what they thought and felt, and a lasting record of their views, made more impressive and more perspicuous by illustrative similes, apt images, and suitable metaphors, such as were readily supplied by natural objects and views of daily sight." I would certainly use my vocabulary of praise with some degree of parsimony, and would not exhaust it so lavishly on the beauties of early Arabic poetry and the excellences of Arab traits. But this is perfectly true, that the language of the early poets was absolutely pure and the similes and metaphors used by them were directly taken from nature. This characteristic was much more noticeable among the desert than amongst the town poets. Ajjaj, who was a well-known desert poet, was once asked his opinion about the difference in his poetry and that of Kumaid and Terammah, who were accustomed to have their difficulties solved by him. He said, as he derived his similes and metaphors first hand from his own observation of nature, there was no possibility of his missing or misplacing them, but that as the latter two lived in the town and wrote about things which they did not see but of which they heard only from others, they often went wrong. Another peculiarity of primitive Arab poetry is the display of martial valour, and the warlike spirit and love of independence which prevail throughout the verses. It was on this account that when, in the second century of Islam, the portals of Greek learning were opened to Arab authors, no poetical work of the Grecians was rendered into Arabic, as they found Greek poetry wanting in that heroic and martial spirit which the Arab values above all. The same may be said for the absence of the translation of historic works.

After the rise of Islam, when poetry together with other subjects was treated scientifically and reduced to an art, the poets were divided into four divisions. First, Al-Jaheliyyun or those who lived before Islam and died pagan, or even those who lived down to that time but

Muslims. Second, Al-Mukhzaremun or those pagan poets who accepted Islam and died Muslims. Third, Al-Muwalledun or those who were born in the first two centuries of Islam. Fourth, Al-Muhaddesun, or the modern poets. The first three are considered to represent the ancient type of Arab poet; for their composition was not affected by the artificiality of the schools which sprang up during the third century of Hejra. Seven collections, each consisting of seven poems belonging to different poets, have been made, and named after some peculiarity in the poems common to the seven grouped together. First is the famous collection known as the Moallekat or the seven suspended poems grouped together by Hammade Raviyah, to whom the preservation of a great part of the pre-Islamic poetry is due, and who himself was a poet with a wonderful and prodigious memory. Once, when the Khalif Walid, the Son of Yazid, asked him the reason of his surname—Raviyah (a quoter)—he boasted that he could recite, besides thousands of fragmentary pieces, one hundred long Kasidehs, belonging to the pagan times, and an equal number from the post-Islamic times, rhyming on every letter of the alphabet. To test the truth of this statement, Walid ordered him to recite poems in his presence, and when he was tired, he appointed one of his trustworthy servants to keep watch over him: and when the latter also was tired, they had already counted two thousand and nine hundred Kasidehs recited by the poet. This collection, which has served as an anvil for the genius of hundreds of Arabic scholars, contains seven masterpieces of pre-Islamic poetry composed by seven different poets. Their names were as follows: Imra-ul-kais bin Hujr of the tribe of Kinda, the errant poet-king who was driven from home by his father for the sin of composing poetry and indulging in amorous passions. He died at Ancyra through wearing a poisoned robe of honor, given to him by the Roman Emperor, which covered his body with ulcers; whence he was called Zat-ul-Kuruh or the man of ulcers; Torafa, whose name was Amr-ebn-el-abd and who attended the court of the king of Hyra Amr-ebne Hind, by whom he was sentenced to death for venturing to satirise his brother Kabus or the king himself; Zuhair-bin Abusulma, whose father Rabia, uncle Bashama, two sons Kaab and Bujair, and two sisters, Sulmah and Khansâ, were celebrated poets, and who with Amra-ul-kais and Nabeghe-e-Zubyani constitutes the triumvirate of the Arab poets; Antare bin Shaddad the son of an Abyssinian slave who is also counted as a famous hero amongst the Arabs. He took part in the war known as the Dahes war between his tribe Abs and Fazarah. He was killed while fighting against the tribe of Tai; Amr-ibne-kulsum, who is said to have lived for one hundred and fifty years and often satirized Noman, the son of Munzar; Labid, the son of Rabia who belongs to the second division of poets and who was known for his piety. He, too, lived a long life of about 145

years and died in 14 A.H.; and lastly Alhars, the son of Hillaz, of whose life nothing is known. It is said that the Arabs hung these poems in front of the Kaaba and prostrated themselves before them and worshipped them for nearly 150 years, till they had to be removed from their honored place in favour of the Holy Book, the first of its kind, the inspired word of God, the Koran. The sister of Amra-ul-Kais, it is said, was at Mekka on the day the poems were taken down, and she objected to the removal of her brother's poem. But when she saw the passage of the Koran—Sura II, verse 44—she with her own hands took it down and burnt it.

These poems have for hundreds of years been allowed to remain in undisturbed possession of their title to antiquity, but they are now assailed by some scholars, who in these days of close investigation and criticism throw their search light into every nook and corner and point out defects and flaws which have escaped detection by the purblind authors of bygone ages. Hammad's honesty in respect of his collection has been doubted, and certain arguments have been advanced to disprove the antiquity of the Moallekat. But before these arguments can be accepted as sound, they must pass through the same ordeal of criticism and investigation as the poems themselves. There is, no doubt, much force in the arguments advanced, but they are not sufficient to dispel the fascinating belief which has swayed the hearts of scholars for the last thirteen centuries. Hammad's honesty is rightly impeached; for, when hard pressed by the Khalif, Al-Mehdy, he admitted the charge that had been brought against him by Mufazzal, of interpolating his own lines amongst those of the ancient poets. But to charge him with wholesale forgery on insufficient grounds is unjust and difficult to prove. The other six collections are :—

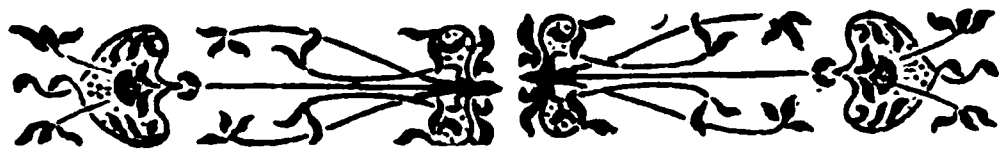
- (1) Al-Mujamharat.
- (2) Al-Muntakayat.
- (3) Al-Muzahhabat.
- (4) Al-Marasee.
- (5) Al-Mashubat.
- (6) Al-Mulhamat.

The list is arranged in order of merit and marks the different downward grades of Arabic poetry from its commencement to the end of the second century of the Hejra.

There are also about a dozen more books containing the poetry of pre-Islamic times which, together with those mentioned above, make up our knowledge of the poets and the poetry of the first centuries of Arabic literature. But for a student who wishes to study ancient

Arab poetry in all its aspects and phases, and minutely observe the features of Arab life, the *Hamasa* of Abu Tammam would furnish the best and most instructive guide, as well as prove a most capacious and entertaining storehouse to draw upon, and would be found much more useful and interesting than *Moallekhat*.

With the Koran the first period of Arabic literature closes and the second period dawns. What would have been the course of Arabic literature if the Koran had not been produced, or if Mohammad as a Prophet had not been the author of it, is a matter of pure speculation, and I think cannot be entered upon here. As to how from the Koran radiated the study of the different kinds of sciences, as to how it created in certain cases the very existence of certain branches of knowledge, and as to how it accelerated the study of others,—in short, as to how it became the very source of all that knowledge which has rendered Islam and its followers famous, I will hereafter make an attempt to show.



ART. II.—*On the Age of the Sanskrit Poet Kavirâja.*

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(*Read before the Sanskrit Section on 18th January 1905 in connection  
with the Centenary Celebration of the Society.*)

MANY Sanskrit scholars have written on the age of Kavirâja, but they do not appear to be successful in their attempts to fix his date. Professor Macdonell<sup>1</sup> says that Kavirâja perhaps flourished about A.D. 800, while Dr. Bhandarkar maintains<sup>2</sup> that Kavirâja and Dhanañjaya must have lived between A.D. 996 and 1141, and that Dhanañjaya borrowed the idea of a Râghavapâṇḍaviya from the Brahmanic poem of that name by Kavirâja. The opinions of other eminent scholars need not be considered here as they wrote before the contents of old Kanarese inscriptions were made accessible to the student of Sanskrit by the writings of Messrs. Rice and Fleet.

With great deference to all scholars, who have written on this subject and to whom we owe so much, I beg to point out that this difference of opinion is due to the fact that the verses in which the poet gives an account of king Kâmadêva do not appear to have received that amount of consideration, to which they are entitled at the hands of scholars. Kavirâja, unlike other Indian authors, gives ample information, which ought to enable us to identify his royal patron and to fix the date of the poet himself. There are only three introductory verses in which Kavirâja supplies historical information. The first of these verses is very easy, but the other two present exceptional difficulties. An edition of Kavirâja's work with a commentary has lately appeared in the Kâvyamâlâ. The commentator calls himself Śāśadhara or Moon and his commentary is entitled Prakāśa or Light. But unfortunately for Sanskrit Scholars this Moon throws no light on the difficult verses.

From the way in which the Jaina Râghavapâṇḍaviya is mentioned in the Pamparâmâyana<sup>3</sup> and in the Śravaṇ Belgol inscription<sup>4</sup>, it may be easily inferred that there was only one Râghavapâṇḍaviya known to Pampa's contemporaries. This view is confirmed by the Brahmin author Durgasimha, who alludes to Dhanañjaya's Râghavapâṇḍaviya only. Durgasimha says that he was a native of Kisukâḍa and a minister for peace and war under the Châlukya Emperor Jagadêkamalla

<sup>1</sup> History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 331.

<sup>2</sup> Report on Sanskrit Mss. for 1884-87.

<sup>3</sup> Pamparâmâyana, p. 6, 2nd ed.

<sup>4</sup> Inscriptions at Sravana Belgola.

This king can be identified with Jagadêkamalla II, who reigned between Śāka 1061 and 1072, as Durgasiṃha mentions the Kanarese poet, Kannamayya, who refers to Abhinava-Pampa as “*adyatara*” or contemporary<sup>1</sup>. In his interesting introduction to his Kanarese Panchatantra<sup>2</sup> Durgasiṃha tells us that he proposes to give to the world a Kanarese translation of the Sanskrit Panchatantra of Vasubhāga Bhaṭṭa, who extracted five stories resembling five jewels from Guṇāḍhya’s Brihat-kathā, which was in Paisāchi, translated them into Sanskrit and called his work Panchatantra. Durgasiṃha mentions Guṇāḍhya, Vararuchi, Kālidāsa, Bāṇa, Mayūra, Vāmana, Udbhaṭabhīma, Bhavabhūti, Bhāravi, Bhaṭṭi, Māgha, Rājaśekhara, Kāmandaka and Daṇḍi. As regards Dhanañjaya Durgasiṃha says :—

Anupama-kavi-vrajaṃ Jī—

Yene Rāghava-pāṇḍavīyamam pēḍu Yaśō—!

Vanit-ādhiśvaran ādam

Dhanañjayaṃ vāg-vadhū-priyaṃ Kēvalanē !!

“ Dhanañjaya, the sole favourite of the goddess of speech, became the lord of fame resembling a lady, by composing the Rāghavapāṇḍavīya to the humiliation of matchless poets.”

We must remember that Durgasiṃha was an eminent Brahman, who held the high post of minister for peace and war in the days of Chālukya supremacy. He was intimately acquainted with Brahmanical literature. All the Sanskrit poets, whom he praises, were Brahmans with the single exception of Dhanañjaya on whom he lavishes extravagant praises for his Rāghavapāṇḍavīya. If the Brahmanical Rāghavapāṇḍavīya had been in existence before the time of Jagadêkamalla II, Durgasiṃha would certainly have accepted Kavirāja’s estimate of his own genius :—

सुबन्धुर्वाणभट्टश्च कविराज इति त्रयः ।

वक्रोक्तिमार्गेनिपुणाश्चतुर्थो विद्यते न वा ॥—I. 41.

and would have excluded Dhanañjaya from the list of Sanskrit authors, reserving all his praises for Kavirāja’s Rāghavapāṇḍavīya. These considerations naturally lead us to the conclusion that Kavirāja did not compose his work till after Śāka 1072, the year in which the reign of Jagadêkamalla II terminated. We shall appeal to Kavirāja himself on this point.

We are told that king Kāmadêva belonged to the Kādamba family.

अस्ति कादम्बसन्तानसन्तानकनवाङ्कुरः ।

कामदेवः क्षमादेवकामधेनुर्जनेश्वरः ॥—I. 13.

By the use of the form Kādamba, Kavirāja evidently wishes us to understand that his royal patron belonged to one of the later Kādamba

<sup>1</sup> Karnāṭaka-Sabdānuśāsana, Intr. p. 33.

Canarese Panchatantra published in the Karnāṭaka Kāvya-maṇjari, pp. 6 and 7.

Canarese Panchatantra, p. 13.

families. This is confirmed by the statement that Kâmadêva lived after Muñja, king of Dhârâ, who died<sup>1</sup> about A.D. 996.

श्रीविद्याशोभिनो यस्य श्रीमुञ्जादियती भिदा ।

धारापति रसावासीदयं तावद्धरापतिः ॥—I. 18.

We know that there were two families of the later Kâdambas. Here a question naturally arises, to which of these families did king Kâmadêva belong? This question is satisfactorily answered by Kavirâja in the following two verses which are difficult to understand and as to the real purport of which, the commentator "Moon" with his "light" seems to be totally in the dark.

आदित्यस्यान्ववायो जयति रघुपतेर्जन्मनोज्जृम्भितश्री-

स्तत्साम्यं सोमवंशः श्रयति सुरभितः पाण्डवानां यशोभिः ।

धत्ते तत्साम्यमद्य स्मरहरधरणी संभवस्यान्ववायो

यस्यालंकारभावं भजति कृतधियां कामदः कामदेवः ॥—I. 23.

#### TRANSLATION.

Victorious is the line of the sun, the glory of which was increased by the birth of the lord of the Raghus. The line of the moon, which is illuminated by the fame of the Pândavas, bears resemblance to it. To both is comparable to-day the line of the son of the god Śiva and the earth, of which Kâmadêva who gratifies the wishes of the learned, is an ornament.

The commentator Moon, who is unable to explain by his "light" the expression स्मरहरधरणीसंभवस्य, which is in the genitive case, deliberately changes the text into स्मरहरधरणीसंभवोपि. But a careful study of the verse will convince Sanskrit Scholars that the genitive is here purposely employed by Kavirâja, who wishes to compare the founder of the Kâdamba line, who was the son of the god Śiva and the earth, to the Sun and the Moon, the supposed founders of the Solar and the Lunar dynasties. Who the founder of the Kâdamba line was, we learn from Kavirâja himself who says :—

आनेता मध्यदेशात्प्रवचनविदुषां सोमपां ब्राह्मणाना- ।

मारोढा मर्त्यमूर्त्या सुरपतिसदसो मण्डनं मानवत्याः ।

जेता भूमेर्जयन्तीपुरपुरमथनश्रीपदाम्भोजभृङ्गः ।

सोपि क्षमापस्त्रिनेत्रः स्वकुलकुलगिरिं योनुलेभे तपोभिः ॥—I. 25.

#### TRANSLATION.

That king was Trinêtra who imported from Central India Brahmins well versed in the Vedas and drinkers of Soma juice, who ascended to the assembly of Indra in human form, who was an ornament of a proud

<sup>1</sup> Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. I, Part II, p. 214.

lady (his wife), the conqueror of the earth and a bee on the glorious feet of the god Śiva of Jayantîpura and who obtained, in later times by austerities, a very mountain (i.e., supporter) of his family (in king Kâmdêva).

The commentator "Moon" has failed to throw any light on this verse. He takes the expression स्वकुलकुलगिरि to mean that his (Trinêtra's) family resembled a principal mountain. According to this interpretation, King Trinêtra obtained his own family by means of austerities. This is absurd, because Trinêtra was the supposed founder of the Kâdamba line. Before his time his family must have been of course obscure. To be born in an obscure family is no reward for performance of austerities. Besides, each of the 23 verses from Nos. 13 to 33 in the first canto is devoted to praising Kâmadêva. If one of these verses, namely, No. 25, were to mention Trinêtra without reference to Kâmadêva, it would be out of place. Therefore, the real meaning of this verse is that King Trinêtra obtained in later times, as a reward for his austerities, a *kulagiri* or supporter of his family in Kâmadêva. In the Kâvyamâlâ edition of Kavirâja's work we often read हलधरणीप्रसूत कादम्बवंश which is a mistake for हरधरणीप्रसूतकादम्बवंश.<sup>1</sup>

From the two verses which I have explained above, we learn the following facts. King Kâmadêva belonged to a later Kâdamba family.

The founder of this line was King Trinêtra, who was the son of the god Śiva and the earth, who imported learned Brahmins from Central India and who was a worshipper of the god Śiva of Jayantîpura. The town of Banavâsi in North Canara District is famous for its temple of Madhukêśvara. In ancient times Banavâsi was called Jayantî or Jayantîpura. This is proved by the fact that the Brahmins of Banavâsi at the present day speak of their town as Jayantî-kshêtra during the performance of religious rites. The chief god known even at the present day as Madhukêśvara is referred to as जयन्तीपुरमधुकेश्वर in a stone-tablet inscription in front of the god Mailârling at Hângal and as जयन्तीमधुकेश्वर in another inscription in the temple of Târakêśvara at the same place. It is evident from these expressions that जयन्ती or जयन्तीपुर is only another name of Banavâsi. I may also mention that in the temple of Madhukêśvara at Banavâsi itself there is a stone cot which bears the following inscription on it in comparatively modern Kanarese characters.

श्रीवर्षे विभवे ऋतौच शिशिरे माघाख्यमासे सिते  
पक्षे सद्यि ( च्छि ) वरात्रिसौम्यदिवसे सोदारघुक्षमाभृता ।  
पर्यकोशममयो वसंतकुतुकायास्थानिके मंटपे  
दत्त [ : ] श्रीमधुकेश्वराय रुचिरः श्रीमज्जयन्ती पुरे ॥

<sup>1</sup> Epi Carnatica, Vol. VIII, Sorab Inscip. No. 179, lines 17—20.

In a local purāṇa called जयन्तीमाहात्म्य we are told—

अस्ति लोके महापुण्या पुरी शक्रपुरोपमा ।  
जयन्ती नाम नाम्नासा सर्वदा सर्वदायिनी ॥  
तत्र देवो महादेवप्रवरो योगिनां शिवः ।  
मधुकेश्वरनाम्ना तु नगरे तत्र वर्तते ॥—Chap. 27.

In another local purāṇa we read

एवं महोत्सवे काले प्रादुरासीत्सदाशिवः ।  
लिंगमध्यान्महातेजा भासमानो दिशो दश ॥  
शकरेः पृष्ठमारुह्य पार्वत्या सह शंकरः ।  
त्रोवाच विष्णुप्रमुखान् देवान्संबोध्य शंकरः ॥  
सर्वे शृण्वंतु मद्राक्यं लिंगेस्मिन्मधुकेश्वरे ।  
सदा वसामि भो देवा भवंतोत्र वसंतु च ॥  
इयं पुण्या वानवासी<sup>1</sup> वरदाघातहारिणी ।  
अत्र स्नात्वा च मां पूज्य<sup>2</sup> कृतकृत्या भवंतु वै ॥  
इत्युत्क्वांतर्दधे तत्र लिंगे च मधुकाभिधे ।

वानवासी क्षेत्र महिमा.—Chap. 25.

न वैशाख समो मासो वानवासीसदृङ् न पूः ।  
मधुकेश्वरसमं लिंगं नास्ति नास्ति जगत्त्रये ॥

वानवासी क्षेत्र महिमा.—Chap. 26.

We have thus seen that Jayantî is another name of the town of Banavâsi. The last three passages cited above also tell us that the god Madhukêśvara is a linga. Kavirāja's expression जयन्तीपुरपुरमथन is, therefore, equivalent to जयन्तीपुरमधुकेश्वर. Dr. Fleet's statement<sup>3</sup> "that the family god of the Kādambas of Banavâsi was Vishṇu under the name of Madhukêśvara" must be rejected as it is opposed to facts.

Kavirāja's account of the Kādamba family of Banavâsi, to which his patron Kāmadêva belonged, agrees with the account of the family which is found in the Kanarese inscriptions. The founder of this line Trinêtra is called Trilôchana in the Siddâpur inscription<sup>4</sup> and is spoken of as Mukkaṇṇa in an inscription<sup>5</sup> at Tâlagund, the word Mukkaṇṇa being a Kanarese rendering of the Sanskrit त्रिनेत्र or त्रिलोचन. This king Trilôchana or Mukkaṇṇa is represented in the inscriptions<sup>6</sup> as the son

<sup>1</sup> The temple of Madhukêśvara stands on the river Varadâ.

<sup>2</sup> A Vedic form for पूजयित्वा.

<sup>3</sup> Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. I., p. 560. Ind. Ant., Vol. X., p. 250.

<sup>4</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XI., p. 273.

<sup>5</sup> Epi. Carnatica, Vol. VII., p. 208. Shikârpur Inscription, No. 186, line 5.

<sup>6</sup> See notes 8 and 11 above. Ind. Ant., Vol. X., p. 250. Mysore Inscriptions, Intr., p. 39.

of the god Śiva and the earth, who brought learned Brahmins from Ahichchhatra and established them in the Kanarese country. The Havik Brahmins in North Canara claim to be the descendants of the Brahmins brought from Northern India by a Kādamba King Mayūra-varma who is sometimes confounded in the inscriptions with the fabled Trinêtra.

According to Dr. Fleet,<sup>1</sup> King Kâmadêva was a Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara and ruled over the provinces of Hângal, Banavâsi and Puligere or Lakshmêśvara. He was a feudatory of the Western Châlukya king Sômêśvara IV, and began to rule in Śaka 1104. In Śaka 1119, the town of Hângal was besieged by the Hoysaḷ King Vîra Ballâḷa II. He was defeated and repulsed for the time by Kâmadêva's forces under his general Sohoṇi, who, however, was killed in the battle. But the Hoysaḷ king seems to have soon afterwards completely subjugated the Kādambas and annexed their territory. In Śaka 1126 Kâmadêva was still fighting against the Hoysaḷ forces; but what became of him after that date, is not known. From these facts we can easily conclude that Kavirâja composed his Râghavapâṇḍavîya between Śaka 1104 and 1119.

A Kādamba copper-plate inscription has been lately published by Mr. Rice in the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. VII, pp. 214—217. The grant purports to be issued by King Sôma, a grandson of Kâmadêva. This Kâmadêva must be identical with the Kâmadêva, mentioned above, since the names<sup>2</sup> of his son, father and grandfather are the same. One of the grantees in this inscription is named Kavirâja Mâdhavabhaṭṭa. This is the real name of the author of the Brahminical Râghavapâṇḍavîya, Kavirâja being his title only.

It may, however, be noticed here that this grant is not dated in the Śaka era, but mentions only the cyclic year Vilambi and Monday, the new moon-day of Âshâḍha, on which an eclipse of the sun occurred. Mr. Rice assigns this grant to A.D. 1118. This cannot be accepted, because, according to Dr. Fleet, who bases his opinion on stone-inscriptions in the neighbourhood of Hângal and Banavâsi, the Banavâsi province was governed between A.D. 1099 and 1129 by the Kādamba king Tailapa II and not by king Sôma. The date of the grant must, therefore, be considerably later than Śaka 1104, the year in which Kâmadêva began to rule.

<sup>1</sup> Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. I., Part II., p. 563.

<sup>2</sup> Idem, p. 559. *Epigr. Carnatic*, Vol. III., p. 27 (Translations). In the copper-plate grant, Kâmadêva's grandfather's name is given as Vikrama-Taila. The Vikrama is a title, and corresponds to the expression Udyat-pratâpam applied to him in the Kargudari Inscription, line 22, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X., p. 252. It is thus clear that Kâmadêva's grandfather's name is Taila, his father's name is Tailama and his son's name is Malla.

<sup>3</sup> Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. I., Part II, p. 562.

ART. III.—*A History of Bijapur by Raffiuddin Shiraji.*

By V. R. NATU, B.A., LL.B.

*(Read before the History Section on 19th January 1905,  
in connection with the Centenary of the Society.)*

OUR present knowledge of the history of the kingdom of Bijapur is mainly derived from the famous work of Ferishta, supplemented by the works of writers like Kafikhan and others who chronicled the movements and conquests of the Moghul armies in the Deccan. Ferishta was really attached to the court of Ahmadnagar though he lived at Bijapur for a few years. We have no work yet published by a writer at the court of Bijapur. The author of this work, of which I intend to give a summary, was a Bijapur nobleman who spent many years in the service of Bijapur kings. His history covers the same period as that of Ferishta, who was his contemporary. In the preparation of his monumental history of the Marathas, Grant Duff secured some Persian historical accounts of Bijapur, but in the list given by him in a footnote in Chapter II of his work, we do not find the name of Raffiuddin Shiraji. Sir H. M. Elliot collected some MSS. containing the histories of the independent Musalman kingdoms of the Deccan, but unfortunately those MSS. have not been translated. We do not even possess a list of them. In a paper published in Vol. I of the B. Br. R. A. Society's journal by Captain Bird, we find the name of a work called 'Busate-Salatin,' but Shiraji's work is not mentioned. As far as I am aware Shiraji's work has never been published; and it is only noticed in a Marathi work on Bijapur History by Professor Modak of Kolhapur. The importance of securing for publication the original works on the history of the Deccan Muhammadan kingdoms cannot be exaggerated. A good deal of attention has lately been paid by Maratha scholars to the task of bringing to light valuable materials for the history of the Marathas; but the work of collecting old chronicles of that long period of time extending over nearly four centuries from the fall of Deogad to the overthrow of Bijapur, and Golkonda by Alamgir, yet remains neglected. In this respect the latest work of Gribble is also disappointing as it scarcely adds anything more to our knowledge than what is found in Brigg's edition of

‘Ferishta.’ The publication of old Persian MSS. on this subject would be of much use in adding to our limited fund of knowledge of this eventful period, and also would help us in gauging the account of Ferishta which is often marred by exaggeration. Raffiuddin Shiraji’s work, though not as extensive nor as scholarly as that of ‘Ferishta,’ is, however, very interesting, as the author writes of events that were enacted before his eyes. Besides, being himself an adventurer from Persia, he is very fond of giving short biographical sketches of similar other adventurers from foreign lands who came to India during this period. His work is full of such sketches, among which may be mentioned those of Hussen Gango, Khaja Gawan, Eusuf Adilshah, Jengirkhan, Shah Tahir, Mustafakhan and others who are famous in the history of the Musalman kingdoms of the Deccan.

Following the plan of Elliot and Dowson, I do not intend to give here a full translation of Shiraji’s work, but only an account of the author as gathered from the work itself, its contents, and a few extracts taken from it. It is also thought desirable to state how I came by the MS., which, as the sequel will show, now exists only in a Marathi translation.

Fifteen years ago I formed the acquaintance of Mr. Sayad Soffi Bukhari of Lakshmeshvar, who is now serving as Chief Constable at Murgod in the Belgaum District. This gentleman traces his descent from a noble family at the court of Bijapur which still enjoys a *Jagir* originally granted to it by the Kings of Bijapur. Mr. Soffi showed me a Persian MS., a carefully written and neatly bound volume, containing the History of the Kings of Bijapur. The work appeared to be a rare one, and so far as my inquiries went it was neither published nor translated. The work was written by “Raffiuddin Ibrahim bin Nuruddin Tawafic of Shiraj,” who was in the service of the Bijapur Kings and a friend of Ankushkhan, the ancestor of Mr. Soffi.

As I took some interest in collecting materials for the history of Vijayanagar, I thought that this work would be of much use : but as I did not know the Persian language I requested my elder brother, the late Mr. R. R. Natu, B.A., to translate the work for me into Marathi. He had learnt Persian and he undertook the translation with the assistance of Mr. Sayyad Mohmad Munshi of Belgaum. The translation was begun in 1891 and finished in 1893. The translated MS. has lain with me since then, though it was my intention to publish it in book form. The original Persian MS. was returned to Mr. Soffi, and I now learn with regret from him that it has been destroyed by white ants. I enquired at Hyderabad and Bijapur whether this work could be obtained there, but I met with no success. Unfortunately the

Persian title of the work has not been retained in the Marathi version made by my brother ; but Mr. Soffi says that it was, “ Taskerah-i-Ahivali-Salatin-i-Bijapur.” The author, however, gives much information about himself in the work, and it would be easy to identify it if some Persian scholar succeeds in securing the MS. The whole work is very interesting, and the author gives a detailed and graphic account of the reigns of Sultan Ali Adilshah (1551 to 1580) and Ibrahim Adilshah II (1580 to 1626) under whom he served as a palace chamberlain. In several places he describes scenes of which he was an eye-witness. The work closes with a lengthy history of the Emperor Akbar and his invasion of the Deccan. This work was written in H. 1017 (1608 A.D.) when the author was about 90 years old. He says it was written 35 years after he entered the service of the Bijapur Kings, which was 50 days after the capture of Bankapur by Ali Adilshah on 16th of Ramjan 982.

#### AN ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHOR.

Throughout the work the writer refers to himself sometimes as “ the author of this work ” in the third person and more often in the first person. At the beginning of Chapter II of the work the author says, “ The writer of this work, Raffiuddin Ibrahim bin Nuruddin Tawafic, a native of Shiraj, had gone to Sagar in 968 to make some purchases. Sagar is a well-known town in the Deccan ; within a few fursangs from it is the village of Gogi containing the tombs of Usaf Adilkhan and his descendants. It also possesses a great Langarkhan (a place where free food is distributed to the poor) maintained on the revenue of ten villages dedicated for the purpose. There are about 100 Hafizes who recite the Koran every morning and evening. Twice a day food is given to these men and their families. They also get some cash allowance every month. Amongst them there was one Hafiz Shamsuddin Khijri who was more than 90 years old. He was a man of great erudition, had seen many climes and countries, and in his old age had settled down in this Kingdom (Bijapur). He maintained himself with what little he got there and was always near the tomb of his master. He was a friend of the Mutwali of the place. This Mutwali was a Sayad, being a learned and pious man and much given to devotion. I became a friend of his and often sought his company. Before the company which gathered round this Mutwali, old Shamsuddin,—a much travelled man,—used to narrate stories either heard or seen by himself. Sometimes he told his own adventures before the company.”

From this point the author gives the history of Usaf-Adilshah as told apparently by Hafiz Shamsuddin. The name of this person is not

further introduced and the history proceeds to the latter part of the reign of Ali Adilshah, where the author again introduces himself. He says :—  
 “The fort of Bankapur was taken on the 16th of Ramjan in 982 ; 50 days later the author entered the service of the Padshah. That very day he was appointed an officer of the palace with the title of Khan Saler. Within a few days he was made King’s treasurer and Havildar of the Zenana. This history is written 35 years afterwards.”  
 In an earlier portion of this chapter the author says, “even at present in 1017, the son of Ramraja is ruling at Anagondi.” This also shows that this history was written in 1017. While giving the history of King Ibrahim Kutubshah of Golkonda the author states that he had twice seen the King, once as a merchant and on another occasion as agent (vakil) of Ali Adilshah. He also says that during the ministry of Afzulkhan, he held the same offices in the palace. When the King Adilshah was murdered the author was present outside the King’s chamber and he took part in the events which followed. In giving the character of the King the author introduces several anecdotes from his personal observation. During the reign of Ibrahim Adilshah, open fighting was going on for several years between rival courtiers for power, and when Afzulkhan was murdered in 988, the author was also imprisoned, but his life was saved through the intervention of the friends of Dasturkhan who was a co-prisoner with him. In A.D. 1594 when Ibrahim’s brother Ismail had raised the standard of revolt, the author held an office of great trust under the King. He was guardian of the King’s son and custodian of his seal. He was also in charge of his foreign correspondence. On 26 Rabilawar, Friday 1003, the author was appointed Governor of the Province of Bijapur. In 1005, he was deputed to Ahmadnagar on a political mission to bring about a settlement between Bahadur Nizamshah and his nobles. He says :—

“At this time the author was in charge of foreign affairs, Peshwai, and guardianship of Prince Fattekhan. He was also the holder of the King’s seal and was in charge of a district paying a revenue of 1 lakh of hons for the maintenance of 200 elephants, 700 camels and 1,500 horses. All letters, petitions, and messengers first came to me and I then sent them to the Padshah. I handed over the charge of all these offices to my son and left for Ahmadnagar. The author joined Sohilkhan, commander of the Bijapur forces sent to Ahmadnagar, and entered the territories of Nizamshah.” They found Nizamshah surrounded by the armies of his refractory nobles who were enemies of Chandbibī. Their object was to arrest the Sultan. The author was conducted into the fort to see the King by one Sayad Ali, described as a great Historian. He remained at Ahmadnagar for 3 or 4 months, and tried to reconcile the

contending nobles but failed. Rumours reached him that the army of Prince Murad was advancing against Ahmadnagar, and he therefore wrote to his master, who ordered him to return to Bijapur. Chandbibī was sorry to part with him, but he left the place and remained outside for 2 or 3 days where he was joined by a large number of people who wanted to avoid the coming war. "They followed me," says the author, "for protection and when they were out of danger they went to their respective villages." The author then reached Bediapur. On his return to Bijapur he took over charge of his former office.

In the course of his narrative of Akbar, of whom he relates several interesting anecdotes, the author gives his own impressions of the great Emperor whom he had seen at Agra. He writes : "The author had gone to Agra from Gujrath in 968 for trade. At that time Sayadbeg Masumbeg had gone there as the agent of Shah Tamasp of Persia. Akbar had lodged him in tents in a garden. Many nobles including Amir Vazir had also pitched their tents there. Large numbers of people went to see the place, among whom was the author. While I was standing there Akbar came. I saw him reclining on a young person. I was at a distance. The face of the Emperor at once revealed his high intelligence and imperial fortune. I had never seen such a person in my life. When the Emperor came people did not stand up. I asked if there was no custom in that court of giving *Tajim*. I was informed that the rules about *Tajim* were very strict, but they were not observed when the Emperor visited a place privately without intimation. I again saw the Emperor in the treasury room on the upper story of the palace. The Emperor came there bare-headed. He had only a loose garment round his waist and was fanning himself with a paper fan. He was so simple in his habits."

The author finishes his narrative with the conquest of Ahmadnagar by the Moghals. The history of Ibrahim Adilshah is interspersed with personal references to the author. In one or two places in his narrative he refers to year 1018 as the "present year" indicating that he was writing the book for 2 years.

From the foregoing account it will be quite clear that a great portion of the Bijapur History given in this work was actually enacted before the eyes of the author and therefore bears the impress of authenticity. Some of the incidents are detailed at great length and probably are not found in any other similar work of the time.

#### PLAN AND CONTENTS OF THE WORK.

CHAP. I—The history of the Bahamini Kings, from Sultan Allaud-din to Sultan Mohmad. Chap. II—The history of Yusuf Adilshah. Chap. III—History of the reign of Ismail Adilkhan Savai. Chap. IV—

Reign of Ibrahim Adil Khan. Chap. V—History of the reign of Ali Adil Shah up to his meeting with Ram Raja of Vijayanagar. Chap. VI—Historical account of the Muhammadan Kings of Gujrath up to the invasion of Akbar; account of the Kings of Ahmadnagar; of the battle of Talikot and the conquest of Vijayanagar. An account of Subhan Kuli Kutubshah and his successors. Chap. VII—Continuation of the history of Ali Adil Shah's reign up to his murder. Chap. VIII—Detailed history of Ibrahim Adil Shah, History of the Moghals from Babar to the fall of Ahmadnagar.

Each of these chapters consists of several subsections which are not given here for want of space.

#### SOME EXTRACTS FROM THE WORK.

##### I. —AN ACCOUNT OF SULTAN ALLAUDDIN HUSSEN GANGO BAHAMINI.

“Gentle and wise reader, there are different accounts current regarding the foundation of the Bahamini kingdom. Some say that Bahaman ibn Isfadiar *bin* Gastabasta, Emperor of Persia, was the progenitor of this family. He sent his son Isfandiar to Hindustan, who spread there the religion of Zoroaster and established a kingdom. This Hussen was a man of means at first, but adverse fate made him poor, and he therefore came to this country. One day while asleep under the cool shade of a tree by the way side, a cobra was warding off flies from Hussen's face with a blade of grass in its mouth. This was observed by Gango Pandit, a Brahman, who was passing by that road. The Brahman predicted from this that one day Hussen would be a great man and he waited there till the latter awoke, when the cobra disappeared in a hole. The Brahman told Hussen all that he saw, and promised that he would serve him on condition that Hussen should affix the Brahman's name to his own name when Hussen would rise to a great fortune. Hussen consented and acted according to the promise. All the 18 Bahamani Kings used the same title after their own names.

Hussen was devoted to a saint named Sheikul Akhtaq Sheik Sheik-mahamad Siraj (God bless his memory). Hussen attended upon the saint at the time of his prayers. Once at Kudachi, near Murtizabad, now called Miraj, while the saint was going to wash before the prayers, he handed over his turban to Hussen who placed it on his own head. The Sheik remarked that Hussen desired a crown from him. On another occasion Hussen was complaining of his poverty to the saint, who said that every thing happened when the time was ripe for it. That country had no Musalmans in it, and the saint had built a masjid at Kudachi. The local Musalmans helped him. One day seeing Hussen lifting up a basket of earth for the work, he remarked that Hussen wanted to bear the burden of the world. One day Hussen kept off the sun from the face of the saint while the latter was asleep. On awaking the saint asked him if he coveted a royal umbrella. One day Hussen's mother went to the saint

and told him her poor circumstances. The saint advised her to take to cultivation in a neighbouring village, where, while ploughing the land, Hussen's plough hit upon an underground stone-built cellar. When the Sheik was informed of this, he said, "Thank God and pray Him, because those who thank Him become prosperous." One night when Hussen was attending upon the saint he addressed him as "Sultan" and asked him to raise an army, carry on a religious crusade in the country of the non-believers and spread Islam. Hussen again pleaded poverty, when the Sheik took him to the above cellar and caused the hoarded wealth to be dug up. Hussen then began to raise an army in which work he was much assisted by Gango Pandit. One Friday the Sheik asked Hussen to collect his army which the saint blessed, and hung a sword round the waist of Hussen. Hussen then proceeded against Miraj, which was ruled by a Hindoo queen, Dashavati. The fort of Miraj was taken without much trouble and the queen was made a prisoner. When the saint was informed of this he sent word that Miraj should be called "Mubark Abad" on account of this auspicious first victory gained by Hussen. This happened in H. 748 (1347 A.D.). Hussen then marched in the direction of Gulburga. He found the place very strongly fortified and well prepared for a fight. He wrote to the Sheik, who advised him to take advantage of the absence of Parandrao, the Commander of the Fort, who went to a neighbouring temple each Wednesday. Hussen acted upon the advice and entered the fort, whose gates were opened by the guards who thought that it was their Commander who was coming. When Parandrao learnt this, he left the temple precipitately and a battle ensued. The Musalmans showered arrows, one of which struck the Commander dead, his people fled in confusion, and his head was buried near the gate. This place is still pointed out. Gulburga was thereafter called Hussanabad, where Hussen established the seat of his Government and took the title of "Sultan Allauddin Bahaman Shah." He appointed Gango Pandit to a great office. It was settled that all the Sultans who succeeded him should style themselves "Bahamani." The 18th Sultan-Shah-Walli-Alla also called himself "Bahamani." The battle of Gulburga was fought in H. 748, in which year Hussen proclaimed himself king. He died in H. 761 (1559 A.D.) after a prosperous reign of 13 years 10 months and 27 days."

## II.—CHARACTER AND END OF SULTAN FEROSHAH *bin* AHMADKHAN BAHAMINI.

"After he ascended the throne, he pleased his subjects by his justice and piety and by his munificent gifts. He maintained himself by copying the Koran, and his queen by selling needlework. He was thoroughly acquainted with the art of administering a newly conquered country. One of the memorials of his administration is a town that was built by him on the Krishna. He caused a large number of buildings to be erected, and built a stone fort which was a farsang square. He spent several years in enjoyment in that city. Once the town suffered terribly from inundations, and the Sultan had to spend seven days on the upper floor of his palace.

That town and fort still remain, but not in a prosperous condition. The town is called Ferozabad. The king was very charitable to the Fakirs. He spent his time in copying the Koran and distributing its copies to the people. His handwriting was excellent. He used to wear simple dress ; and he had appointed one Baba Kamal his religious tutor, and built for him a tomb near his own. Eight thousand infantry, four thousand horse, and five hundred elephants were always ready near his palace. Once upon a time the king decided that he was a humble man, and should not keep so large a guard about himself. He therefore reduced the whole number, and, handing over all the duties of administration to his nephew Ahmad, spent his time in devotion. Ahmad was a very clever administrator, and won over to his side all the nobles and the army, and began to form plans for deposing Ferozshah. Ferozshah was informed of this, but replied that fate must take its course, as in any case the nephew was to be Sultan after him. Once some army of the Sultan mutinied against him, and he therefore ordered 70 men of it to be executed. Their lives were saved by Ahmad's intervention and they were taken into service. These people had conspired to take the life of Ferozshah. Ahmad joined the conspiracy, and won over some of the Abyssinian servants who were in service in Ferozshah's palace, one of them who played a prominent part, being in charge of the Jamdarkhana. One day the conspirators entered the palace of Ferozshah and a fight ensued with the guards. Both parties lost a number of men, when the Abyssinian in charge of the Jamdarkhana undertook to murder Ferozshah and entered the Sultan's chamber where he was reading the Koran. The murder was committed by the wicked man and the followers of Ferozshah ran in different directions. Some of the nobles raised the eldest son of Ferozshah to the throne. But Sultan Ahmad murdered the boy and proclaimed himself king. Ferozshah reigned for a period of 25 years, 7 months and 12 days. Eight Bahamani Kings ruled at Hasanabad for a total period of 82 years, 5 months and 18 days."

### III.—AN ACCOUNT OF MAKHDUM KHAJA JAHAN'S ENTERING THE SERVICE OF THE SULTAN.

"It is well known that Makhdum Khaja Jahan was a man of great intellect, and had travelled in many countries. In the course of his travels he went to the Port of Dabhol, now called Mustafabad. While there he carefully observed the character and the strange customs and manners of the people of this country. Once he saw a great nobleman passing along the road in a palanquin and looking at a bulbul that was perched on his arm, Khaja concluded from this that the people of this country were given up to idle pleasures and were not intelligent ; he thought he could easily approach and mix with them. He thought that he could make great fortune in trade with them, or would rise to a high office. He tried to get an introduction to the Sultan. The officers of the port had, however, strict orders from the Sultan that all merchants or adventurers who came to the port should be dismissed from the place when their business was over, and they should not be sent on to the Court. Khaja therefore gave many presents to the officers

in charge of the place and requested an introduction to the Court. The officers, however, refused the request on the plea of the King's order. Khaja said that he had travelled much and seen Misar, Rumesam, Turkestan, Khorasan and other places and that he had got many choice articles which deserved to be seen by great princes. He requested the officers to write to the Ministers for an introduction to the Court. He had already sent letters with presents to the Ministers. The port officers granted his request, and finally the courtiers urged the Sultan to permit Khaja to visit the Court. The King at first refused saying that these foreigners were very clever men, and once they got a footing they gradually rose to power; but he was prevailed upon by the Ministers, and Khaja was allowed to see him. When Khaja reached Bedar he first met the several nobles and made them suitable presents. When the King held a Durbar to receive Khaja, the latter took with him as presents some beautiful horses, select brocades, some Turkish and Abyssinian slaves, jewellery and artistically illumined copies of the Koran. When he entered the Durbar hall, he and his slaves carried copies of the Koran on their heads. Seeing this the King at once rose from his throne and came down to do honor to the "Word of God," took the Koran from Khaja's head, kissed it, and placed it on the throne. The Sultan did not understand the trick played by Khaja to make him leave his throne at the first meeting. The King accepted the presents. Khaja was an eloquent man, and told the King stories of different Kings and Courts. The Sultan was so much impressed with Khaja's address, manners and conversation that he enlisted him as one of his personal attendants, and in the course of time he was entrusted with all the civil administration of the State. The King did nothing without consulting Khaja."

#### IV.—THE EARLY ACCOUNT OF EUSAF ADILSHAH OF BIJAPUR.

"While I was in the service of Hussenbeg Aka Koiun, King of Bekar," continued Hafiz Shamsuddin, "information was received that the kingdom of Jehanshab was full of anarchy owing to the revolt of the nobles, and that the country was devastated and the people were in great distress. Thereupon the valiant Padshah Hussenbeg moved his army to conquer Ajarbizan, and when he reached Tebriz, Jahansha bin Kara Eusaf died and Hussenbeg conquered Ajarbizan, Khorasan, Kerman, Fars, and Arak, and appointed governors in the conquered country, one of whom was Ahmadbeg, Hussen's sister's son, who was charged with the administration of Saba and the country around it. He ruled the country with justice and made his subjects contented. After his death, his son Mohmadbeg succeeded him as Governor of the province, which he ruled ably, like his father, for 20 years. By this time Hussenbeg of Bekar had died; a bloody war of succession ensued between his sons Khalil and Yakub. Khalil was killed and Yakub ascended the throne. When Yakub died, his Ministers enthroned his son Bisantag, but soon afterwards a regular civil war ensued amongst these noblemen, in the course of which Mohmadbeg of Sava was killed and his family and chil-

dren sought shelter in different places. Eusafbeg was the eldest son of this Mohmadbeg, Wali of Sava. Eusaf went to Ispahan, while still a boy, but he left that place also for Shiraj through fear of his family enemies. He remained at Shiraj for five years and gained a good education there. But being in poor circumstances he conceived the idea of proceeding to foreign lands to make his fortune. With this object he went to Lar, and while sleeping one day in a musjid he had a vision. An old man in plain dress came to him and gave him warm cakes and told him to proceed to the Deccan where food for Eusaf was made ready. When he awoke he was delighted with this vision and went to port Jerun to embark for India. He was a stranger there ; but fortunately met Khaja Jaimal Abadia Samnani, a merchant who had gone to that port to make purchases for King Mohmadshah Bahamani. Having sold the goods he had brought with him, he was loading his ships with new purchases, including horses and Abyssinian and Turkish slaves. Some of the Turkish slaves took pity on Eusaf and requested their master to take him to India. Eusaf was well built, strong and handsome. The merchant saw Eusaf, and when he learned his history, he took him to India. When Khaja reached Bedar and presented horses and slaves to the Sultan, Eusaf was also presented to the King. The slaves were appointed to serve, some in the royal kitchen and some in the Jamdarkhana. Eusaf was installed head of slaves in the kitchen. He remained there for many days, but, being dissatisfied with his condition, he returned to Lar, and resided in the same musjid where formerly he had seen the vision. The vision appeared a second time, and he therefore returned to India and resumed his former duties. He was a born soldier and always practised fencing, archery, wrestling and the use of the lance. He got up a gymnasium and trained a large number of slaves in the art of wrestling. They were dressed and trained in the fashion of Khorasan athletes. He obtained a large following among the people of the city." The author then proceeds to narrate in detail Eusaf's wrestling match with a famous wrestler from the north of India, whom he defeated. " This brought him to the notice of the King, who gave him large presents, and made him his personal attendant. Soon after, being impressed by his character and commanding appearance, the Sultan made him the Kotwal of the city. Eusaf worked hard, preserved good order in the city, and improved its streets and the general appearance of its bazaars. He became more and more a favourite of the Sultan and got round him a large proportion of the army. The nobles became very jealous and wanted to get rid of him by sending him to some distant place. An opportunity soon occurred. News came that while on its way from Masulipatam and Kampli, a large caravar of merchants, who had valuable goods and horses with them, was robbed near Kovil Kunda in the province of Telangana, and that some of the merchants were killed and many wounded. That country had no powerful central government and was rendered inaccessible by mountains and thick jungle. It possessed 80 forts. These forts were in possession of independent Hindu chiefs, who were not subject to any one, and who always

carried on war among themselves and practised marauding. In order to check these predatory chiefs, the Ministers advised the Sultan to send Eusaf on that difficult mission. The Sultan consented, though unwillingly, and Eusaf went out of the city and encamped there. He expected help from his noble friends but none came. He therefore raised an army of four or five thousand soldiers at his own cost and marched towards Telangana. He first sent some of his soldiers in the guise of merchants, and when they were being robbed by the Hindu chiefs, he attacked the latter, defeated them, and took their forts. In a short time he conquered a great portion of Telangana and increased his army. He sent the news of his fresh victories to his master, who became very proud of him. Eusaf converted many people and built musjids in every village. When his influence and power greatly increased, the Ministers at the Court became afraid of him. Their object in sending him away from the Court was not secured, and they began to form plans for his ruin. They induced the Sultan to believe that the growing power of Eusaf Beg was a danger to the State, and that he should be recalled to the Court. With this object they selected Subhan Kuli and sent him to Eusaf with a large army. Another person, Moulana Ismail Munshi, was sent ahead with presents and a letter from the King inviting him to Court. Eusaf received the letter, but sent back the Munshi with his own trusted servant Hafiz Shamsuddin Khijari—who had served Eusaf in Persia—to the King giving excuses for not returning to Court. Eusaf had no faith in the Ministers. Finally Subhan Kuli was deputed with a firman of the King and a large army to Kevil Konda where Eusaf was encamped. Subhan Kuli had instructions to induce Eusaf to return to Bedar, and if he refused, to fight with him."

The account of Eusaf's winning over Subhan Kuli and making further conquests in Telangana is very interesting, but want of space forbids further quotations.

#### V.—THE CAPTURE OF MOHAMADABAD OR BEDAR BY ISMAIL ADILSHAH.

"Kasim Berid was a brave man, a wise ruler, and a skilled soldier. After the death of Shaha Walli Ulla he raised Shah Kalimulla to the throne and administered the State himself. The King was King in name only. Ismail Adilshah, with the assistance of Nizamshah Behari and Imadulmulk Durya, invaded the kingdom and laid siege to the City of Bedar. Kasim Berid defended the town for seven months, having sent Ainulmulk to harass the besiegers. Ainulmulk sought peace, but Kasim was not to be won over. Ainulmulk then returned to his country, when Kasim Berid thought it proper to go out of the city, and went to the fort of Udgir and made preparations to send succour for the relief of the city. Nizamshah and Imadulmulk both withdrew to their kingdoms, and the work of siege devolved upon Ismail Khan alone. He pressed the operations and reduced the garrison to great privations. At this time one Vankella, a native of Sagar, who belonged to the robber class, went to Ismail and offered his services to bring Kasim Berid bodily to Shaha's camp. Ismail

promised a high reward for the enterprise, whereupon Vankella, assuming the garb of a fakir, went to Udgir, where Kasim was preparing to send troops to Bedar. When Vankella saw Kasim he gave him a lime and left the place. As the fakir turned away Kasim Berid mounted his horse and followed him. His attendants could not understand Berid's conduct, and some of them followed him. Vankella directed his steps towards the camp of Ismail, where Berid also followed him. Ismail being informed of Kasim Berid's arrival went out to meet him, and brought him into his own tent and made him occupy his own seat. While Kasim was thus seated his followers, who were outside, were put to death, and not even a page was left to give him water. The page who carried his shoes was alone left, and he informed Kasim of what had happened, when he recovered from his apparent intoxication. Kasim became a close prisoner, and Ismail insisted upon the surrender of Bedar as the price of his life. Kasim Berid's mother, who was in the city, opened its gates to the enemy who entered it triumphantly. Ismail Adilshah, however, treated Kasim Berid with kindness, and promised to return the place to him after he had captured the forts of Raichore and Mudgal with his assistance."

#### VI.—AN ACCOUNT OF RAMRAJA AND THE PROSPERITY OF HIS EMPIRE.

"Ramraja became King of Vijayanagar in H. 942 (A.D. 1533). He used to hold his Court in the name of Krishnaraya's son, the real Emperor, and people used to make their obeisance to the boy. Ramraja conducted the administration for two years nominally for the son of Krishnaraya, during which period he removed all the old nobles and state servants and appointed his own relations to high offices. In matters of all civil administration he consulted his elder brother Trimalraya, and entrusted the army to his younger brother Venkatadri. Ramraja became supreme in the state. There was none to oppose his will; and the son of Krishnaraya and his relations were practically confined in the fort. He thus ruled in great prosperity for 33 years. He completed the work of the canal begun by Krishnaraya. The kingdom became extraordinarily prosperous and happy. Some six Musalman nobles entered his service, and were given *Jagirs* by Ramraja, who treated them with respect and consideration. He kept a chair in the Durbar hall, on which a copy of the Koran was placed to which these Mahomedans might pay their respects. A portion of the city was specially kept apart for them, where they built houses and bazars. It was called Turkiwada, as most of these people were Turks. They were permitted to build a musjid, to repeat their *namaj*, and follow their own customs and practices, including the slaughter of animals. Ramraja's brother and other nobles objected to this slaughter, but Ramraja rebuked them, saying that the Turks had come to serve, but not to give up their religion. Ramraja, his brother and other great nobles built large temples and other edifices in emulation of each other. The city was supplied with plenty of water from the

river. There were 70 large canals running through the city. Every officer had extensive gardens, which produced plenty of fruits of all kinds. Ramraja was a just ruler. Until all the Mahomedan kings combined and killed him, this prosperity continued. But after his Fall the country was reduced to a desert. Once I,—the author of this work,—went to that place, when I found the country all round the city devastated. A thick jungle had grown there and even wild animals could be seen roaming about. It was difficult to find one's way among the ruins."



## ART. IV.— “*Shivaji's Swarajya*”

BY PURSHOTAM VISHRAM MAWJI, ESQ.

(*Read 18th December 1903.*)

MARATHA History has been, for many past years, receiving considerable attention, and has given rise to so many animated controversies that a paper connected with it will not, I hope, be found uninteresting. The present paper is intended to give an account of what is known as Swarajya, or the Marathas' own kingdom; and is based on an original document which bears the heading of “*Jabita Swarajya*,” i.e., a statement of Swarajya, which literally signifies “one's own kingdom.” It was the name given to the territory directly governed by Shivaji, as distinguished from the Mogulai, which included territory governed by foreign kings outside the Swarajya, but over which Shivaji exercised the right to levy the different kinds of contributions known as Chouth, Surdeshmookhie, Peshkushee and the like. The Swarajya may thus be said to be the Maratha Empire Proper. I do not know whether any records of Shivaji's time have been discovered in which the Swarajya territory has been defined. The first important reference to it, so far as I am aware, was made during the time of Shahu, when an important treaty was concluded between the Marathas and the Moguls, by the terms of which the Marathas acquired complete and independent sway over certain specified tracts of territory, besides different important rights. It will be remembered that Shambhaji, who succeeded to the throne of Raighad after Shivaji, proved himself incapable of maintaining the grand position which his illustrious predecessor had attained by years of hard struggle. Instead of following the principles of government which that great founder of the Maratha Empire had laid down, and which were the outcome of mature wisdom and vast experience, that unworthy successor to the Maratha throne strongly resented the efforts of his father's best officers to induce him to adopt any proper mode of government. As the Maratha Empire was at this time but a few years old, with its bitterest enemy still alive and as strong as at any previous time, its existence was seriously imperilled and the situation still demanded vigilant rule. While such was the state of the Empire, its ruler rather than assume the reins of government with vigour and watchfulness, yielding to

the seductive influence of his favourite Kalusha indulged in drinking and debauchery. The civil as well as military administration became disordered, the hill forts were neglected, and anarchy prevailed everywhere. Just when the Maharashtra was in this deplorable state, Aurangzeb marched into the Deccan with an overwhelming force, hoping to accomplish his long-cherished dream of subjugating that country. The condition of the country afforded him favourable opportunities for effecting his purpose ; and such was his success, that within five years the whole country from the Narmada to the Tungbhadra came into his hands ; and it seemed that the great empire which had cost such infinite toil to its founder to bring together was on the verge of extinction. Raighad was captured : Shambhaji a prisoner. At this crisis a band of patriots, headed by Rajaram, the younger son of Shivaji, saved the situation. Acting as regent for Shahu, he became the chief authority, representing what was left of the Maratha power, and with the aid of a few trained and efficient officers, such as Pralhad Niraji, Raghunath Pant Hanumante, Nilo Moreshwar, Ramchandra Pant Amatya, Pharsuram Trimbak, Shankraji Mulhar and some others, he rescued the empire from the ruin which threatened it. The efforts of these patriots were so far successful, and the respective positions of the Marathas and the Moguls thereby so much altered, that, at the close of his memorable campaign against the Marathas, Aurangzeb found himself foiled in all his efforts, and his previous successes wholly useless. Among the Maratha patriots, who at this critical moment turned the tide of events in the Deccan, Shankraji Mulhar deserves special attention, because of his connection with the subject of this paper. Grant Duff tells us that Shankraji Mulhar was originally a karkoon under Shivaji and was appointed Sachiv by Rajaram at Ginjee. During the siege of the fortress he retired to Benares. But a life of that sort did not suit his active temperament, and he managed to get himself engaged in the Mogul service. After Aurangzeb's death, Shahu was released under a promise, that in case he should succeed in establishing his authority and would continue steadfast in allegiance to the Mogul Emperor, he should receive certain territories. Soon after his release he succeeded in obtaining possession of Satara, and was formally enthroned there in 1708. After about ten years, during which the Marathas' cause was much advanced, circumstances arose which resulted in the treaty with the Moguls to which I have referred. It is then that we see Shankraji Mulhar rendering to the Marathas the signal service which secured to them again what was once their own. Ferokshere was Emperor of Delhi at that time. Being a weak monarch and extremely jealous of the famous Syed Brothers, he appointed Hussein Ally Khan, the younger Syed, to the

Viceroyalty of the Deccan, in the hope that he would thereby weaken the power of the brothers. Dawoodkhan, who was to be removed from the Deccan to make room for Hoossein Ally Khan, received secret instructions from the Emperor to oppose the new Viceroy, but this treacherous scheme proved unsuccessful, and Dawoodkhan was defeated by Hussein Ally Khan. The Emperor then secretly instigated the servants of his Government and the Marathas also to resist and annoy the new Viceroy of the Deccan. Hussein Ally Khan distracted by these intrigues thought of opening up negotiations with Shahu through Shankraji Mulhar, who was in his employment and had succeeded in gaining his confidence. He suggested to Hussein Ally Khan the plan of recognizing Maratha claims and thereby securing peace in the country. This plan was approved of by Mohumad Khan, the governor of Burhanpur. Shankraji Mulhar was then sent to Satara for the purpose of effecting an alliance with Shahu. There a treaty was concluded by which, among other grants, Swarajya was to be given to the Marathas. Shankraji Mulhar furnished a statement of the districts, forts and other places which were to be under the rule of the Marathas. This important statement is the document which I place before you this evening. I shall omit further details about the treaty and its final completion, except mentioning that, though Ferokshere refused to ratify the treaty, after his death Balaji Vishwanath when at Delhi obtained a formal sanad, embodying the terms agreed to by Hussein Ally Khan. This brief sketch of events will explain the circumstances which preceded and to some extent led to the important treaty between Shahu and Hussein Ally Khan. I must mention that the restoration of the Swarajya was only a formal act, since a considerable portion of the territory had been already in the occupation of the Marathas. On referring to the body of the statement it will be seen that no less than 89 out of 145 forts were held by the Marathas at the date of that document. Similarly, other Subhas were also under the occupation of the Marathas. The statement itself begins with a list of thirteen Subhas (Collectorates) made up of 127 Talukas in the Konkan Prant, and of 16 Subhas made up of 101 Talukas in the Warghat Prant. The following notes appear at the foot of that list :—

“Agreed as above. The writs of permission from the Nawab will be granted after Balaji Pant's interview with him, and will be executed. Afterwards the Firmans (Imperial orders) will be sent from the Huzur ( Delhi) within nine months from the date of this document.”

Dated 24th Sawal Suhur San Saman Ashar Maya Alaf. (9th September 1718).

“In the above mentioned list of Swarajya there are some Imperial posts which are separately noted. They will be removed accordingly.

You may take the other posts which are at present held by the Shamal and other Palegars.”

A list of forts follows this note. The names of the 145 forts which were at one time included in Shivaji's territory are given with their respective positions in two separate divisions, the first containing the names of 89 forts which were already in the possession of the Marathas, and which were to be formally restored to them, while the second division contains the names of the 56 forts of which possession was yet to be taken by the Marathas. A note similar to the above is made at the foot of this list also. Twenty-four Mogul posts are then mentioned which were in the Swarajya, and which were by the agreement to be removed. This is all that is contained in the document, which is partly in the Persian and partly in the Marathi language written in Modi character and written by Shankraji Mulhar himself. It bears the Persian seal of the writer, which contains the following inscription: 1126, Mahamad Ferokshere Fidwi Padashaha Gazi, Shankrajirao Malhar. The date of the document is 24 Sawal Suhur San Saman Ashar Maya Alaf, which corresponds to 9th September 1718.

It will be seen that the Konkan Prant comprised the district along the sea-coast from Gandevi near Surat to Akola in Kanara (excepting Bombay, Daman, Goa, and Janjira) and was bounded by the Arabian Sea on the West and the Western Ghats on the East, while the Warghat Prant included the tract of the country from Junnur in Poona District to Halyal in Kanara, and from the Western Ghats to Indapur.

I should like to tell you the circumstances which encouraged me to bring the present paper before you. The document, which has provided matter for it, is interesting in more respects than one. It is useful not only for giving a detailed list of the Subhas and Talukas, Maratha forts and Mogalai posts comprised within the Swarajya, but also as showing the territorial division of the Maratha Empire for administrative purposes. The location of the forts also deserves special study as displaying the military genius of Shivaji. The value of forts as excellent defence works was very much appreciated in those days, and these forts were the great bulwarks of Maharashtra. Each Subha had a requisite number of fortresses to guard it; and a careful study of the map will show how well arranged the whole country was with these defence works, which made it almost impossible to take it. It may be noted that other circumstances being equal, no invader of Maharashtra was successful against these fortresses. But this document has another and perhaps an equally important interest for our Society. Many of you perhaps may not be aware that some thirty-six years ago the subject of the collection and publication of original

documents relating to Maratha History was under discussion at a meeting of this Society held on the 14th March 1867, and the late Mr. Justice Newton, the then President of the Society, made the following important observations in the course of the discussion :—

"We had indeed," the President remarked, "in Grant Duff's invaluable history a work which in some respects left scarcely anything to be desired, but while we could not hope to add much to the result of his patient investigations and conscientious discrimination, and had little need to seek for confirmation of a narrative which had been amply tested during a long series of years through the practical researches and discussions incident to the administration of the Maratha territory, and have now taken the place of settled history, it was still felt by many that the preservation of the interesting materials from which that admirable work had been produced was an object of very great importance. In no department of knowledge, perhaps, were we dependent so exclusively on a single authoritative work, and it might be feared that the recovery of the many records and the tracing again of the varied sources of information which have been so effectively used, is every day becoming a matter of more difficulty."

It appears at that meeting there had been some discussion on the subject, for Mr. James Taylor thus referred to that discussion in his "Note on a letter from Mr. Grant Duff" which forms the subject of Art. XI, page 120 of Volume X of the Society's Journal, where he says : "Remarks were made by one or two members of deserved influence to the effect that Mr. Grant Duff's history of the Marathas hardly deserved the authority conceded to it, because it did not always specify the authorities on which the statements it contained were based."

These extracts have been taken at some length, as they place before you the necessity which the Society at one time considered to exist for collecting and publishing original records in connection with Maratha History.

This subject was repeatedly discussed at the meetings of the Society, but nothing practical appears to have been done in connection with that object. Many scholars of Indian History thought that there were no original documents of Maratha History in existence which would prove of any great value ; and it seems that it was this belief which hampered any serious attempt on the part of the Society in that direction. In order to test the accuracy of the information given by Grant Duff it was necessary that the original records of the times of which he spoke should be examined. Without this any opinion pronounced about the worth of that history could carry no weight whatever. The question as to what had become of Grant Duff's manuscripts naturally occurred to every student of Maratha History.

Several efforts were made to discover where these manuscripts were. Grant Duff himself tells us, in the foot notes to his history, that he had got copies made of some of these papers and writings and had deposited them with the Literary Society of Bombay. This Society has long ceased to exist, and our Society is its successor. The late Mr. Justice Telang caused search to be made in this library, but he could not find the manuscripts nor anything in the records of either Society which afforded any clue to their whereabouts. The fact that Grant Duff's manuscripts could not be found, gave rise to a curious impression to which the late Rao Bahadur Nilkant Janardan Kirtane, when a student at the Poona College, gave expression in his "Criticism on Grant Duff's History of the Marathas". He tells us that the manuscripts used were burned with Grant Duff's own knowledge. The story was so improbable that Mr. Kirtane expressed his own disbelief in it, in the introduction to the "Life of Siwaji" written by Malnar Rāmrao Chitnis.

The document which I produce before you to-day is interesting in this connection. It was referred to by Grant Duff and seen by him. The production of this original document and several others which I hope to lay before you from time to time is ample contradiction of this improbable story, if the story indeed required any contradiction. But though this story was disbelieved, the question as to how Grant Duff had disposed of the materials of his work remained unsolved. Efforts were made to ascertain in England whether Grant Duff had taken the papers with him and deposited them there. Sir George Birdwood, Mr. Martin Wood, and other eminent scholars of Indian History enquired of Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone, the son of the Maratha Historian, whether he could give any information regarding these papers. His reply to those enquiries was : "I do not possess any papers which could be of any use. I fancy my father gave away everything of that kind which he had, to some Institution in Bombay." This reply removed the hope that the papers might be found in England, and the search thus made by these scholars did not result in any substantial discovery. But this important enquiry was not destined to end here. For many years past Maratha history has been exciting much greater interest than when Grant Duff's work was first published ; and better literary taste and critical judgment have been formed among native scholars. The search for Grant Duff's materials, though its result was so far for a long time disappointing, was not given up. It was taken up and diligently prosecuted by Mr. D. B. Parasnis, whose honest devotion to historical work and his disinterested love for it have won him the success which he so well deserves. It is through him that I have been able to secure the present statement and the other documents of which I have just spoken;

and I am glad to say we may hope to get, in the near future, a look into some of these much-sought records. It ought to give pleasure to any one who takes interest in this subject to be able to place, within the reach of our Society, some of the very documents for the recovery of which it showed at one time such great concern, and it is my proud privilege to-day to inform you that I hope to deposit with our Society, photographs and copies of the original papers and writings from which Grant Duff constructed his work, and which may prove of use to modern students of Maratha History.

In conclusion, our best thanks are due to my friend, Mr. Parasnis, for the valuable assistance he has rendered to the Society and myself in these historical studies.

### JABITA SWARAJYA.

*(Statement of Swarajya.)*

#### SUBHAS IN THE KONKAN PRANT.

1. Subha Ramnagar including Ghandevi.
2. Subha Jawhar Prant.
3. Subha Prant Bhiwadi—
  - 12 Talukas—1 Sonavale, 2 Wasudari, 3 Barhekas (Betildal), 4 Murbad, 5 Korkada, 6 Sere 7 Alani, 8 Aghai, 9 Rabe, 10 Kunde, 11 Khambale, 12 Durgad.
4. Subha Kalyan—
  - 20 Talukas.—1 Kasaba Kalyan, 2 Ambarnath, 3 Talonje, 4 Wanje, 5 Wankbaal, 6 Borete, 7 Chonkas Badalpur, 8 Waredi Mahammadpur, 9 Wakase, 10 Kothalkhalati, 11 Kohali, 12 Wather, 13 Aturvalit, 14 Tungartan, 15 Badrapur, 16 Pen, 17 Wasi, 18 Chivanekhal, 19 Haweli, 20 Chhattesi.
5. Cheul Subha—
  - 6 Talukas—1 Mamale Chaul, 2 Nagothane, 3 Aser Adharan, 4 Antone, 5 Ashatami, 6 Pali.
6. Subha Rajpuri—
  - 12 Talukas—1 Goregaon, 2 Govele, 3 Tale, 4 Ghosale, 5 Divi, 6 Sivardhan, 7 Mhasale, 8 Nijampoor, 9 Hirdadi, 10 Nadagaon, 11 Murud, 12 Madaltapa.

7. Subha Javali—

18 Talukas (Mahals of the Konkan Talghat)—1 Hiredadi, 2 Shivathar, 3 Nate, 4 Mahad, 5 Tudal, 6 Winhere, 7 Kondhavi, 8 Chidve, 9 Talavati, 10 (Mahals of the Warghat) 1 Ategaon, 2 Tambi, 3 Bamhanoli, 4 Helwak, 5 Medhe, 6 Jorekhore, 7 Sonalsolse, 8 Barampure, 9 Kedambe.

8. Subha Dabhol—

11 Talukas—1 Chiplon, 2 Haveli, 3 Kelsi, 4 Weswi, 5 Panchanadi, 6 Natu, 7 Khed, 8 Gohaghar, 9 Savarde, 10 Welamb, 11 Jalgaon.

9. Subha Rajapoor—

18 Talukas—1 Kharapaton, 2 Mithagawhan, 3 Sawandal, 4 Rajapoor, 5 Lanje, 6 Deorukh, 7 Hatkhambad, 8 Harchiri, 9 Phungudh, 10 Dhamnas, 11 Dewale, 12 Kelmajgaon, 13 Salsi, 14 Pawas, 15 Setawadi, 16 Nevare, 17 Sangameshwar, 18 Prabhawali.

10. Subha Kudal—

15 Talukas—1 Haweli, 2 Masure, 3 Wengurle, 4 Ajagaon, 5 Satarde, 6 Talvade, 7 Mangaon, 8 Manohar, 9 Narur, 10 Pat, 11 Salandi, 12 Warad, 13 Patgaon Warghati, 14 Berdawe, 15 Kalsuli.

11. Subha Prant Bhimgad—

5 Talukas—1 Bande, 2 Pedane, 3 Maneri, 4 Sakhali, 5 Dicholi.

12. Subha Prant Phonde—

5 Talukas—1 Antaruj, 2 Hemadbarse, 3 Ashtagrahare, 4 Chandradad, 5 Bali.

Subha Prant Akole—

5 Talukas—1 Akole, 2 Siveshwar, 3 Kadwad, 4 Kadare, 5 Adwat.

SUBHAS OF THE WARGHAT.

(*Subhas upper the Ghat*).

1. Subha Poona—

6 Talukas—1 Haweli, 2 Nirthadi, 3 Karhe Pathar, 4 Saswad, 5 Sandas, 6 Patas.

2. Supe Baramati.

3. Indapur.

4. Subha Prant Mawal—  
13 Talukas—1 Karyat Mawal, 2 Kanad Khore, 3 Khedebare, 4 Gunjan Mawal, 5 Nane Mawal, 6 Panmawal, 7 Paudkhore, 8 Muthekhore, 9 Mose Khore, 10 Yelawand Khore, 11 Hirwadas Mawal, 12 Rohid Khore, 13 Shirwal.
  5. Subha Prant Wai—  
4 Talukas—1 Haweli, 2 Nimb, 3 Wagholi, 4 Koregaon.
  6. Subha Prant Satara—  
6 Talukas—1 Haweli Satara, 2 Parli, 3 Targaon, 4 Umbraj, 5 Kudal, 6 Wandan.
  7. Subha Prant Kurhad—  
9 Talukas—1 Kurhad, 2 Wing, 3 Marul, 4 Barse, 5 Tarale, 6 Kole, 7 Naneghol, 8 Marli, 9 Patan.
  8. Subha Prant Khatao excluding Kasba Khatao—  
11 Talukas—1 Khatao, 2 Malwadi, 3 Wangi, 4 Nimbsod, 5 Mayani, 6 Lalgun, 7 Aundh, 8 Vita, 9 Khanapur, 10 Kaladhon, 11 Bhalwani.
  9. Subha Prant Man—  
4 Talukas—1 Dhaigam, 2 Velapur, 3 Mhaswad, 4 Atpadi.
  10. Subha Prant Phaltan Mahal.
  11. Subha Prant Belgaum.
  12. Subha Sampgaon.
  13. Subha Gadag.
  14. Subha Laxmeshwar.
  15. Subha Nawalghund.
  16. Subha Kopal.
  17. Subha Halyal.
  18. Subha Betgiri.
- Subha Malkapur :—  
4 Talukas—1 Warun, 2 Malkapur 3 Kasegam, 4 Shirale.
- Subha Prant Panhala.—  
10 Talukas—1 Kalambe, 2 Kodoli, 3 Satwe, 4 Bhane, 5 Borgaon, 6 Alte, 7 Kukdi, 8 Walwe, 9 Wadgam, 10 Ashte.
- Subha Tarle—  
5 Talukas—1 Tarle, 2 Asdoli, 3 Arle, 4 Khanapur, 5 Ghol.
- Subha Prant Ajera—  
51 Parganas—Ajra (Talukas—1 Haweli, 2 Katgam, 3 Karnoli, 4 Amboli, 5 Mahagam, 6 Otur), 2 Kapsi, 3 Khanapur Masti, 4 Nuli, 5 Nesari.

Subha Prant Junnar—

24 Talukas—1 Haveli, 2 Chakan, 3 Wade, 4 Khed, 5 Ale, 6 Pabal, 7 Belhe, 8 Narayangam, 9 Wawarda Jambli, 10 Nibhoj, 11 Mahalunge, 12 Ambegaon, 13 Awsari, 14 Andar, 15 Kukudner, 16 Madha, 17 Ghode, 18 Gaji, Bhobre, 19 Minnher, 20 Parner, 21 Karde, 22 Ranjan-gam, 23 Wotur, 24 Kotur.

Besides the following Thanas which are included in the Mahal :—1 Khed, 2 Awsari, 3 Narayangam, 4 Pabul, 5 Nighoj, 6 Andar, 7 Madha, 8 Ambegaon, 9 Ghode, 10 Wade, 11 Minnher, 12 Otur, 13 Mahalunge.

Prant Kolhapore.—

9 Talukas—1 Haveli Kolhapore, 2 Kagal, 3 Raybag, 4 Ek-sambe, 5 Sandigoli, 6 Sadalage, 7 Neje, 8 Savi, 9 Jugal.

TOTAL :—

<i>Prant Konkan.</i>			<i>Prant Warghat.</i>		
1 Subha Ramnagar	...	...	1 Poona	...	6
2 Subha Jawhar	...	...	2 Supe Baramati	...	...
3 SubhaBhiwadi, Mahals	12		3 Subha Indapur	...	...
4 Subha Kalyan	...	20	4 Mawal	...	13
5 Subha Chaul	...	6	5 Wai	...	4
6 Subha Rajpuri	...	12	6 Satara	...	6
7 Subha Javli	...	18	7 Karhad	...	9
8 Subha Dahbol	...	11	8 Khatao	...	11
9 Subha Rajapur	...	18	9 Man	...	4
10 Subha Kudal	...	15	10 Phaltan	...	1
11 Subha Bhimgad	...	5	11 Malkapur	...	14
12 Subha Phonde	...	5	12 Panhala	...	10
13 Subha Akole	...	5	13 Tarle	...	5
			14 Ajre	...	6
			15 Junnar	...	13
			16 Kolhaporer	...	9
		127			101

Grand Total—

29 Subhas.  
Talukas.  
16 Warghat.  
13 Konkan.  
—  
29

228 Mokra Mahal.  
127 Konkan.  
101 Warghat.  
—  
228

Agreed as above the writs of permission from the Nawab will be granted after Balaji Pant's interview with him, and will be executed.

Afterwards the firmans or the Imperial orders will be sent from the Hazur (Delhi) within 9 months from the date of this document.

Dated 24th Sawal Suhur San Saman Ashar Maya Alaf.

In the above mentioned list of Swarajya there are some Imperial posts which are separately noted down. They will be removed accordingly. You may take the other posts which are held at present by the Shamal and other Palegars.

#### LIST OF FORTS.

Out of 145 forts which were formerly included in Shivaji's territory 89 are at present in the possession of the Marathas which are as follows :—

- 1 Subha Satara—  
2 Forts—1 Satara, 2 Sajjangad.
- 2 Subha Karad—  
5 Forts—1 Wasantgad, 2 Sadashivgad, 3 Machhendragad, 4 Gunawantgad, 5 Sundargad.
- 3 Subha Vai—  
7 Forts—1 Manmohangad, 2 Pandavgad, 3 Kamalgad, 4 Wairatgad, 5 Chandan, 6 Wandan, 7 Kalyangad.
- 4 Subha Javli—  
6 Forts—1 Pratapgad, 2 Makarangad, 3 Mangalgad, 4 Wyaghragad, 5 Mahimandangad, 6 Gahangad.
- 5 Subha Dabhol—  
4 Forts 1 Sarangagad, 2 Jayagad, 3 Sumergad, 4 Mahipatgad.
- 6 Prant Khatao—  
4 Forts—1 Wardhangad, 2 Bhushangad, 3 Santoshgad, 4 Warugad.
- 7 Subha Man—Mahimangad.
- 8 Subha Rajapur Prachitgad.
- 9 Subha Poona—  
3 Forts—1 Purundhar, 2 Wajragad, 3 Sinhagad.
- 10 Subha Mawal—  
8 Forts—1 Rajgad (Ghala Killa, Padmawati, Suwela, Sanjiwani), 2 Prachandgad, 3 Wichitragad, 4 Lohagad, 5 Kathingad, 6 Witandgad, 7 Ghangad, 8 Kuwarigad.
- 11 Subha Chaul—1 Killa Sudhagad.
- 13 Subha Junnar—Fort Narayangad.

Tot.43

- 14 Subha Panhala—  
3 Forts—1 Panhala, 2 Pawangad, 3 Bilasgad.
- 15 1 Kot (Fort) Kolhapore.
- 16 Subha Rajapur—  
4 Forts—1 Vishalgad, 2 Gagangad, 3 Ratnagiri, 4 Mahimantgad.
- 17 Subha Tarle—1 Fort Bhudargad.
- 18 Prant Ajre—  
5 Forts—1 Samangad, 2 Kalanidhigad, 3 Pawitragad, 4 Wallabhagad, 5 G. ndharwagad.
- 19 Subhâ Nawalghund—  
3 Forts—1 Mahamatgad, 2 Bhujabalgad *alias* Ramdurg, 3 Torgal.
- 20 Subha Kopal—1 Fort Kopal, 2 Buhadar Banda.
- 21 Subha Bilgoli—1 Fort Mahipatgad.
- 22 Prant Miraj—1 Fort Bhupalgad.
- 23 Subha Bhimgad. 2 Forts—1 Bhingad, 2 Pargad.
- 24 Subha Prant Kudal—  
4 Forts—1 Prasidhagad, 2 Manohargad, 3 Sindhudurga, 4 Fort Kudal.
- 25 Subha Rajapur—  
3 Forts—1 Vijayadurg, 2 Dugera, 3 Jayagad.
- 26 Subha Dabhol—  
6 Forts—1 Wasangad, 2 Phattegad, 3 Kanakdurg, 4 Goa, 5 Palgad, 6 Suwarnadurg.
- 27 Subha Prant Chaul—  
4 Forts—1 Khanderi, 2 Kulaba, 3 Sagargad, 4 Mrigagad.
- 28 Subha Kalyan—  
6 Forts—1 Manikgad, 2 Vikatgad, 3 Bahirawdurg *alias* Khapra, 4 Shriwardhan, 5 Manranjan, 6 Kothala.

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Tot. 89

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These 89 forts which belonged to you are restored to you.

The following 56 forts are to be taken into possession :—

22 Forts in the possession of the Shamal—

Subha Chaul—

1 Sarasgad *alias* Pali, 2 Rajkot (Chaul), 3 Surgad.

Subha Dabhol—

3 Forts—1 Anjanwel, 2 Rani's Fort, 3 Mandangad.

Subha Javli—

2 Forts—1 Raigad, 2 Lingana.

Subha Rajpuri—

14 Forts—Wirgad, 2 Sewakgad, 3 Rajkot, 4 Mangad, 5 Vishramgad, 6 Padmadurg, 7 Matgad, 8 Balraja, 9 Ekdara, 10 Sakra, 11 Hagra, 12 Nanowali, 13 Tamhani, 14 Sarangagad.

34 Forts in the possession of the Palegars.

Prant Akole.—7 Forts.

1 Kot Akole, 2 Mahindragad, 3 Kadwad, 4 Madhurgad, 5 Shiveshwar, 6 Kot Kadara, 7 Kurmadarga.

1 Kot Supa.

1 Ratnakar Durga *alias* Bokda.

(In the possession of Bednurkar.)

1 Kot Halsia.

2 Phinrangan.

Forts - 1 Dronagiri, 2 Aseri.

8 In the possession of Kudalkar Sawant—

1 Songad, 2 Vengurla, 3 Redi, 4 Hanmantgad, 5 Bhaskargad, 6 Narayangad, 7 Band, 8 Dibhawali.

11 in the possession of the Kolis—

1 Ganbhirgad, 2 Bhupatgad, 3 Pedur, 4 Khera, 5 Ulang, 6 Balwant, 7 Waghera, 8 Kupera, 9 Songiri, 10 Kohaj, 11 Kuang.

3 Phonde—

1 Phonde, 2 Mardangad, 3 Kholgad.

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34

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Total 56

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You may take as presents these 56 forts which are given to you. The written permission of the Nawab for these 145 forts will be given after the interview of Balaji Pant with the Nawab. The *firman*s will be sent afterwards within 9 months.

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THE MOGUL POSTS IN THE SWARAJYA TO BE REMOVED.

12. 1 Kalyan Bhiwadi, 2 Poona, 3 Indapur, 4 Baramati, 5 Supa, 6 Shirwal, 7 Wai, 8 Masur, 9 Sap, 10 Patas, 11 Samdoli, 12 Wangi.

12. 1 Karhad (to be removed within 6 months), 2 Islampur, 3 Kade-gam, 4 Khanapur, 5 Yelapur, 6 Mhaswad, 7 Budh, 8 Malwadi, 9 Vitba, 10 Nim Sodamayani, 11 Atpadi, 12 Nataputa.

These 24 posts to be removed and given into your possession.

Dated 24th Sawal Suhur San Saman Ashar Maya Alaf.

ART. V.—*Lieut.-Col. Thomas Best Jervis (1796-1857) and his Manuscript Studies on the State of the Maratha People and their History, recently presented to the Society by his Son. By R. P. Karkaria, Esq.*

(Read, 27th September 1905.)

When I first looked into these MS. volumes, some two months ago when they were presented to our Society in this historical year of its Centenary, I saw that they possessed a great value for students of the subjects they treat of ; and accordingly I willingly adopted the suggestion of our learned and energetic Honorary Secretary, the Rev. R. Scott, that I should write for the Society a paper on them. I took it up all the more readily and turned aside from my other work for a time, as I learned with regret that he was soon to leave us for a long holiday in his native country. The good wishes of our Society, which he has served so ably for nearly five years, will, I am sure, accompany him thither ; and I trust that on his return he will continue to give us the benefit of his literary ability and rare scholarship.

These MSS. have been appropriately presented to us by his son, who is settled in Italy as the Conservator of the Royal Industrial Museum at Turin, and is the author of a valuable work on the Economic Geology of that country, as their author was a former member of our Society and the brother of one, who was our Honorary Secretary, Capt. George Jervis, from 1827 to 1830, during the momentous years when under the guidance and advice of our distinguished member, Sir John Malcolm, our Society changed its name of the Literary Society of Bombay given in 1804 by its founder, Sir James Mackintosh, in favour of its present designation and consented to become the branch of a much younger Society, the illustrious newly founded Royal Asiatic Society of England. Thomas Best Jervis gave the best years of his life to this Presidency, which he served for nearly thirty years from 1811 to 1841, in various capacities as an Engineer Officer of the Hon'ble East India Company. But he had more than a mere official connection with this country and its peoples. He may be described by applying to him that significant phrase, an old type of Anglo-Indian officer, who did not merely sojourn in this country, but took a real and hearty interest in its peoples and tried to ameliorate their intellectual and moral condition.

Perhaps the phrase may imply a slight to the present race of officers among whom, too, men like Jervis are not rare. But it must be said that in former days they were not so rare as now. It may be that official work has grown to such proportions as to leave little or no leisure or time for anything else. But where there is genuine sympathy for the people and a real interest in their pursuits and welfare, even hard-worked officers nowadays can, and some do, find time for doing good work unofficially.

But I think much of the explanation of the great interest taken by former officers of the East India Company is to be found in the fact that they had a family interest in this country and a hereditary connection with it. The present competitive system of choosing men to serve here has many advantages, but this decided disadvantage that it is not in the power of a father to prolong or even perpetuate his connection with this country by putting his sons and grandsons into the service. But in former times the sons and nephews were selected as if by right to succeed their fathers and uncles in the various services, civil and military, of this country. Hence, the ties which bound them to this land were closer and stronger. The family of Jervis was an instance of this. Benjamin Jervis, the grandfather of Thomas Best, entered the Bombay Civil Service so far back as 1747, and rose to be the Chief of Surat, when that city was of far greater importance than it now is, and died there in 1774. His son John Jervis, the father of Thomas, joined the Civil Service as if by right, and served in Ceylon as Assistant to the Resident there, when that island had just been acquired from the Dutch. He died there at the early age of 27 in 1797, leaving three sons who also all served in Western India. The eldest, George, retired in 1830 and was presented with an address and a piece of plate worth Rs. 3,000 by the leading Indians when he retired, to mark their sense of gratitude for his services, especially to Native education which was then in quite a nascent stage. Thomas Best was John's second son, born, only a year before his death, at Jaffnapatam in Ceylon on 2nd August 1796.

Thomas Jervis came of distinguished stock; and an elder branch of the family gave to England a famous admiral, Sir John Jervis (1735-1823), who won the great victory of St. Vincent's over the Spanish Navy in 1797 and was raised to the peerage under that title. A cousin of Thomas, another Sir John Jervis (1802-1856), became a distinguished lawyer, and was Attorney-General under Lord John Russell from 1846 to 1850, and Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. (*Dict. National Biography*, Vol. XXIX p. 363). His mother was of Polish extraction, belonging to a family long in the service of the Princes of Hanover whom they accompanied to England on their accession to the British Throne. She was connected through

her mother with the famous German man of letters, Grimm ; and some of the literary qualities of that great German were seen to be inherited by his kinsman. Thus cosmopolitanism was in his blood, and this goes some way to account for his sympathy with the Indians especially Marathas, which came naturally to him. Thomas chose the military service like his brother George, and passed several years at Addiscombe College preparing for his future career. Among these MS. volumes is one containing what are called " Addiscombe Studies " which shows how thoroughly and diligently the young cadet prepared himself at that Military Academy for his future work. He took elaborate notes of lectures on fortification and mining, and translated extracts from such standard French works as those of Lacroix. Here we find the first traces of his taste for observation and practical geography which rendered him famous in after years as one of the most distinguished officers of the famous Indian Survey. To this volume is attached a short but valuable memorandum of instructions for boring into the bed of hard stone found in sinking wells for water on the Islands of Bombay and Salsette, written later for Framji Cowasji, a famous Parsi Agriculturist of Bombay, who had a large estate in Pawai, Salsette.

Jervis arrived in Bombay in the beginning of 1814. Things were in a ferment then in Western India. The great native power of the Peshwas was, under the feeble and intriguing rule of the second Baji Rao, tottering to its fall, which came a few years later at the Battle of Kirkee in 1817. Baji Rao surrendered himself to General Malcolm soon after, in consideration of an unprecedentedly large pension of eight lakhs a year—for promising which Malcolm was afterwards severely censured—and a life of ease which he loved more than duty or honour. He passed his remaining days till his death in 1851, in luxurious exile at Bithoor near Cawnpore, leaving an adopted son, the notorious Nana Sahib, who did such incalculable mischief both to the Indians and the English in 1857. His extensive territories came into the hands of the English, and the great power of the Peshwas, which had flourished for just a century from 1718 to 1817, was extinguished. The territories conquered from the Peishwa were annexed to the Bombay Presidency which thus received a very important accretion. This was a vast field for all officers, civil and military, young and old, in which many distinguished themselves. The work of settlement of the new Deccan and Konkan provinces, ably begun by Elphinstone as their first Commissioner, was carried out in the same spirit and under his guidance as Governor, by his successors, Chaplin and Robertson with the assistance of a large body of younger officers, civil and military, in whom new zeal had been infused by the arduous work before them.

Young Jervis was appointed to take his part in this work in October 1819 as Executive Engineer of the Southern Konkan. The forts which stud the country and which are such a feature of it, were first dismantled and then allowed to fall to ruin as the best way to render them harmless. Jervis was in charge of these forts and in addition to his military duties he was required to superintend the new civil buildings that were required for the purposes of administration. He gives us a glimpse of the hard nature of the work to be done in this capacity : " In a newly-conquered country, where there had not been a European establishment or station before, excepting at the commercial residencies of Bankot and Malwan, all things had to be done anew. There were absolutely no workmen, nor materials, such as were expected or required in many instances for large public works and buildings ; all depended mainly on the temper, industry, energy and foresight of the Superintendent. . . . With regard to those people, more especially those who were about the public offices in the capacity of writers and accountants, to watch over these, and standing alone as I did, to maintain efficiency, despatch and *rectitude*, demanded no ordinary vigilance ; but to bring about all these objects and obtain a permanent and public proof of their regard was a higher testimonial. . . . The sentiments of the Hon'ble Court of Directors and the Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone have been placed on record in the Parliamentary papers published in 1832." (*Memoir* pp. 11—12).

In 1820 happened an event which gave him splendid opportunities for employing his knowledge to one definite purpose, and gaining that experience which afterwards raised him to the highest post in the line he had chosen—a post which he unfortunately gave up before entering on its duties in order to retire finally from this country. He was appointed in that year to make the Statistical Survey of the Southern Konkan. Three years later in January 1823 the greater task of the Trigonometrical and Topographical Survey of the same vast tract of country was entrusted to him. Henceforward Survey work was his chief occupation and even hobby. This work in the Southern Mahratta Country brought him into the closest contact with the people for whom he had a natural liking, and led him to make those enquiries into their condition in his time and their past history whose results are preserved in these manuscript volumes. Of his happy relations with the people under his charge and of their confidence in him, we hear in a letter written to him by his Collector, Mr. J. H. Pelly, at the beginning of his period as a Survey Officer : " During the whole of the time you have been in this ' zillah,' during which period many thousands must have been in your employment, not a single complaint against you from a native has ever reached my ears, nor have you yourself had more than two or

three complaints to prefer against them ; and when it is considered that, instead of collecting workmen, as has too frequently been the practice, at the point of the bayonet, attended with other acts of grosser personal violence, your labourers or *bigaris*, not only *willingly uncompulsatively travel 100 miles for the privilege of being employed by you (though even the bayonet cannot induce them to serve others), but no punishment appears more effective to them than dismissal from your employment.* Now, I believe, the main secret of your management consists both in a humane and just demeanour to these poor creatures, whom to your lasting honour you appear to regard as fully entitled to every privilege common to human nature. In paying them a just price for their labour instead of forcing eight men to work for a Chinchuri rupee, you allow them in the proportion of a rupee to six men, which under a mild and equitable treatment it is demonstrated *they will voluntarily work for, although nothing but armed men can compel them to labour on lower terms.* I earnestly hope the salutary example you have thus afforded will not be lost on some older and more experienced heads, but lead them to regard the natives of India as something more than mere machines, formed to administer to our pleasure and convenience." (*Memoir* p. 13.)

It must be remembered that Jervis was a young Lieutenant of barely twenty-five years when he was addressed in these flattering terms by his senior officer in December 1820. What is said here about the wages of the Maratha labourers forms the subject of an elaborate discussion in these MSS., where Jervis shows that the economic condition of the people at the time of the dissolution of the Maratha rule was very miserable. The chief value of these studies into the economic condition of the Maratha people, especially the agricultural part of them, made at a critical period of their existence, namely when they passed from the indigenous rule of the Peshwas to British rule, lies in their affording us accurate materials, gathered by a very competent and sympathetic enquirer, for comparing their condition then with their condition at later periods and at the present day. Such a comparison would be very instructive and edifying in these days when British rule is submitted to severe and not unfrequently to captious criticism. These MS. studies of Jervis of the condition of the Konkan, deserve to rank by the side of the more famous but hardly more valuable studies of other parts of the Maratha country embodied in the reports of Mountstuart Elphinstone and Chaplin on the Deccan and Malcolm's report on Central India. Jervis did not make his results as interesting as Malcolm, partly because he lacked the literary ability which was so conspicuous in the latter and also in Elphinstone, and partly because Government did not encourage him as it

did them to publish these to the world. Partly also he did not care much, as his heart was not so much in these economic and historical researches as in his great Trigonometric and Topographical Survey. These were merely *parerga* with him, and he did not care to publish them.

Indeed he published very little of his work to the world and was content with submitting official reports which lie forgotten among the records of Government. A portion of his statistical memoir of the Konkan, that relating to the revenue and land tenures, was communicated to the Bombay Geographical Society, which was then in a flourishing state but which is now amalgamated with our Society, and appeared in its Journal. He also published a report on the weights and measures of the Konkan (1829) which was expanded in 1836 into a somewhat larger work, called "Meteorological and Monetary System throughout India," published in Bombay. In 1835 he published in Calcutta a somewhat remarkable Essay on a similar subject called "Records of Ancient Science exemplified and authenticated in the primitive Universal Standard of Weights and Measures." This Essay was transmitted to Captain Henry Kater, Vice-President of the Royal Society, who, however, died before it reached him. In this Jervis very ingeniously suggests his universal standard as "regulated and defined by the mean length of the pendulum ; the weight of water at a maximum of density and the metre or forty-millionth of the earth's polar circumference." The thesis of this Essay is that all weights and measures were originally derived from the same standard which he considered to have been the mean length of the pendulum vibrating seconds at 45° latitude, and which only differs by a very small fraction from the length of the metre (Memoir p. 45.) This Essay was widely distributed by Government to its officers for their opinion, and by the author to distinguished men of science in England and elsewhere for their remarks. The various suggestions that he received as well as other correspondence connected with it, are embodied in one of these MS. volumes which contains several additions and corrections for a new edition of the work which he seems to have meditated but never published.

At the end of this MS. volume is a document which should be of great interest on the personal side of the history of Science in England in the first half of the last century. It is a memorial addressed to the Chairman, Deputy Chairman and the Directors of the East India Company, on behalf of Major Jervis, by the Presidents, Vice-Presidents and Fellows of the Royal Society, the Royal Geographical, the Geological and other leading scientific Societies, in which they endorse his views and scientific proposals and urge that the Company should promptly publish in the transactions of these societies or elsewhere the results of his labours on the Survey of India. This was a very

influential move on behalf of Jervis and had its due weight with the Directors, who had already appointed him provisionally Surveyor-General in succession to Col. Everest who has given his name to the highest peak of the Himalayas. The interest of the memorial to us, however, lies in the fact that it is signed by all the leading men of Science of the day in England, and here we have collected in a single page the autographs of some forty of the greatest names in English Science. The list is headed by a Royal Duke, the Duke of Sussex, an uncle of Queen Victoria, who was then President of the Royal Society and whose signature with its curious strokes and flourishes is the most remarkable in this collection of autographs. Then follow such men as Sir David Brewster, President of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, Sir William Hamilton—not the distinguished Scotch metaphysician, (1788-1866), who, of course, had no business here among men of science and who cared little for Jervis's peculiar pursuits, but the famous Irish mathematician and astronomer, (1805-1865), who was then President of the Royal Irish Academy—and Prof. Whewell, the President of the Geological Society. There is another William Hamilton, (1805-1867), here, a geologist and geographer, who was President of the Royal Geographical Society. There are, besides, Michael Faraday who true to his retiring nature comes among one of the last to sign, Sir Charles Lyall, the geologist, Sir John Lubbock, the father of the present Lord Avebury, a distinguished astronomer, Sir Roderick Murchison, the great geographer, Sir George Airy, the Astronomer Royal, Adam Sedgwick and many others. Altogether this page of autographs is curious and valuable and is an acquisition to be preserved as a literary curiosity in our Museum. The facsimiles of these autographs were very skilfully done at Jervis' own lithographic press which he kept for some time at great cost and ultimately loss to him at his house in London on his retirement. From this press he issued several maps, which are beautiful specimens of cartography, including an excellent one of Bombay based on the survey of Dickinson and Tait in 1812-16, which he published in 1843. This rare map with another of Bokhara is not in our collection and I have presented it to our Society to be kept by the side of these MS. volumes. The late Mr. James Douglas thus characterises this map of Bombay. "Of maps, the best of the Island of Bombay, both for accuracy and execution, was printed in London in 1843, and represents the City and Island in 1812-16. This map of Thomas Dickinson's is a perfect *chef d'œuvre*. Major Jervis' signature is at the foot. This is a perfect gem of the engraver's art and can never be excelled." (*Bombay and Western India*, Vol. I., p. 145). There is a reproduction of it on a smaller scale in Douglas' book. (*Ibid* I., 174).

This memorial so influentially signed on behalf of Jervis seems to have given great offence to Col. Everest, (1790-1866), the Surveyor-General in India, whom Jervis had been provisionally appointed to succeed, because no mention was made therein of his valuable services and those of his staff. "This proceeding," says Sir Clement Markham, the distinguished President of the Royal Geographical Society just retired, in his *Memoir of the Indian Surveys*, "excited great indignation in those distinguished officers who had borne the heat and burden of the day, and gave rise to a series of letters addressed to the Duke of Sussex, as President of the Royal Society, from Col. Everest remonstrating against the conduct of that learned body." But Sir Clement is mistaken in his observation that "these letters so completely gained the writer's object that nothing more was heard of Major Jervis in connection with the Surveyor-Generalship" (*Indian Surveys*, 1873, p. 77.) As his son shows in the *Memoir* which he has recently drawn up with pious care of his father's life and to which this paper is much indebted, the real reason why Jervis did not wait to take up his high appointment, was that Col. Everest did not retire as it had been anticipated by the East India Company he would, but continued for several years after in the office, and Jervis for purely private reasons, as he wanted to superintend personally the education of his children at home, retired earlier than Everest and thus did not remain in India long enough to be Surveyor-General. (*Memoir*, p. 50.)

The information contained in these MSS about the condition of the Maratha people was gained at first hand in the course of his official duties. As he says himself, "I had great and singular opportunities of traversing the country in every possible direction, to acquire a far more intimate and exact knowledge of the topography, physical character and resources of the whole country than any other individual." He gives us some notion of the great care which he bestowed on all his work and especially this work of statistics and history in an official letter. "I have the honour to acquaint you that I have despatched to you a large parcel containing in all about 1,496 papers on statistical and revenue subjects and a bundle of English papers. I have entrusted these papers to an intelligent Shastri, a native highly learned in the Hindu laws, customs, etc., and the Sanskrit language, who is in my private service. 'A' is a general specimen of the population tables which will enable any person desirous of ascertaining the correctness of the same to do so with little trouble or inconvenience. These documents have been attested as coming nearly within the truth, as far as judgment could be passed on them, by the most respectable and oldest residents of the villages and towns. I beg most particularly to state that I have examined them with the greatest

care and attention. I have left no means untried to ensure their accuracy, and have had recourse to every art which propriety and ingenuity could suggest, to render them worthy of confidence., The statistical papers are on all subjects connected with the produce circumstances, history and extent and other matters relating to the southern divisions of Malwan and Salshi. Specimens of these have now been translated and written out, to show their nature and value. The inquiries which I have instituted were made after a most careful and particular review of the manners, rights and institutions of the people. A slight view will show the immense trouble and attention which must have been bestowed on them, and I beg to state that there are many facts brought to light in them which will be well worth the consideration of the public authorities in this country, and conduce greatly to ameliorate the condition of a people once sadly oppressed. I do not wish to produce anything hastily, or to build any arguments on incomplete grounds. The daily intercourse which I have with the natives, the facilities which are constantly afforded me to see narrowly into their private character, customs and manners, will enable me to furnish in a short time such an account of them as will be most satisfactory to the Government and most essentially beneficial to the people themselves."

It is to be regretted that the account of which he speaks here was never published, though it must have been submitted to Government and might be now rotting somewhere among its records. The present MS. studies are a contribution towards such a complete account of the state of the Maratha people of the Konkan. For instance—the MS. contains a valuable section on the education of the people from which I have given an extract bearing on the interesting subject of indigenous education. But he seems to have written and sent to Government a larger report on this subject which was not printed, but which would be highly interesting at the present day if it were forthcoming, as a means of comparing the moral progress achieved to-day with the moral state of the Maratha people at the beginning of British rule nearly ninety years ago. About this report he says in one of his letters : " I likewise sent up to the Government a very full and exact report of the state of education in the Konkan and on the system of education followed by the Mahomedans and Hindus, with a very complete series of tables, twenty in all, exhibiting the number, character, etc., of the schools of the several districts in 1820 and 1824, contrasting the state of education after the lapse of five years that the country had been under British management with its condition when it first came into our possession. With respect to the practical working of these principles, which I had so fully discussed in my report on education, I sub-

join an extract from the official minutes of Government on the Southern Konkan School Society founded by me with the co-operation of the natives. This novel principle of getting the natives, a conquered people, completely wedded to their own system of government and superstitions, to go hand-in-hand with the British nation in their philanthropic schemes for the further amelioration of India, will probably be recognised at no distant period as the surest and best way of governing the people of that great Empire, and more especially in which demands of a pecuniary nature are to be made on them, or deep-rooted prejudices to be overcome." And he gives an instance of how the people of India may be brought to co-operate with their English rulers in improving the country and voluntarily participating in the pecuniary burdens of the State. "The native," says he, "at my suggestion and by my exertion and advice, came forward first in regard to the Colaba Causeway to pay down 20,000 rupees towards the expense, and further to secure the Government against all possible charge by excess of estimate beyond the amount sanctioned by the Hon'ble Court, provided an experienced engineer officer were appointed to the superintendence of that work, and the work itself were executed by contract." (*Memoir*, pp. 19-20.)

The Konkan when Jervis took it in hand for the purposes of obtaining knowledge about the condition of the people, was quite an unexplored country about which the new rulers knew almost nothing with the exception of a very few places on the coast like Bankot. He thus describes his labours there: "I had to travel continually from one end to the other of this long and mountainous strip of territory at all seasons and sometimes with great haste. I therefore very soon found, in addition to other impediments, that the public servants of Government knew nothing of the country or its resources; that we were at first absolutely at the mercy of the native civil revenue and Magisterial officers subordinate to the Collector and Magistrate in everything. Our knowledge of the geography of the country was also limited to the verbal information of the guides and farmers and the sketch maps by the late General Reynolds and Col. Johnson. All the information that the Collector's and Judge's offices could afford me was always at my command, and indeed the same liberality was invariably extended to me by all the members of the Civil Service to whom I had ever had occasion to apply; but the imperfection of our knowledge on all these matters was the frequent subject of regret to us, and first set me on the idea of communicating my thoughts to the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone on his first accession to the Bombay Government in 1819. They were most favourably received. Every fresh occasion for promptitude in travelling and despatch in the completion of the public works

committed to me led me to dwell more especially on the lamentable deficiency of our geographical knowledge, and I was persuaded by the late Brigadier-General Kennedy, then commanding officer of the division, to address him an official letter on the subject. I knew no more profitable and creditable way of employing my time in these intervals than in acquiring a correct knowledge of the geography and resources of this unexplored territory." (*Memoir*, pp. 13-15.)

He set to work for nearly ten years and produced valuable reports on the Konkan, its history, peoples, customs, etc., which lie mostly in MS. either in these volumes now presented to us or in the archives of Government. It is a matter of great regret that he was not encouraged to digest all this scattered information into a comprehensive monograph on the Konkan, like Malcolm's excellent work on Central India. It is well known that this work of Malcolm grew out of a report which he was asked to furnish about Malwa (*cf.* Kaye's *Malcolm*, Vol. II, p. 328). From Elphinstone's official report of his mission to Cabul grew his celebrated work on Afghanistan (*cf.* Colebrooke's *Elphinstone*, Vol. I, p. 200). But Jervis was at that time not nearly so famous as these great Anglo-Indians; so nobody suggested the possibility of his expanding his reports on the Konkan. Moreover, it was not a country as attractive to the public as the Deccan or Central India, not the home of great battle fields on which empires are won and lost, though it has great interest for us as the home of the Mawalis and Hetkaris: who crossed the Ghauts and fought so bravely on the table-land of the Deccan, the fights that have been celebrated in numerous songs and *powadas*. What is known as Jervis' *Konkan* in Anglo-Indian literature is only a fragment of his work in that country, namely that on the land tenures; but the whole of his work on the Konkan would indeed be an acquisition, and it is not too much to hope that we may one day have it by bringing together and publishing in convenient form his studies here and the Government reports in MS. Such a work as that of Jervis, but not so comprehensive nor showing an equally deep knowledge of the language and habits of the Marathas, was undertaken fifty years later by a member of the Bombay Civil Service, Alexander Kidd Nairne, a man of kindred tastes to Jervis in this that he became on his retirement from the service a priest and worked for the sake of humanity among the poor. This is published in the *Bombay Gazetteer*.

This reminds us of another phase of Jervis' character, his missionary zeal and the intense religious spirit that infused all his work. He was a great friend of the first batch of professed missionaries who then worked in Bombay and Western India amid such difficulties, particularly of Dr. John Wilson, (1804-1807), a name honoured and endeared in many ways on this side of India, but specially honoured in these halls

as that of the presiding genius of our Society for full forty years, and of Dr. James Murray Mitchell (1814-1904) who has just closed a life of varied benevolence and usefulness, prolonged beyond its natural limit, peacefully in his own country among his kindred. It is not generally known that Jervis designed and superintended the erection of the old Free Church Institution in Khetwady which housed for over a generation the Wilson College that has done so much with that other Christian Institution, St. Xavier's College, for the higher education of our people in Western India. But he did not identify himself with any section of the Christian Church, but sympathised and worked with them all in a truly Christian spirit. In this spirit he joined the Evangelical Alliance when it was first instituted. Writing on the subject his son remarks : " He early joined the Evangelical Alliance on its institution in 1846, the members of which strove to do away with the mutual antagonism too common between the various sections of the Church of Christ, and so baneful to the spread of vital Christianity in the face of dead formalism, and by which he merely manifested the course he had always previously pursued in India of having a brotherly affection for all those who followed the Saviour as their Head, not troubling himself with dogmatic or administrative differences, the importance given to which is generally exaggerated most unwisely." (*Memoir*, p. 60.) But though he was well known to everybody here, Europeans and natives alike, as an open upholder of Christian Missions and the staunch friend of the missionaries, yet as his son well says, " proselytizing of whatever kind, in the absence of perfectly personal conviction, he repudiated and denounced " (p. 34). He was a great friend of the Indians as he proved throughout his career by his efforts, especially in behalf of Maratha education, helping his brother to translate and publish several works in Marathi for the benefit of that people, as was acknowledged by them in several ways ; and the name of Jervis is familiar to them as that of one of their earliest friends and benefactors. His opinion of the Indian peoples and their character is valuable as that of a sympathetic yet discriminating and acute observer. " They are perhaps the most docile, tractable and sharp-sighted people in the world ; they are therefore peculiarly disposed to religion, open to any superstitious fraud, but slow to apprehend a deep and consequential truth. They are quick to acquire and discuss all knowledge, but have little originality or depth of thought. They are brave and patient in the face of evils and trials, which the European nations succumb to ; but timid in lesser dangers which the latter smile at. They are faithful to a fault, accessible to counsel, order, and any degree of discipline, by proper management and consideration, but may be

roused to the most bitter and vindictive feelings, or turned aside by example and negligence and perverseness to the lowest state of degradation and wickedness. This great and very intelligent people is now under the sceptre of a gracious and powerful Queen, who loves all her subjects, and will find these amongst the most faithful and useful on any emergency, in the exercise of her sovereign wisdom ; though rash experiments on our part might alienate and sever that union for ever." (' India in relation to Great Britain.' *Apud* Memoir, p. 51.)

The other volumes of these MSS contain some of his professional work on the great Trigonometrical Survey of Western India on which he was employed so long and with which his name is so closely and honourably identified. The calculation of triangles and other technical details may be useful to students of geodesy. His survey work here was very useful, though as a pioneer he was not free from inaccuracies, some of which are so serious as to render them in the opinion of a competent authority, Sir Clements Markham (*Indian Surveys*, p. 85), now obsolete. Another competent writer about the middle of the last century in Bombay knowing well the facts says : " In this Engineer officer's (Jervis) manuscript report of his land survey in the Konkan, an incorrect latitude is assigned to many places ; and we have been given to understand that not very lately an error was discovered in the triangulation, which renders it, as far as correct distances are concerned, nearly useless." (*Bombay Quarterly Review*, 1856, Vol. III, p. 133.) These triangulations and latitudes are now in our possession in these MS. volumes, and any enthusiastic student of this subject may enter into these calculations and confirm or refute these remarks. Whilst engaged in this arduous work he received from his Indian, especially Maratha, assistants, trained by him to do the work, great help which was generously recognised by him in these terms after his retirement : " On the Trigonometrical Survey I required signals to be placed by sun-rise on different far-distant summits, often difficult of access, and gave my orders to my several people. On the appointed day I directed my theodolite towards the required spots in *absolute certainty* that the flag would be hoisted at the appointed time and place. Such conscientious fidelity to orders puts to shame too many nominal Christians at home. Should I be able to count so implicitly on loving unquestioning obedience on their part ? The poor heathen gives us an eloquent example of duty accomplished." (*Memoir*, p. 35.)

I think I have made it clear in this slight sketch of Jervis' career and character with the help of his correspondence, and his studies in these MS. volumes, that he was inspired by lofty ideals of doing good to the country and the people in whatever he did officially and unofficially,

and that by his pious God-fearing conduct towards all, especially the Indians, he realised in a large measure these ideals in active life, spreading sweetness and light wherever he went. Lives like his ought to serve as a stimulus and an inspiration to Englishmen in this country, whose peoples have profited much by the silent, almost forgotten, exertions of men of the type of Thomas Best Jervis.

Of Maratha history proper there is one manuscript, and it is very important. It gives an historical account of all the great Maratha families like the Bhonslés, the Peshwas, the Pratinidhis, the Gaekwars and scores of others who have played a part in the eventful history of the Marathas. I have never elsewhere seen so much useful information gathered together about these families as is done here by Jervis. He treats of nearly one hundred families and also gives the genealogies of the chief. This is a very useful work of reference on the somewhat intricate history of Maratha Clans and well deserves to be published by itself. I append some interesting extracts, which will show the importance of these MSS.

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#### ACCOUNT OF THE MAHARS.

A very important tenure in villages is that of the low-caste people, called Mahars by the Mahrattas and Dhers by the Moosalmans. They have enam lands in all villages divided into Hurkee and Arowlah ; the former is rent-free and generally bears but a small proportion to the latter. The Arowlah is held on a quit rent. In the neighbourhood of Joomar and at Kothool, Purgh. Kothool, Ahmednagar Collectorate, I met with a new species of Mahars' enam, called Seesollah ; this is also rent-free, and held in addition to the two former. These enams vary in extent in different villages. In only one instance in the large town of Tembourne has it come to my knowledge, that the Mahars have not enam lands, and in that place they have to perform all the customary duties for the Government and the town, as if they have enam lands. The Mahars conceive that they have the right to mortgage or dispose of the lands held for the performance of specific duties, and at this moment the whole of the Mahars' Arowlah at the town of Mahe, Tur-Muhekohreh, Poona Collectorate, is mortgaged to the Patel. They were originally mortgaged to the Deshmook for a sum of money, who transferred them to the Patel. Independently of their Hurkee, Arowlah and Seesollah, the Mahars have a share of the cultivated produce, whether garden or field ; this is called their Bullooteh. Every village in its original constitution is said to have had 12 craftsmen and professions, who in their several lines perform all that the cultivators required to be done for themselves individually and the village generally—the smith, carpenter to mend their implements of husbandry,

the barber to shave them, the washerman to wash for them, the potmaker to make pots, &c., &c. These 12 persons were paid or supported by an assessment in kind. They were divided into three classes and obtained their share of Bullooteh agreeably to the class they stood in. In the first class were the carpenter, shoemaker, ironsmith and Mahar. In the second class the washerman, potmaker, barber and Mang, and in the third the waterman, the astrologer, the gurow or cleaner of the temple, and the silversmith. Since the Musalman rule the Moolana or Musalman priest has been added, and in some villages the Kulkarnee claims to share in the 3rd class. I say nothing about Alooteh as part of the village community, for no two persons agree with respect to the constituents of this class, and it is scarcely reasonable to suppose that the cultivator could ever have supported, by fees in kind, 12 additional persons when he paid 50 per cent. to Government. And I am told the Bullooteh and Hakdar rights stood him in an average of 25 per cent., leaving him only 25 per cent. for his own maintenance and agricultural charges.

The Mahar who shares in the first class in consequence of his numerous duties shares also again as a third class Boollootehdar. The fee in kind appears to be a percentage on the produce, but it is not uniform throughout the country, and very rarely indeed could I get either the cultivator or Boollootehdar to state specifically what the one gave, or the other looked upon himself entitled to receive annually. It depended very much, I was told, upon the crops and also upon the extent of services performed for each individual cultivator.

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### THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

The land tax being more than 82 per cent. of the whole revenue of the country, in speaking of the condition of the people I would wish my observations to be considered chiefly applicable to the class paying this proportion, namely the agriculturists. In the present report I have shown that since the date of my first report the principal articles of agricultural produce have fallen in value from 25 to 66 per cent., *i.e.*, rice 66, wheat 25, joaree 52, gram 32 and bajree 36. Imports have certainly also fallen in price, but not in a similar ratio. Wages remain the same. The trifling manufactures continue to decline, the value of money is enhanced, and the assessments are not yet lightened. If, therefore, my first report gave unfavourable picture of the condition of the people, it may be supposed, under the operation of the above causes, that I am still deprived of the gratification of painting it in more agreeable colors. My late researches have extended over 5,900 square miles, a superficial extent more than double that of the first report, and I am constrained to say, that the marked features

of poverty and debt, formerly spoken of, characterize the condition of the people throughout the new tracts, and that I see no reason whatever to modify the opinion I formerly expressed with regard to the causes of such a state of things. There is no doubt, however, that the poverty complained of is not the poverty of want: every cultivator throughout the country has a superfluity of the mere requisites for the support of animal life. This poverty is pecuniary poverty, and it bears heavily upon him in the relation in which he stands to the Government and to his creditors. He cannot convert a sufficiency of his grain into money to pay his taxes to the former, nor fulfil even in part his engagements to the latter. His taxes were increased by the cupidity of the former Government, and his debts contracted by his improvidence or forced upon him by his increased assessments, but this was at a time when his agricultural produce was worth from 100 to 300 per cent. more than its present worth. Supposing him therefore to have been taxed formerly to the extent of his means, in equity his taxes should have been lightened in the ratio of the fall in the value of his produce.

I stated in my first report there would shortly be calls upon Government to mitigate the assessment. The recent large remissions to the amount of 20 per cent. of the revenue of the Poona and Ahmednagar Collectorates proved the immediate pecuniary inability of the people, and the revenue survey as far as it has gone in its prospective assessments has justified the opinion I expressed, by lightening the burdens of the cultivators. Nevertheless the distress, the people complain of, is unquestionably not attributable to the revenue administration of the Company as originating with the Company. With trifling exceptions the assessments and extra cesses are the same, in name, number and specific amount as under former Governments.

The only great change appears to be in Government through the medium of its collectors professing to settle with each individual cultivator, instead leaving it to the authorities to do so as heretofore, and this agreement should seem advantageous to the cultivator insuring him (could he read or write or keep accounts) from the exactions of intermediate agents. The benevolence of the Government has sufficiently manifested in the facility with which remissions have been granted, and not one instance throughout the country has come to my knowledge of the assessment being realised by coercive measures, involving the seizure of stock, or punishment, further than temporary personal restraint, and in case the cultivators' prosperity could be estimated by the small proportion of his gross produce taken from him by the Bombay Government, it should be comparatively *marked*, as I have shown under the section of assessments, that he contributes to the necessities of the State 7 per cent. less

than persons of his class did under Mullicomber and 23 per cent. less than in the ceded districts under Sir Thos. Munro, the proportions taken being respectively under the three Governments a tenth, a sixth and a third. The complaints of distress therefore seem scarcely compatible with these facts. In my numerous conversations with the cultivators and even with our own district officers, in various parts of the country, I have urged them to explain unreservedly the causes of the sufferings they complain of. Increase in cultivation, increase in cultivators, meagre crops, enhanced assessments, diminution in the size of farms and the withdrawal of part the money circulating medium, have been so repeatedly advanced in reply to my interrogatories as reasons for the present pecuniary inability of the people, that I was induced to look with attention into them, although involving in themselves incompatibilities. For the purpose of determining the truth of the first four positions, I established a comparison, as rigid as circumstances would admit of, between the state of certain towns and villages under the Peshwa's Government and under ours. I chose places far distant from each other that I might, if possible, secure to my deductions the advantage of a general application. I will admit that I undertook the labour with impressions in unison with those of the cultivators and I was somewhat surprised, therefore, at the results falling infinitely short of my anticipations.

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### EDUCATION.

My continued inquiries into the state of education in the country have only been confirmatory, to the very letter even, of the observations I made in my first report on this important subject ; I will not repeat, therefore, what is already on record, but take leave to refer to it.

The literary ignorance of the bulk of the people is almost incredible, and could scarcely be deemed compatible with an organized or even incipient civilized state of society. In many neighbouring villages in which there is only one Kulkurnee or accountant, I have known it to be the case that not a single inhabitant has been able to read, write or calculate; and yet this ignorance does not originate in any physical causes. Native children of all the castes are distinguished for their aptitude, sprightliness and intelligence, and some conspicuous instances of decided ability have appeared in the English schools for the instruction of natives in Calcutta and Bombay, in their poetic powers, in English composition, in a taste for drawing and in mathematical acquirements. Amongst my native acquaintances there is a Hindu who repairs astronomical, mathematical and meteorological instruments, and who has an eager desire to master the rationale of all philosophical

experiments which he witnesses. A common ironsmith in Poona has kept himself in constant poverty by vain searches after the philosopher's stone, but his labours have made him acquainted with many chemical facts. The facile adaptation of this man's ingenuity to the supply of European wants, in his particular line, is both gratifying and useful. A poor outcaste shoots specimens in the animal and feathered kingdoms and has taught himself to skin and stuff them, and he lately commenced drawing birds in outline with a singular correctness. One man repairs watches, and a Hindu, in Poona, I am told, constructed an orrery. The general ignorance, therefore, is to be referred to the absence of instructors in the first instance and in the next to the poverty of the people disabling them from profiting by instruction unless afforded to them gratuitously. Wherever this is done, the schools are well attended and the progress of the scholars is commensurate with the ability and zeal of the instructors. Mr. Elphinstone's noble attempt to impart instruction by means of Government schools, if fully developed, will unquestionably be productive ultimately of incalculable benefit to the people themselves and to the State, particularly in case the better classes of the natives become acquainted with our knowledge, our arts and sciences, through the medium of our own language. If it be our object to break down the barriers which separate us at present from the natives, to undermine their superstition, and to weaken their prejudices, and give them a taste for elevated enjoyments, it will be most effectually done through this medium. Translations of European books into the native languages by Europeans, although highly useful, must have the drawbacks of being limited in number, defective in execution and destitute of the attractive grace of idiomatic expression, whereas a native, once taught the English language, has the whole field of knowledge laid open to him. We have before our eyes the effects of Mahomedanism, modifying the supposed immutable habits, opinions, superstitions and usages of the Hindus. The language of the conquerors is almost universally understood, and most commonly spoken by all classes in India. The Mahrattas worship Mahomedan saints, keep their festivals, and at the great annual celebration of the martyrdom of the grandsons of Mahomed, Hussain and Hassan, numbers enrol themselves in the list of those who publicly deplore their deaths.

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## THE BHONSLE.

The origin of the rise of Shivaji is too well known to require any elucidation in these notes. He died in Raighur in the month of April A. D. 1680 and was succeeded by his eldest son Sumbhaji, who with his son Sewaji was both taken prisoner in the year 1694 and carried to the Court of Aurungzeb, where the former suffered a cruel death, and the latter, being spared on account of his youth, grew up under the protection of the accomplished Fululnissa Begum, Aurungzeb's daughter. At the request of the Princess, it is said, he changed the name of Sewaji to that of Sahooji, which he ever after retained. Raja Ram, the younger son of Shivaji, was raised to the throne in the Fort of Rangna in 1695, and died in June 1698, leaving two sons, Shambhuji and Sheewajee, by his two wives Rajeesbye and Tarabye. The latter succeeded his father on the throne, but evincing symptoms of insanity some years after, he was deposed and confined by his own mother in the year 1703, who raised his half brother, Sumbhajee, to the Musnud of Kolapoor, which he made his residence. In the year 1707 Aurungzeb died, Shahajee obtaining his liberty came to Sattara to claim his kingdom. He was for some time opposed by his aunt, Tarabye, a clever and ambitious woman, the widow of his uncle Raja Ram. Shahoo Raja at length consented to share the empire with his cousin, Sambhajee, who was permitted to retain Kolapoor and all the country south of the Warna and Krishna, while to Sahooji was left all to the north of those rivers. Tarabye retired to Kolapoor and lived to an extreme old age. Both she and her stepson, Sambhajee, dying in the same year A. D. 1760.

Shahoo Raja, of indolent and luxurious habits, to manage his Government made it over to his minister the Peshwa, Balaji Viswanath, to whom succeeded Bajirao Ballal, and his son Balajee denominated Nana-saheb. Shahoo Raja died without issue, 27th December 1749, when the Peshwa having brought forward Ram Raja, the son of Shiwajee and nephew of the reigning Raja of Kolapoor, caused him to be adopted as the son Shahoojee. From that day the subversion of the power of the House of Satara was complete, and that of the Peshwas established. Ram Raja having no children, many years after adopted, at the instance of Nana Fadnavis, a youth of the family of the Deshmukhs of Wavel in 1777, and dying in following year, 1778, the Second Shahoojee succeeded to the Musnud of Satara. The semblance of respect was still maintained towards him. A guard of honour of 500 horse was appointed by the Peshwa to escort and to watch him, and his expenses were limited as well as the range of his excursions in the neighbourhood of his capital. All reports of war and peace and the result of campaigns, however, were regularly submitted for his information, and while the creation of new and the nomination to the succession of

hereditary offices and estates derived confirmation from him alone, the Peshwa himself was not deemed exempt from accepting this token of homage. The revolution which succeeded on the death of Sawai Madhavrao at Poona in October 1795 afforded the Raja an opening to emancipation, of which he did not fail to avail himself, and seizing the person employed to control him, encouraged his full brother, Chutrsing, to raise troops and seek for foreign aid. The effort, however, was too feeble,—Shahoo the Second became henceforward a closed prisoner in the Fort of Satara and died 4th May 1808, leaving three sons, of whom the eldest, Partapsing, was raised to the throne by the British Government in February 1818, and still reigns.

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### THE GAEKWAR.

This family from an inconsiderable origin has risen to become one of the Princes of the Mahratta State.

It is said they are Patails of the village of Dhowry, Nimbgawn in the Poona Prant. Peelajee the First, who distinguished himself, was an officer with 15 retainers, in the service of Kuddum Bandy Brothers, whose flag the family still uses. After the first or second inroad into Gujarat, the Raja of Satara, not conceiving the Kuddumsing calculated to establish themselves permanently, deputed Peelajee with a large army, which assembled in the first instance at Moholy near Satara, and thence marched to the north. The success of Peelajee was complete. Peelajee commanded a division in the battle of Panipat, and died shortly after his return, at the village of Sowlee near Baroda, of a fever. He was succeeded by his son, Damajee, who had long before been distinguished, but some hesitation occurring in sending the Cloth of Investiture from Satara, Damajee repaired to court with an army estimated at 100,000 men. He was induced by the solemn oaths interchanged between the Raja and himself to disband his army, but having been plundered by the Peshwa at the instance of the Raja, on his return he swore he would never pay the compliment of salaming with that hand which had been pledged in that of his princes, in a false oath—since which period the Gykawars assume the peculiar privilege of saluting with the left hand.

Damajee died at Bhavee Pattan in Gujarat in the reign of the Great Madhavrao, leaving four sons, of whom Sayajee Rao, the eldest, was an idiot. The part which Govind Rao, the second son, took in favour of the exiled Raghoba Dada prevented his acceding to the Musnud till after the death of both his young brothers, Fatty Sing and Manajee, who had successively reigned. He sat on the Musnud only three or four years, when he died, leaving three legitimate children, who have each reigned in succession, the youngest, Sayajee, being now on the gadhi.

### THE ANGRIA.

Kanoji, the son of Tukoji, a Maratha chief of the family of Angria, first attained eminence while in the service of the Raja of Satara by the capture of the fort of Raighur from the Hubshee chief of Kolaba in the year 1698 and subsequently distinguished himself in the war in the Koncan carried on by the Marathas against that portion of the Mohamedan dominions, on which occasion he acquired the title of Surkhyle. Taking advantage of his own power, and the dissensions which broke out in the Satara family after the return of Shahu Raja, he not only refused to render him submission, but made an effort to establish an independent sovereignty along the whole Koncan Coast, from Goa to Surat, including the hill-forts on the low range of Ghats with the country below them. Till at length having been worsted in many actions by the superior State of Satara, peace was concluded, and Kanoji consented to acknowledge the sovereignty of Shahu Raja. On which occasion the whole of the seaports from Vizia-durg as far as Kolaba remained in Angria's possession, and reverted first to his eldest son Tukoji and in two years after to his second son Sambaji, between whom and his son Manoji dissensions arising, the latter fled to the English at Bombay, but meeting with no aid in that quarter he proceeded to Poona and became reconciled to his father through the Peshwa, but on the death of Sambaji his brother Tulaji, disputing the right of his nephew, was eventually seized by the Peshwa and died after a confinement of 31 years in prison. The piratical practices of the Angrias on all nations approaching the western coast of India are matter of history, and do not admit of illustration in this place.

As the British power preponderated, they gradually subsided, and after the peace of Bassein they ceased altogether, while the once powerful Angria encroached on by the Peshwas from time to time dwindled into insignificance leaving in possession of the family at the breaking out of the war a territory yielding two lakhs of rupees in the neighbourhood of Kolaba and Andhery, of which about half has been alienated for religious purposes or for the reward of services performed by courtiers at Poona.

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### THE PESHWA.

The founder of this family, Balajee, the son of Wiswanath, a Chiplony Brahman, was the hereditary desmook or zemindar of Shreewardhan on the sea coast of the Southern Koncan. He so recommended himself by his ability and energy at the Court of Satara that he was nominated to the office of Peshwa in 1717 and was succeeded at his death in 1720

by his eldest son, Baji Rao. Under this chief the power of the Peshwaship became supreme and the Raja of Satara was satisfied to continue a mere pageant. Baji Rao was succeeded in the year 1740, at his death, by Balwant Row entitled Nanasaheb, during whose rule, Sahojee, the Raja of Satara, died without issue, and from that date the Peshwa was acknowledged as chief and exercised the power of Sovereign of the Maratha Empire.

His lieutenants carried their conquests over the whole of Hindoostan and Guzerat, levied heavy tribute from the Nizam, and wrested the Empire from the Mughul, and raised contributions in Bengal, and conquered Cuttack. Nanasaheb died in 1761, and was succeeded by his second son, Madhaorao, called "The Great." He died in 1772 at the age of 28, after giving great promise of his talents and vigour. He was succeeded by his younger brother, Narayan Rao, who was murdered in 1773 in his palace at Poona in the presence of his uncle, Raghoba Dada. Narayan Rao was succeeded by his posthumous child, Saway Madhavrao, during whose minority the State was ruled by his Minister, Nana Furnavis. On the death of Saway Madhao Rao in 1795 without children, he was succeeded by his relative, Baji Rao, the eldest son of Raghoba Dada, who, expelled from his dominions after a desperate effort to recover all the power of his ancestors which he had forfeited by his imbecility, abdicated his sovereignty on 3rd June 1818 in favour of the British Government on condition of receiving annually Rs. 8,00,000. His brother, Chimnaje Appa, receives a pension of Rs. 2,00,000, and Amritrao, the adopted son of Raghoba Dada, Rs. 7,00,000 which has lately descended to his son.

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#### NANA FURNAVIS.

The ancestor of this great Minister was Madhojee Punt Banoo, a Chiplony Brahman, the Mahajim of the village of Velloss in the Taluka of Bankote. He first left his native village and came to Satara in consequence of an invitation from the first Peshawa Balajee Vishwanath, whose brother Tanoo Vishwanath had found protection in his house after his defeat by the Hubshees near Sreevurdhan. The three sons of Madhoji Punt obtained service at Court and the elder, Balajee, was raised to the office of Furnavis and died at Delhi, whither he had accompanied the Peshwa. His sons, Janardan Punt and Baboo Rao, succeeded to his office, the former died before the latter, leaving an only son, Balajee, who, flying from the battle of Panipat, escaped to Poona, and in conjunction with his uncle, Baboo Rao, and his son, Moroba, filled the office of Furnavis.

It is unnecessary here to enter into any particular history of Balajee Janardhan, better known by the appellation of Nana Furnavis. He succeeded to the supreme control of the affairs of the whole Maratha Empire in 1774 and exercised his power with a sagacity and conduct rarely met with. On the death of Saway Madhao Rao in 1795 and the subsequent contention for the throne he lost much of his power and expended the whole of a fortune amounting, it is said, to nearly five millions in his endeavour to regain it. He died of a fever in 1800, leaving a widow Jeoo Bai, who enjoys the following income :—

	Rs.
Pension from the British Government ... ..	12,000
Deshmuky of Verval (Ellora) ... ..	500
Enam Village of Menowly near Waee ... ..	1,000
Mahojunky and Koteky of the native village of the family	
Vellass in the Talooka of Bankote ... ..	200

Income Rs. 13,700

Management of the revenues of the religious establishment of the Bele Bagh at Poona producing Rs. 5,000.



## ART. VI—*A Brief Survey of the Upanishads.*

BY M. R. BODAS, M.A., LL.B.

*Read before the Sanskrit Section on 18th January 1905 in connection with the Centenary of the Society.*

The word *Upanishad* in ancient writings has various shades of meaning, all bearing the general sense of secret knowledge or esoteric lore. It sometimes means simply secret explanation, as in उपनिषद् भो ब्रूहीत्युक्ता त उपनिषद् ब्राह्मी वाव त उपनिषदमब्रूम (Kena 32), or अन्नादो भवति य एतमेवं साम्नामुपनिषदं वेद (Chh. Up. I. 13, 4) or some special rule, as in य एवं वेद तस्योपनिषन्नयाचेदिति (Kaush Up. II. 2), or sometimes the highest knowledge as in ब्रह्मविद्य एवं वेदेत्युपनिषत् (Taitt. III. 10, 6), or in तद्वक्ष्योपनिषत्परम् (Shweta V. 16'3). By common usage, however, the word *Upanishad* has come to be used to denote a particular class of ancient works which are the repositories of such esoteric knowledge, and which are from time immemorial regarded as supplementary to the *Brahmanas* and *Aranyakas* of the four Vedas. The works known as *Upanishads* are mostly concluding portions of the *Aranyakas*, which are themselves supplements to their respective *Brahmanas*. There are some exceptions, no doubt, as *Isa*, which forms part of the Vajasaneyi Sanhita or the *Kenopanishad*, which according to Dr. Burnel forms the 10th *anuvak* of the fourth chapter of *Talavakâra Brâhmana* recently discovered by him at Tanjore.\* *Kaushitaki* was at one time supposed to be a part of *Kaushitaki Brâhmana*, but now it has been discovered in a MS. of an *Aranyaka* of the Śāṅkhâyanya Śākhâ which along with the *Aitareyaranyaka* probably once formed one work.† As a rule, however, the sequence of Vedic books is, first, the *Sanhita* containing mostly the hymns and prayers addressed to deities, and then, the *Brahmanas* containing detailed descriptions of the several sacrifices and other Vedic rites as well as stories, whether real or mythical, illustrative of the hymns in the *Sanhitas*. The *Aranyakas* are continuations of the *Brahmanas*, but distinctive in character in so far as they treat of more esoteric rites. They were probably intended for persons who have left the state of the common householder and, having entered the third *Ashrama* of *Vanaprastha*, have gone to live in the forests. Even now there is a prohibition against reciting these *Aranyakas* in a family

\* Sacred B. E., Vol. I., p xc.

† Weber's History of Indian Literature, p. 50.

house, and orthodox Pandits often resort to a temple whenever they have to read them. The *Upanishads* are those portions of the *Aranyakas* which treat of the higher doctrines of the soul as distinguished from rites and ceremonies. *Upanishads* may thus be said to form the kernel or rather the coping stone of the Vedic literature which begins with the simple invocation to a favourite deity, passes through the intermediate stage of elaborate rites, and ends in the deepest philosophy of the indissoluble unity of the individual and universal soul.

Most European scholars derive the word *Upanishad* from the root *sad*, to sit down, preceded by two prepositions *upa* and *ni*, meaning sitting near ; and the *Trikāṇḍa Śeṣha Koṣha* explains it as समीप सदन, sitting near the teacher. It has been suggested that the contents of the *Upanishads* were thought to be so esoteric that they could not be taught promiscuously or in public, but the pupil had to approach very near the teacher to hear them. Max Müller thinks it expresses this position of inferiority which a pupil occupies when listening to a teacher (*Ancient Sansk. Lit.*, p. 318). *Śaṅkarāchārya*, on the other hand, in his commentary on *Bṛihadāraṇyaka* derives it from the root *sad*, with *upa* and *ni* meaning 'to destroy.' " सेयं ब्रह्मविद्योपनिषच्छब्दवाच्या तत्पराणां सहेतोः संसारस्यात्यन्तावसादनात् । उपनिषदस्य सदेस्तदर्थत्वात् । तादर्थ्याद्ग्रन्थोपनिषदुच्यते । " *Brahma Vidyā* is called *Upanishad* because it destroys completely all worldly ties and their causes : and so the treatises, which taught that knowledge, also came to be called by the same name, and *Sāyana* in another place \* derives it as उपनिषण्मस्यां परं श्रेयः " wherein the highest good is embedded." Max Müller calls these explanations wilfully perverse, invented by half-educated native scholars to account for the most prevalent meaning of the word ; but he does not advance any strong grounds for making such a sweeping charge. The alternative etymology implying, 'sitting down near the teacher' is equally, if not more, imaginary. The derivation given by Indian scholars has at least the merit of explaining the various primary senses in which the word is found used in the *Upanishads* themselves. Wherever it occurs it connotes either "secret knowledge" or "rite" or "the highest knowledge of Brahma." Max Müller himself realized the difficulty of deriving this meaning from "sitting down near the teacher". The fact is, it is one of those *yoga-rudha* words to which long usage has attached a special meaning and thereby destroyed all trace of its origin. The very diversity of derivations shows that the true etymology is now probably lost, and we shall have to be satisfied with conjectures only. If I may be permitted to make a similar guess, the true explanation of the word, it seems to me, is quite different from those hitherto given either by European or Indian scholars .

\* Taithriya Up. II. 9.

*Upanishad*, I think, did originally mean "sitting down near" as Max Müller says, but it was sitting down near the sacrificial fire and not near a teacher. To make this clear we must look to the probable origin of the treatises or rather the discussions which are now embodied in the treatises known as Upanishads. The *Shatapatha Brahmana*, the *Brihadaranyaka* and the *Chhandogya* furnish ample evidence that the various conversations reported therein took place in the midst of big sacrifices. Thus we read in *Chhandogya* how *Uśasti Châkrâyana* went to a king's sacrifice and there having challenged all to explain the nature of the various deities described them himself, concluding with a praise of the *Udgitha*, which forms the burden of the whole chapter. In the fifth chapter there is the typical story of five learned theologians headed by *Uddâlaka Aruni* going to king *Aswapati Kaikeya* to learn *Vaiswavanara* self, and the king before answering them proposes to hold a sacrifice. They approach him with sacrificial fuel in their hands, which probably implies that all such knowledge could in those times be obtained in the presence of the sacrificial fire. The king thereupon instructs them in the mysteries of the Universal Soul by a reference to the five limbs of *Vaiswanara* fire. Similarly the *Brihadaranyaka* describes the victory of *Yajnyavalkya* over the *Kuru Panchala* Brahmins at the great sacrifice performed by Janaka. *Katha* also has the story of *Nachiketas*, who on seeing his father giving out sacrificial offerings asked to whom he would give his son ; and the *Prasna* tells us how when five inquirers after *Brahma* approached *Pippalada* with a sacrificial fuel stick in hand, he asks them to perform austerities for a year. Almost all the topics, metaphors and illustrations in these *Upanishads* are connected with a sacrifice, and in many places their context clearly shows that a sacrifice was then being actually performed. The *Udgithavidya*, the *Samvargavidya*, the five *Ahutis* or oblations, all these are described as if the actual rite was then proceeding. The coincidences are too numerous to be accidental and can only be explained on the supposition that the various discussions which now form part of the several *Upanishads* originally took place during the celebration of a great sacrifice. A sacrifice lasts several days, and when the days' ceremonies are over, the *Yajamâna*, the *Ritvigs* and visitors must have spent the evenings in various discourses suggested by the morning rites. As a matter of fact we do find entertainments and even music provided to fill up the intervals between two parts of the sacrifice. The big *Satras* or sacrificial sessions did provide for such interludes as reading Puranas, philosophical discourses, literary contests, and we do find *Suka* reciting the Bhagwat to *Janamejaya* and *Suta* reciting other Puranas to Rishis during such sessions. Is it inconceivable that the awakening intellect of the ancient Aryans tired with the routine performance of dry rites should have, while resting in

experiments which he witnesses. A common ironsmith in Poona has kept himself in constant poverty by vain searches after the philosopher's stone, but his labours have made him acquainted with many chemical facts. The facile adaptation of this man's ingenuity to the supply of European wants, in his particular line, is both gratifying and useful. A poor outcaste shoots specimens in the animal and feathered kingdoms and has taught himself to skin and stuff them, and he lately commenced drawing birds in outline with a singular correctness. One man repairs watches, and a Hindu, in Poona, I am told, constructed an orrery. The general ignorance, therefore, is to be referred to the absence of instructors in the first instance and in the next to the poverty of the people disabling them from profiting by instruction unless afforded to them gratuitously. Wherever this is done, the schools are well attended and the progress of the scholars is commensurate with the ability and zeal of the instructors. Mr. Elphinstone's noble attempt to impart instruction by means of Government schools, if fully developed, will unquestionably be productive ultimately of incalculable benefit to the people themselves and to the State, particularly in case the better classes of the natives become acquainted with our knowledge, our arts and sciences, through the medium of our own language. If it be our object to break down the barriers which separate us at present from the natives, to undermine their superstition, and to weaken their prejudices, and give them a taste for elevated enjoyments, it will be most effectually done through this medium. Translations of European books into the native languages by Europeans, although highly useful, must have the drawbacks of being limited in number, defective in execution and destitute of the attractive grace of idiomatic expression, whereas a native, once taught the English language, has the whole field of knowledge laid open to him. We have before our eyes the effects of Mahomedanism, modifying the supposed immutable habits, opinions, superstitions and usages of the Hindus. The language of the conquerors is almost universally understood, and most commonly spoken by all classes in India. The Mahrattas worship Mahomedan saints, keep their festivals, and at the great annual celebration of the martyrdom of the grandsons of Mahomed, Hussain and Hassan, numbers enrol themselves in the list of those who publicly deplore their deaths.

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I attended a public examination of the scholars of Government schools in Poona and of the pupils of the Engineer Institution and native schools in Bombay. I looked also into the school rooms at Ahmednagar. In the Engineer Institution and native schools some of the boys (not particularly those of the highest or wealthiest classes) showed an efficient knowledge of the English language, and the progress of others in mathematics and drawing was remarkable. The two Poona schools were examined before the Collector and some European gentlemen on the 16th May 1827 by Sadashiva Bhau, the head native instructor in the present schools in Bombay. There were about 150 pupils, most of them the children of Brahmans, ten or a dozen of the first class boys were called up, none of them had been twelve months in the schools. They were examined, in the first instance, in reading a printed translation of *Æsop's fables* into Marathi in the Balbodh character. They read fluently and seemed to understand the compendium of the morale which is given of each fable, instead of its full translation. They subsequently read parts of Maratha histories in the Modi and Balbodh characters; they wrote down on slates sentences dictated to them, and spelt them. They wrote also on paper, and gave very favourable specimens of distinct and bold hands. Arithmetic they were taught on the European plan, and one or two of the boys had got as far as the extraction of the cube root. The boys all evinced considerable quickness, and the examinations were creditable to themselves and to their teachers. Prizes of turbans, cloths and books were distributed, the value of the present being in the ratio of the talents and the progress evinced by the boy.

## THE BHONSLE.

The origin of the rise of Shivaji is too well known to require any elucidation in these notes. He died in Raighur in the month of April A. D. 1680 and was succeeded by his eldest son Sumbhaji, who with his son Sewaji was both taken prisoner in the year 1694 and carried to the Court of Aurungzeb, where the former suffered a cruel death, and the latter, being spared on account of his youth, grew up under the protection of the accomplished Fululnissa Begum, Aurungzeb's daughter. At the request of the Princess, it is said, he changed the name of Sewaji to that of Sahooji, which he ever after retained. Raja Ram, the younger son of Shivaji, was raised to the throne in the Fort of Rangna in 1695, and died in June 1698, leaving two sons, Shambhuji and Sheewajee, by his two wives Rajeesbye and Tarabye. The latter succeeded his father on the throne, but evincing symptoms of insanity some years after, he was deposed and confined by his own mother in the year 1703, who raised his half brother, Sumbhajee, to the Musnud of Kolapoor, which he made his residence. In the year 1707 Aurungzeb died, Shahajee obtaining his liberty came to Sattara to claim his kingdom. He was for some time opposed by his aunt, Tarabye, a clever and ambitious woman, the widow of his uncle Raja Ram. Shahoo Raja at length consented to share the empire with his cousin, Sambhajee, who was permitted to retain Kolapoor and all the country south of the Warna and Krishna, while to Sahooji was left all to the north of those rivers. Tarabye retired to Kolapoor and lived to an extreme old age. Both she and her stepson, Sambhajee, dying in the same year A. D. 1760.

Shahoo Raja, of indolent and luxurious habits, to manage his Government made it over to his minister the Peshwa, Balaji Viswanath, to whom succeeded Bajirao Ballal, and his son Balajee denominated Nana-saheb. Shahoo Raja died without issue, 27th December 1749, when the Peshwa having brought forward Ram Raja, the son of Shiwajee and nephew of the reigning Raja of Kolapoor, caused him to be adopted as the son Shahoojee. From that day the subversion of the power of the House of Satara was complete, and that of the Peshwas established. Ram Raja having no children, many years after adopted, at the instance of Nana Fadnavis, a youth of the family of the Deshmukhs of Wavel in 1777, and dying in following year, 1778, the Second Shahoojee succeeded to the Musnud of Satara. The semblance of respect was still maintained towards him. A guard of honour of 500 horse was appointed by the Peshwa to escort and to watch him, and his expenses were limited as well as the range of his excursions in the neighbourhood of his capital. All reports of war and peace and the result of campaigns, however, were regularly submitted for his information, and while the creation of new and the nomination to the succession of

hereditary offices and estates derived confirmation from him alone, the Peshwa himself was not deemed exempt from accepting this token of homage. The revolution which succeeded on the death of Sawai Madhavrao at Poona in October 1795 afforded the Raja an opening to emancipation, of which he did not fail to avail himself, and seizing the person employed to control him, encouraged his full brother, Chutrsing, to raise troops and seek for foreign aid. The effort, however, was too feeble,—Shahoo the Second became henceforward a closed prisoner in the Fort of Satara and died 4th May 1808, leaving three sons, of whom the eldest, Partapsing, was raised to the throne by the British Government in February 1818, and still reigns.

### THE GAEKWAR.

This family from an inconsiderable origin has risen to become one of the Princes of the Mahratta State.

It is said they are Patails of the village of Dhowry, Nimbgawn in the Poona Prant. Peelajee the First, who distinguished himself, was an officer with 15 retainers, in the service of Kuddum Bandy Brothers, whose flag the family still uses. After the first or second inroad into Gujarat, the Raja of Satara, not conceiving the Kuddumsing calculated to establish themselves permanently, deputed Peelajee with a large army, which assembled in the first instance at Moholy near Satara, and thence marched to the north. The success of Peelajee was complete. Peelajee commanded a division in the battle of Panipat, and died shortly after his return, at the village of Sowlee near Baroda, of a fever. He was succeeded by his son, Damajee, who had long before been distinguished, but some hesitation occurring in sending the Cloth of Investiture from Satara, Damajee repaired to court with an army estimated at 100,000 men. He was induced by the solemn oaths interchanged between the Raja and himself to disband his army, but having been plundered by the Peshwa at the instance of the Raja, on his return he swore he would never pay the compliment of salaming with that hand which had been pledged in that of his princes, in a false oath—since which period the Gykawars assume the peculiar privilege of saluting with the left hand.

Damajee died at Bhavee Pattan in Gujarat in the reign of the Great Madhavrao, leaving four sons, of whom Sayajee Rao, the eldest, was an idiot. The part which Govind Rao, the second son, took in favour of the exiled Raghoba Dada prevented his acceding to the Musnud till after the death of both his young brothers, Fatty Sing and Manajee, who had successively reigned. He sat on the Musnud only three or four years, when he died, leaving three legitimate children, who have each reigned in succession, the youngest, Sayajee, being now on the gadhi.

### THE ANGRIA.

Kanoji, the son of Tukoji, a Maratha chief of the family of Angria, first attained eminence while in the service of the Raja of Satara by the capture of the fort of Raighur from the Hubshee chief of Kolaba in the year 1698 and subsequently distinguished himself in the war in the Koncan carried on by the Marathas against that portion of the Mohamedan dominions, on which occasion he acquired the title of Surkhyle. Taking advantage of his own power, and the dissensions which broke out in the Satara family after the return of Shahu Raja, he not only refused to render him submission, but made an effort to establish an independent sovereignty along the whole Koncan Coast, from Goa to Surat, including the hill-forts on the low range of Ghats with the country below them. Till at length having been worsted in many actions by the superior State of Satara, peace was concluded, and Kanoji consented to acknowledge the sovereignty of Shahu Raja. On which occasion the whole of the seaports from Viziadurg as far as Kolaba remained in Angria's possession, and reverted first to his eldest son Tukoji and in two years after to his second son Sambaji, between whom and his son Manoji dissensions arising, the latter fled to the English at Bombay, but meeting with no aid in that quarter he proceeded to Poona and became reconciled to his father through the Peshwa, but on the death of Sambaji his brother Tulaji, disputing the right of his nephew, was eventually seized by the Peshwa and died after a confinement of 31 years in prison. The piratical practices of the Angrias on all nations approaching the western coast of India are matter of history, and do not admit of illustration in this place.

As the British power preponderated, they gradually subsided, and after the peace of Bassein they ceased altogether, while the once powerful Angria encroached on by the Peshwas from time to time dwindled into insignificance leaving in possession of the family at the breaking out of the war a territory yielding two lakhs of rupees in the neighbourhood of Kolaba and Andhery, of which about half has been alienated for religious purposes or for the reward of services performed by courtiers at Poona.

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### THE PESHWA.

The founder of this family, Balajee, the son of Wiswanath, a Chiplony Brahman, was the hereditary desmook or zemindar of Shreewardhan on the sea coast of the Southern Koncan. He so recommended himself by his ability and energy at the Court of Satara that he was nominated to the office of Peshwa in 1717 and was succeeded at his death in 1720

by his eldest son, Baji Rao. Under this chief the power of the Peshwaship became supreme and the Raja of Satara was satisfied to continue a mere pageant. Baji Rao was succeeded in the year 1740, at his death, by Balwant Row entitled Nanasaheb, during whose rule, Sahojee, the Raja of Satara, died without issue, and from that date the Peshwa was acknowledged as chief and exercised the power of Sovereign of the Maratha Empire.

His lieutenants carried their conquests over the whole of Hindoostan and Guzerat, levied heavy tribute from the Nizam, and wrested the Empire from the Mughul, and raised contributions in Bengal, and conquered Cuttack. Nanasaheb died in 1761, and was succeeded by his second son, Madhaorao, called "The Great." He died in 1772 at the age of 28, after giving great promise of his talents and vigour. He was succeeded by his younger brother, Narayan Rao, who was murdered in 1773 in his palace at Poona in the presence of his uncle, Raghoba Dada. Narayan Rao was succeeded by his posthumous child, Saway Madhavrao, during whose minority the State was ruled by his Minister, Nana Furnavis. On the death of Saway Madhao Rao in 1795 without children, he was succeeded by his relative, Baji Rao, the eldest son of Raghoba Dada, who, expelled from his dominions after a desperate effort to recover all the power of his ancestors which he had forfeited by his imbecility, abdicated his sovereignty on 3rd June 1818 in favour of the British Government on condition of receiving annually Rs. 8,00,000. His brother, Chimnaje Appa, receives a pension of Rs. 2,00,000, and Amritrao, the adopted son of Raghoba Dada, Rs. 7,00,000 which has lately descended to his son.

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#### NANA FURNAVIS.

The ancestor of this great Minister was Madhojee Punt Banoo, a Chiplony Brahman, the Mahajim of the village of Velloss in the Taluka of Bankote. He first left his native village and came to Satara in consequence of an invitation from the first Peshawa Balajee Vishwanath, whose brother Tanoo Vishwanath had found protection in his house after his defeat by the Hubshees near Sreevurdhan. The three sons of Madhoji Punt obtained service at Court and the elder, Balajee, was raised to the office of Furnavis and died at Delhi, whither he had accompanied the Peshwa. His sons, Janardan Punt and Baboo Rao, succeeded to his office, the former died before the latter, leaving an only son, Balajee, who, flying from the battle of Panipat, escaped to Poona, and in conjunction with his uncle, Baboo Rao, and his son, Moroba, filled the office of Furnavis.

It is unnecessary here to enter into any particular history of Balajee Janardhan, better known by the appellation of Nana Furnavis. He succeeded to the supreme control of the affairs of the whole Maratha Empire in 1774 and exercised his power with a sagacity and conduct rarely met with. On the death of Saway Madhao Rao in 1795 and the subsequent contention for the throne he lost much of his power and expended the whole of a fortune amounting, it is said, to nearly five millions in his endeavour to regain it. He died of a fever in 1800, leaving a widow Jeoo Bai, who enjoys the following income :—

				Rs.
Pension from the British Government	...	...	...	12,000
Deshmuky of Verval (Ellora)	...	...	...	500
Enam Village of Menowly near Waee	...	...	...	1,000
Mahojunky and Kotecky of the native village of the family				
Vellass in the Talooka of Bankote	...	...	...	200
				<hr/>
				Income Rs. 13,700

Management of the revenues of the religious establishment of the Bele Bagh at Poona producing Rs. 5,000.



## ART. VI—A Brief Survey of the Upanishads.

By M. R. BODAS, M.A., LL.B.

Read before the Sanskrit Section on 18th January 1925 in  
connection with the Centenary of the Society.

The word *Upanishad* in ancient writings has various shades of meaning, all bearing the general sense of secret knowledge or esoteric lore. It sometimes means simply secret explanation, as in उपनिषद् भो ब्रूहीत्युक्ता त उपनिषद् ब्राह्मणं वाच त उपनिषदब्रूव (Kena 32), or अज्ञादो भवति य एतमेवं साम्नामुपनिषदं वेद (Chh. Up. I. 13, 4) or some special rule, as in य एवं वेद तस्योपनिषन्वाचेदिनि (Kaush Up. II. 2), or sometimes the highest knowledge as in ब्रह्मविद्य एव वेदेत्युपनिषद् (Taitt. III. 10, 6), or in तद्ब्रह्मोपनिषत्परम् (Shweta V. 16.3). By common usage, however, the word *Upanishad* has come to be used to denote a particular class of ancient works which are the repositories of such esoteric knowledge, and which are from time immemorial regarded as supplementary to the *Brahmanas* and *Aranyakas* of the four Vedas. The works known as *Upanishads* are mostly concluding portions of the *Aranyakas*, which are themselves supplements to their respective *Brahmanas*. There are some exceptions, no doubt, as *Isa*, which forms part of the Vajasaneyi Sanhita or the *Kenopanishad*, which according to Dr. Burnel forms the 10th *anuvak* of the fourth chapter of *Talavakâra Brâhmana* recently discovered by him at Tanjore.\* *Kaushitaki* was at one time supposed to be a part of *Kaushitaki Brâhmana*, but now it has been discovered in a MS. of an *Aranyaka* of the Śāṅkhâyanya Śākhâ which along with the *Aitareyaranyaka* probably once formed one work.† As a rule, however, the sequence of Vedic books is, first, the *Sanhita* containing mostly the hymns and prayers addressed to deities, and then, the *Brahmanas* containing detailed descriptions of the several sacrifices and other Vedic rites as well as stories, whether real or mythical, illustrative of the hymns in the *Sanhitas*. The *Aranyakas* are continuations of the *Brahmanas*, but distinctive in character in so far as they treat of more esoteric rites. They were probably intended for persons who have left the state of the common householder and, having entered the third *Ashrama* of *Vanaprastha*, have gone to live in the forests. Even now there is a prohibition against reciting these *Aranyakas* in a family

\* Sacred B. E., Vol. I., p. xc.

† Weber's History of Indian Literature, p. 50.

house, and orthodox Pandits often resort to a temple whenever they have to read them. The *Upanishads* are those portions of the *Aranyakas* which treat of the higher doctrines of the soul as distinguished from rites and ceremonies. *Upanishads* may thus be said to form the kernel or rather the coping stone of the Vedic literature which begins with the simple invocation to a favourite deity, passes through the intermediate stage of elaborate rites, and ends in the deepest philosophy of the indissoluble unity of the individual and universal soul.

Most European scholars derive the word *Upanishad* from the root *sad*, to sit down, preceded by two prepositions *upa* and *ni*, meaning sitting near ; and the *Trikāṇḍa Śeṣha Koṣha* explains it as समीपं सदनं, sitting near the teacher. It has been suggested that the contents of the *Upanishads* were thought to be so esoteric that they could not be taught promiscuously or in public, but the pupil had to approach very near the teacher to hear them. Max Müller thinks it expresses this position of inferiority which a pupil occupies when listening to a teacher (*Ancient Sansk. Lit.*, p. 318). *Śaṅkarāchārya*, on the other hand, in his commentary on *Bṛihadāraṇyaka* derives it from the root *sad*, with *upa* and *ni* meaning 'to destroy.' " सेयं ब्रह्मविद्योपनिषच्छब्दवाच्या तत्पराणां सहेतोः संसारस्यात्यन्तावसादनात् । उपनिषदस्य सदेस्तदर्थत्वात् । तादर्थ्याद्ग्रन्थोपनिषदुच्यते । " *Brahma Vidyā* is called *Upanishad* because it destroys completely all worldly ties and their causes : and so the treatises, which taught that knowledge, also came to be called by the same name, and *Sāyana* in another place \* derives it as उपनिषण्मस्यां परं श्रेयः " wherein the highest good is embedded." Max Müller calls these explanations wilfully perverse, invented by half-educated native scholars to account for the most prevalent meaning of the word ; but he does not advance any strong grounds for making such a sweeping charge. The alternative etymology implying, 'sitting down near the teacher' is equally, if not more, imaginary. The derivation given by Indian scholars has at least the merit of explaining the various primary senses in which the word is found used in the *Upanishads* themselves. Wherever it occurs it connotes either "secret knowledge" or "rite" or "the highest knowledge of Brahma." Max Müller himself realized the difficulty of deriving this meaning from "sitting down near the teacher". The fact is, it is one of those *yoga-rudha* words to which long usage has attached a special meaning and thereby destroyed all trace of its origin. The very diversity of derivations shows that the true etymology is now probably lost, and we shall have to be satisfied with conjectures only. If I may be permitted to make a similar guess, the true explanation of the word, it seems to me, is quite different from those hitherto given either by European or Indian scholars .

\* Taithriya Up. II. 9.

*Upanishad*, I think, did originally mean "sitting down near" as Max Müller says, but it was sitting down near the sacrificial fire and not near a teacher. To make this clear we must look to the probable origin of the treatises or rather the discussions which are now embodied in the treatises known as Upanishads. The *Shatapatha Brahmana*, the *Brihadaranyaka* and the *Chhandogya* furnish ample evidence that the various conversations reported therein took place in the midst of big sacrifices. Thus we read in *Chhandogya* how *Uśasti Châkrâyana* went to a king's sacrifice and there having challenged all to explain the nature of the various deities described them himself, concluding with a praise of the *Udgitha*, which forms the burden of the whole chapter. In the fifth chapter there is the typical story of five learned theologians headed by *Uddâlaka Aruni* going to king *Aswapati Kaikeya* to learn *Vaiswavanara* self, and the king before answering them proposes to hold a sacrifice. They approach him with sacrificial fuel in their hands, which probably implies that all such knowledge could in those times be obtained in the presence of the sacrificial fire. The king thereupon instructs them in the mysteries of the Universal Soul by a reference to the five limbs of *Vaiswanara* fire. Similarly the *Brihadaranyaka* describes the victory of *Yajnyavalkya* over the *Kuru Panchala* Brahmins at the great sacrifice performed by Janaka. *Katha* also has the story of *Nachiketas*, who on seeing his father giving out sacrificial offerings asked to whom he would give his son ; and the *Prasna* tells us how when five inquirers after *Brahma* approached *Pippalada* with a sacrificial fuel stick in hand, he asks them to perform austerities for a year. Almost all the topics, metaphors and illustrations in these *Upanishads* are connected with a sacrifice, and in many places their context clearly shows that a sacrifice was then being actually performed. The *Udgithavidya*, the *Samvargavidya*, the five *Ahutis* or oblations, all these are described as if the actual rite was then proceeding. The coincidences are too numerous to be accidental and can only be explained on the supposition that the various discussions which now form part of the several *Upanishads* originally took place during the celebration of a great sacrifice. A sacrifice lasts several days, and when the days' ceremonies are over, the *Yajamâna*, the *Ritvigs* and visitors must have spent the evenings in various discourses suggested by the morning rites. As a matter of fact we do find entertainments and even music provided to fill up the intervals between two parts of the sacrifice. The big *Satras* or sacrificial sessions did provide for such interludes as reading Puranas, philosophical discourses, literary contests, and we do find *Suka* reciting the Bhagwat to *Janamejaya* and *Suta* reciting other Puranas to Rishis during such sessions. Is it inconceivable that the awakening intellect of the ancient Aryans tired with the routine performance of dry rites should have, while resting in

the midst of sacrifices, risen higher and tried to grapple with the deeper problems of life? A big sacrifice with its paraphernalia, the decorated pandal, the continuous chants of the hymns, the band of busy priests, and the crowd of spectators—a miniature picture, in fact, of the outer world—is just the occasion when solemn thoughts about the vanity of our aims would suggest themselves to earnest minds, who having gathered together as if in a Congress would exchange ideas and benefit by mutual instruction. A master mind among them like *Uddalaka*, *Aruni* or *Yajnyavalkya* would invariably come forth on such occasions to guide others by disclosing the deeper truths implied in the sacrificial rites which they were all engaged in celebrating. The sacrificial fire before them, *Vaiswanara*, would then be not a mere flame, but the symbol of Universal Soul resting his feet on earth and raising his many variegated heads to the sky. The *Udgitha* would not be merely a string of words mechanically chanted, but the impassioned cry of prayer given out by *Devas* and *Asuras* in their efforts to obtain the mastery of the world. The whole sacrifice is likened to a man's life wherein the first 24 years form the *Pratasavana* or morning's prayer, the next forty-four form the *Mandhyandina* or noon prayer, and the next forty-eight years form the third or evening prayer. The frequency of such discourses must have led to their being collected and subsequently included in the respective *Aranyakas*. As the *Yajamana* also, who in a big sacrifice must have been a Kshatriya Prince, took part or rather commenced the discussion by propounding questions, we find learned Kshatriyas like Janaka, Ajatasatru, and Pravahana figuring prominently in these treatises. When in course of time these collections swelled and multiplied, they came to be regarded as a class of literature by themselves throwing the bald *Samhitas* or the ritualistic *Brahmanas* into the shade and gradually bringing about a revolution of religious ideas. Once accustomed to such questionings on deeper problems, people could not be satisfied with mere ritual. Energetic minds casting aside the dead formula sought to reach the innermost truths. Kshatriyas as being comparatively more practical and less untrammelled by the ritualistic conservatism appear to have been foremost in this movement towards a deeper religion, which commenced with the compilation or rather the collection of the *Aranyakas* and culminated in the secessions of Baudhas and Jainas. The development of thought, as Oldenburg truly says, which was progressing in this period, while resting apparently on the old faith in the gods, had really undermined that faith and created a new ground of religious thought, namely, the belief in the undisturbed, unchangeable Universal Unity. On this very foundation, centuries after the Brahminical thinkers had laid it, were

built that doctrine and church which subsequently came to be known by the name of Buddha.\*

The name *Aranyaka*, which probably originated in the same manner, is usually derived from *Aranya* (अरण्ये भवं produced in forest), and the *Vartika* पठ्य ध्याय न्याय विहार मनुष्य हस्तिष्विति वाच्याम् on Panini's sutra अरण्यान्मनुष्ये (IV-2-129) derives the adjective आरण्यक from अरण्य as applied to an अध्याय or chapter, implying probably a chapter of a *Brahmana*. But the very exception to the usual derivative आरण्य shows that it must have been an after-thought, suggested by the author of the *Vartikas* to explain an unknown word. Besides, even so it is only an adjective and does not denote an independent class of books. It is not impossible that the word was originally derived from अरणि, the wooden sticks, by rubbing which the sacrificial fire is produced, which may, therefore, be called अरण्य, and the discourses compiled in the presence of, or relating to the sacrificial fire may have come to be called आरण्यक. Of course this is a conjecture only, but it is a guess which if confirmed by further inquiry will support the above hypothesis.

It should not, of course, be supposed that all the works that pass under the name of *Upanishads* are of equal antiquity. Only a few of them that are well-known could be pre-Buddhistic, while a large number are of more or less recent origin. Many of the modern compositions are of such mixed character that they have hardly any similarity, except in name, with the genuine ones. A chronology of these writings would be very instructive, as it will throw much light on the gradual development of religious ideas in India ; but the task of compiling it is not easy. Sufficient data are not yet available to make any such attempt, and the text of all the extant works will have to be carefully examined and corrected before any reliable conclusions can be drawn therefrom. It is simply intended in this short paper to give a bibliography of the *Upanishads* that have hitherto been found, or the names of which have been ascertained from other source. When the basis has thus been prepared, a critical study of the works together with their comparison with one another and other known writings will have to follow before their intrinsic worth and historical importance can be properly appraised. One fact, however, can now be safely asserted, that at least 8 or 10 of the most famous *Upanishads* are pre-Buddhistic, while many of the rest must have come into existence during the three or four centuries before Christ when the Brahminical orthodoxy had to contend against the onslaughts of Jain and Boudha heretics. A large number again are so sectarian or devoted to particular deities or ceremonies, that they must have been composed when Hinduism was split up into sects and each

\* Oldenburg's Buddha, his Life, his Doctrine, his Order," p. 18.

the *Sama* and 31 to the *Atharva Veda*. Other authorities, as has been shown above, assign 52 *Upanishads* to the *Atharva Veda*, while the names given by *Muktika* differ considerably from those given by Drs. Bhandarkar and Rajendralal. Similar differences also exist as regards particular *Upanishads* which are assigned to different Vedas by different writers. It should be noted, however, that such differences mostly prevail either between the *Sama Veda* and white *Yajurveda*, which themselves appear to have been nearly contemporaneous works, or as regards the *Atharva Veda* which has in fact been made the repository of all the later writings. Several *Upanishads* again have different recensions, the most glaring instance of which is *Narayana*, which has been actually printed in two recensions, one as the 10th *prapâthaka* of *Taittiriya Aranyaka*, and the other as *Parisishta*, and which even in the time of *Sayana* had four recensions, prevailing respectively in *Dravida*, *Andhra*, *Karnataka* and other provinces. These four go under the name of *Yâjniki*, while the *Parisishta*, which is a different thing altogether, is now recited by Vaidik Brahmins as the *Narayanopanishad* proper.

Time will not allow me to digress further into this very interesting field of investigation. A closer study of each treatise will, undoubtedly, disclose many peculiarities showing its real character and merits.

I may be permitted in conclusion to remark that no class of ancient Sanskrit works has exercised greater influence on the religious thought and life of the Hindus than the *Upanishads*. They have practically thrown the *Sanhitas* and the *Brahmanas* into the background. They have made elaborate sacrifices and rituals obsolete. They gave birth to Buddhism and Jainism and many other movements and yet ultimately supplanted them by means of the orthodox Vedanta philosophy. It is the *Upanishads* that taught the austere doctrine of *Para-Brahma* and also the benign faith of the *Bhakti-shastra*. Founders of all orthodox sects in later times resorted to them as fountain heads of religious wisdom ; and no wonder that they have come to be looked upon as *Shruti*, *par excellence*. *Madhusudana Saraswati* classes them apart from the other divisions of Veda, viz., *Sanhita*, *Brahmana*, *Aranyakas*, *Upa-Veda* and *Vedanga*. Even now the *Upanishads* are a living force as we see from the lives of Schopenhaur in Europe and Ram Mohan Roy in India, both of whom derived their religious impulse from this perennial source. It behoves us all to study these works closely and respectfully.

## APPENDIX

*Note.*—\* The letters in the third column denote the source giving the name, e.g.—

A.—*Muktikopanishad*. B.—Elliot's list. C.—Colebrooke's list. D.—A. D. Paterson's list. E.—Weber's list. F.—Dr. Rajendralal's list. G.—Dr. Bhandarkar's list. H.—Oppert's list. J.—Bulher's Catalogue of MSS. in Gujarat.

† The following abbreviations in the second column denote the Veda to which the *Upanishad* is assigned :—

Rig.—*Rigveda*. B. Yaj.—*Black Yajur*. W. Yaj.—*White Yajurveda*. Sam.—*Samaveda*. Ath.—*Atharvaveda*.

No.	Name of Upanishad.	Veda to which it belongs.*	Works which mention it.*
	अ.		
1	अक्षमालिका	Rig.	A, B.
2	अक्षि	B. Yaj.	A, B, H.
3	अणुशब्दोपनिषत्		H.
4	अथर्वणोपनिषत्	Ath.	F, H.
5	अथर्वशिखोपनिषत् also called शिखा	"	A, B, C, D, G, H, J.
6	अथर्वशिरस् अथवा अथर्वशीर्ष also शिरस्	"	A, B, C, D, F, G, H, J.
7	अद्वयतारक	W. Yaj.	B, H.
8	अद्वैतोपनिषत् or अद्वय	... ..	A, G, H, J. { Probably 3rd Chap. of माण्डूक्यकारिका
9	अध्यात्म	... ..	A, B, H.
10	अनंतोपनिषत्		
11	अन्नपूर्णा	Ath.	H. } Probably the same.
12	अन्नपूर्णेश्वर्युपनिषत्	.....	A, B, H. }
13	अमृतनाद	B. Yaj.	B, D, F, H.
14	अमृतबिंदु or ब्रह्मबिंदु	B. Yaj.	B, C, D, F, G, H, J.
15	अमृतबिंदुस्कंदोपनिषत्		H.
16	अहोपनिषत्		J.
11a	अवधूतोपनिषत्	W. Yaj.	A, B, H.
12a	अविमुक्तोपनिषत्		
13a	अव्यक्त	Sam.	A, B, H.

No.	Name of Upanishad.	Veda to which it belongs.†	Works which mention it.*
	आ.		
14	आत्म or आत्मविद्या	Ath.	A, C, D, G, H, J.
15	आत्मबोध	Rig.	A, B, D, H, J.
16	आनन्दनाम्न्युपनिषत्		
17	अरण्यकोपनिषत्		J.
18	आरुणिक, गूढारुणिक, आरूणी, आरुण्य or आरूणेय	Sam.	A, B, C, D, F, G, J.
19	आश्रमोपनिषत् अथवा अत्याश्रमोपनिषत्	.....	B, C, G, H, J.
	इ.		
20	इनिहासोपनिषद्		
	ई.		
21	ईशावास्य	W. Yaj.	A, B, C, D, F, H, J.
	उ.		
22	उत्तरतापनीय	.....	H. Probably same as नृसिंहोत्तर तापनीय.
	ऊ.		
23	ऊर्ध्वपुण्ड्रोपनिषत्		
	ए.		
24	एकाक्षर	Yaj.	A, B, H.
	ऐ.		
25	ऐतरेय	Rig.	A, B, C, D, F, H, J.
26	ऐरावतोपनिषत्		H.
	क.		
27	कठ	B. Yaj.	A, B, C, D, F, G, H, J.
28	कठरुद्र or रुद्रकठ		A.
29	कण्ठश्रुत्युपनिषद्	.....	B, C, G, J.
30	कपिलोपनिषद्		
31	कलिसंतरणोपनिषत्	B. Yaju.	A, B, H.
32	कात्यायनोपनिषत्		H.

No.	Name of Upanishad.	Veda to which it belongs.†	Works which mention it.*
33	कालाग्रिरुद्र	B. Yaj.	A, B, C, G, H, J.
34	कालिकोपनिषद्	.....	A, F, H, J.
35	कुण्डली		
36	कुण्डिक or कुण्डिका	Sam.	A, B, H.
37	कृष्णोपनिषद् or कृष्णतापिनी	Ath.	A, B.
38	केन	Sam.	A, B, C, D, F, H, J.
39	कैवल्य	B. Yaj.	A, B, C, F, G, H, J.
40	कौलोपनिषद्	.....	B, C, E, F, H.
41	कौषीतकिब्राह्मणोपनिषद् ख.	Rig.	A, B, C, D, F, H, J.
42	क्षुरिका ग.	B. Yaj.	A, B, C, D, G, H, J.
43	गणपती	Ath.	A, B, H, J.
44	गणेशतापिन्युपनिषद्	.....	} Perhaps the same as last.
45	गणेशोपनिषद्	.....	
46	गरुड	Ath.	A, B, C, G, H, J.
47	गर्भ	B. Yaj.	A, B, C, D, F, G, H, J.
48	गाणपतोपनिषद्	.....	H. Perhaps the same as गणपति.
49	गायत्र्युपनिषद्		B.
50	गोपालोत्तरतापिनी	{ Ath.	A, B, C, E, F, H, J.
51	गोपालपूर्वतापिनी		
52	गोपिचन्दनोपनिषद् च.	.....	B, C, E, F, H, J.
53	चित्युपनिषद्		J.
54	चिदंबरोपनिषद्		
55	चूलिकोपनिषद् or चूडा छ.	.....	A, B, C, D, G, H, J.
56	छांदोग्य	Sam.	A, B, C, D, H, J.

No.	Name of Upanishad.	Veda to which it belongs.†	Works which mention it.*
	ज		
57	श्री जाबालदर्शन or दर्शन	Sam.	A, B, C, E, F, G, H.
58	जाबाल or लघु जाबाल	W. Yaj.	A, B, C, D, F, H, J.
59	जाबाल्युपनिषत्	Sam.	A, B.
	त.		
60	तारकब्राह्मणोपनिषद्	... ..	B, D, H.
61	तारसार	.....	A, B, H.
62	तालोपनिषत्		J.
63	तुरीयातीत	Yaj.	A, B, H.
64	तुलसीमालोपनिषत्		H.
65	तेजोर्बिंदु	.....	A, B, C, D, G, H.
66	तैत्तिरीय	B. Yaj.	A, B, E, H, J.
67	त्रिपाद्विभूति	Ath.	H.
68	त्रिपुटिपनिषत्		
69	त्रिपुरोपनिषत्	Rig.	A, B, H, J.
70	{ त्रिपुरातापिनी or त्रिपुरादेव्युपनिषद् or त्रिपुरितपनोपनिषत्	{ Ath.	A, B, C, E, H. The same.
71	त्रिशिखी ब्राह्मण	{	H.
72	त्रिशिखोपनिषत्	{ W. Yaj.	A, B, H. Probably the same.
73	त्रिशिरोपनिषत्	}	
	द.		
74	दक्षिणामूर्ति	B. Yaj.	A, B, H.
75	दत्तात्रेयोपनिषद्	Ath.	A, B, H, J.
76	दत्तोपनिषद् ( दर्शन )		Same as जाबाल दर्शन.
77	दीपशिखोपनिषत्		
78	देवी	Ath.	A, B, H.
79	देशिकोपनिषद्		H.
80	द्वयोपनिषद्		H.

No.	Name of Upanishad.	Veda to which it belongs.†	Works which mention it.*
	ध.		
81	ध्यानविदु	Sam.	A, B, C, D, G, H, J.
	न.		
82	नरोपनिषद्		
83	नादविदु	Rig.	A, B, C, G, H, J.
84	नारदपरिव्राजक	Ath.	B, H.
85	नारदोपनिषद्		Perhaps the same as 2
86	नारसिंह षट्चक्र्युपनिषद्		नृसिंहतापनी or महोपनिषद्
87	नारायण पूर्वतापिनी		H.
88	नारायणसूक्तं		B.
89	नारायणार्थवशीर्ष		
90	नारायणोत्तरतापिनी		
91	नारायणोपनिषद्	B. Yaj.	
92	निरालम्बोपनिषद्	W. Yaj.	A, B, C, D, G, H, J.
93	निर्लेपोपनिषद्		A, B, E, H, J.
94	निर्वाण	Rig.	A, B, H.
95	नीलसूत्रोपनिषद्	.....	B, C, G, H, J.
96	नृसिंहपूर्वतापिनी	?	B, C, D, G, H, J.
97	नृसिंहोत्तरतापनी	Ath.	
98	नृसिंहोपनिषद्		Perhaps the same as the above.
	ष.		
99	परमहंस	W. Yaj.	A, B, F, G, J.
100	परमहंसपरिव्राजक	Ath.	A, B, C, D.
101	परमहंस्य त्रिकञ्ज		
102	पञ्चोपनिषद्		
103	पञ्चान्मिकोपनिषद्		J.
104	पञ्चमहंसोपनिषद्		H. Perhaps same as हंस.
105	पञ्चमोपनिषद्	Ath.	A, B, H.

No.	Name of Upanishad.	Veda to which it belongs.†	Works which mention it.*
106	परिव्राजकोपनिषत्		A, H. Probably same as नारद परिव्राजक (see Ell.)
107	पाशुपतब्रह्म	Ath.	H. The same as अध्यात्म.
108	पाशुपतोपनिषत्		A, B, H. Perhaps same as the last.
109	पिंडोपनिषत्		B, C, G, H, J.
110	पैप्पलादोपनिषत्		J.
111	पैङ्गलोपनिषत्	W. Yaj.	A, B, H.
112	पंचब्रह्म अथवा पंचब्राह्मण	Yaju.	A, B.
113	पंचशांतोपनिषत्		
114	प्रसादजाबालोपनिषत्		
115	प्रणवोपनिषद्		
116	प्रणवशरीरोपनिषत्		
117	प्रश्न	Ath.	A, B, C, D, F, G, H, J.
118	प्राणाग्निहोत्र	Yaju.	A, B, C, D, H, J.
119	प्राणायामोपनिषद्		H.
	ब.		
120	बृहदारण्यक	W. Yaj.	A, B, C, D, F, H, J.
121	बृहज्जाबाल or ब्रह्मजाबाल	Ath.	A, B, H, J.
122	बृहत्तृचोपनिषत्	Rig.	A, B, H.
123	बिल्वोपनिषद्		J.
124	ब्रह्म	B. Yaj.	F.
125	ब्रह्मविद्या	„	A, B, C, H, J.
126	ब्रह्मध्वजोपनिषत्		A, B, C, D, G, H, J.
	भ.		
127	भक्तिमार्गोपनिषत्		
128	भद्रा		
129	भस्मजाबाल	Ath.	A, B, H.
130	भावना	„	A, B, H, J.

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votary tried to support his cause by some pseudo-ancient book. *Isa*, *Ken*, *Katha*, *Chhandogya* and *Brihadaranyaka* are samples of the first; *Jâbâla*, *Śwetâshwatara*, *Mundaka* and the *Upanishads* of the *Atharvaveda* are of the second class ; while treatises like *Rama*, *Sita*, *Dattâtraya*, *Krishna*, *Gopichandana*, *Rudrâksha* and many others obviously belong to the third class. The age of the most ancient of these, namely *Brihadaranyaka*, *Chhandogya* and *Isa* had for some time been assumed by European scholars to be contemporaneous with *Vajasaneyi Sanhita* and the *Śatapatha Brahmana*, that is, between the 9th and 7th centuries before Christian era. Mr. V. B. Ketkar, however, in a paper read before this Society<sup>o</sup> relying on a passage in the *Śatapatha Brahmana* showing that the vernal equinox was then actually in the *Krittikas*, calculates the time to be B. C. 3068 and if the *Upanishads* were contemporaneous, as most probably they were, we shall have to push their origin much further back than the time hitherto assumed. The *Upanishads* abound in historical and topographical references, which are after more careful study likely to yield good results ; but until some positive data are obtained, random speculations would only mislead.

Several attempts have been made by Western scholars in the past to collect a bibliography, as it were, of the *Upanishads*. The earliest known was that by Anquetil Du Perron who was followed by Colebrooke, Weber and Roer in *Bibliotheca Indica*, Vol. VII, No. 34. Mr. Walter Elliot in a list published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Vol. XX, p. 609) combined and corrected all the previous lists, enlarging the number of *Upanishads* from 95 given by Roer to 120 by additional names collected from Telegu MSS. Mr. Elliot also published the list of 108 *Upanishads* given in *Muktikopanishad*. Roer on comparing Elliot's list with the previous ones found that the total number thus known was 138 or, with portions of some counted as different works, 154.† Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra in his *Introduction to Gopatha-Brahmana* (*Bibliotheca Indica*) gives a list of 52 *Upanishads* of the *Atharva-Veda*, which with slight variations and a different order agrees with the one prepared by Dr. Bhandarkar from MSS. found in Gujarat.‡ Bühler in his *Catalogue of MSS. in Gujarat* gives a list of different *Upanishads* containing several names not known to Elliot, while Oppert in his lists of Sanskrit MSS. in Southern India adds many more names which are not found elsewhere. In addition to all these I was fortunate in obtaining from my friend, Mr. Venkatachala Shastri of Mysore, MSS. and names of some *Upanishads* not found in any of the above lists. Having compared and collected these materials, I have prepared an alphabetical list

<sup>o</sup> *Journal*, B. B. R. A., Vol. XXI, p. 29.

† *Journal*, Royal As. Soc., Beng., p. 619.

‡ *Search for Sanskrit MSS. in Bombay Presidency for 1883-84*, p. 24.

of 220 Upanishads which is appended to this paper. All names that could be ascertained to belong to the same work have been grouped into one, *e.g.*, *Mahâ-Nârâyana* and *Brihan-Nârâyana*, *Darsana* and *Jâbâla-Darsana*, *Brahmabindu* and *Amritabindu*. All names on the other hand which could be ascertained to apply to parts of a larger work have been omitted. The most notable instance of this is the *Mândukya*, which is sometimes counted as one and sometimes split up into four by counting the second, third and fourth chapters of *Gaudapâdas*, *Mondukya-Karikas*, as different *Upanishads*. Another instance would be *Nrisinhutapini* which along with *Mahopanishad* may be taken as one or counted as six as Dr. Bhandarkar has done. A similar doubt exists as regards other Tapanis. There are seven such pairs of Tapanis, Purva and Uttara, *vis.*, Nrisinha. Gopal, Rama, Narayana, Tripura, Surya and Sundari, besides single works such as Krishnatapini, Ganeshatapini and Mahatripura Sundari and Viratapini. These pairs are treated sometimes as one and sometimes as different works. A considerable number of the names included in my list again must be treated as provisional only until the MSS. have been actually examined and found to constitute independent works. This is chiefly the case with the additional names taken from Bühler's and Oppert's lists. If deduction is allowed for possible correction in this manner, we may fairly assume that we do at present know about 200 independent Upanishads composed at different times and possessing greater or less intrinsic value.

Coming to Indian writers we find various enumerations of the Upanishads, probably representing their numbers known at different times ; the most famous of these enumerations being that of Daś-upanishad, *Isa*, *Kena*, *Katha*, *Prasna*, *Mundaka*, *Mandukya*, *Taittiriya*, *Aitereya*, *Chhandogya* and *Brihadaranyka*. These ten along with *Swetaswatara* have attained special repute by reason of the great scholiast Sankaracharya having selected them for his immortal commentaries. They are also probably the most ancient. *Brahmopanishad* mentions another class of thirteen *Upanishads*, *vis.*, *Brahma*, *Kaivalya*, *Jabala*, *Swetaswatara*, *Aruni*, *Garbha Narayana*, *Hansa*, *Bindu*, *Nada*, *Shiras*, and *Shikha* which all belong to the *Atharva Veda* and probably represent a supplementary class. We have collections of 18 and also of 32 *Upanishads*, which latter are said by the *Muktikopanishad* to possess an educative value higher than the primary ten. Lastly we have the 108 Upanishads enumerated and classified in the *Muktikopanishad* as representing a list of those to be accepted as genuine. These 108 Upanishads are apportioned to the four or rather five Vedas in the following manner, *vis.*, 10 to the *Rigveda*, 19 to the white *Yajurveda*, 32 to the black *Yajurveda*, 16 to

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ART. VII.

*Nripatunga and the authorship of the Kavirâjamârga.*  
(A reply to Dr. Fleet.)

By K. B. PATHAK,

PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT, DECCAN COLLEGE, POONA.

(COMMUNICATED.)

Dr. Fleet has lately contributed a very lengthy article entitled Kaviśvara's Kavirâjamarga to the Indian Antiquary for October and November 1904, pp. 258-280. This is a review of my edition of Nripatunga's Kavirâjamârga published in 1898 as a volume of the *Bibliotheca carnatika*. This work is full of interest for Sanskrit scholars as I have pointed out in my Introduction that it contains direct translations or adaptations of many verses in Daṇḍi's Kāvyaadarśa. The approximate date of the work is also known. The first two verses are very interesting and important. They contain an invocation addressed by the author to the god on whose breast the goddess Lakshmî reclines, whom she never abandons, and round whom the lustre springing from the kaustubha-jewel forms a curtain. It may be remarked that the first verse does not mention the name of the god; yet a Hindu scholar can easily recognize, from the description given, the god Viṣṇu who wears the kaustubha-jewel on his breast. But one of the words used in the first verse is nripatunga; and this was a title of the Râshtrakûṭa king Amôghavarsha I. A question will naturally arise is this king spoken of in the opening verse? This question must be answered in the negative because we know that Amôghavarsha I. did not possess this fabled jewel. And the difficulty is easily got over by taking the expression nripatunga in its primary sense.<sup>1</sup> It means nripa-śrêṣṭha, i.e., the best of kings; and in this sense it is employed by Abhinavapampa,<sup>2</sup> when he says, referring to Janaka, that the best of kings mounted the lofty steed. A similar expression yati-tunga in the sense of yati-śrêṣṭha, i.e., the best of ascetics, occurs in the Râjaśekhara-vilâsa, Chap. I, 14. It must be also admitted here that there is an indirect reference to the secondary sense of the expression nripa-tunga as the title of Amôghavarsha I.; in

<sup>1</sup> In Dr. Kittel's Kannaḍa-English Dictionary the word is explained to mean "the most prominent one or chief of kings."

<sup>2</sup> Pampa-Râmâyana IV, 120, Mr. Rice's edition, p. 94, éridan uttunga-turaṅgamu-maṁ nripa-tuṅgaṁ.

other words, the expression is used in a double sense. These remarks apply with equal force to some expressions in the second verse, since the two verses form one sentence, as will be shown further on. A correct interpretation of these verses is most essential as they conclusively prove that Amôghavarsha I, who had the title of Nṛipatuṅga, was the author of the work.

Let us now turn to Dr. Fleet's review. He says, "The real nature of the first and second verses is quite unmistakable. In the first of them the author of the work prays that good fortune may never desert a person, Nṛipatuṅga, whom the expressions employed by him mark as a person of exalted rank. In the second, he asks Atiśayadhavaḷa,—whom, in this stage of the inquiry, we might, or might not, be inclined to identify with the Nṛipatuṅga who is mentioned in the preceding verse,—to inspire him with a power, in dealing with the subject lying before him, which he himself, unaided, could not hope to display. And there is not the slightest shadow of a basis in fact for the editor's assertion, or suggestion, that, in the first two verses of the Kavirâjamârگا, Nṛipatuṅga-Amôghavarsha I., as the (alleged) author of the work, praised a god mentioned, after himself, by the names of Nṛipatuṅga, Nîtinirantara, Kṛitakṛityamalla, Vîranârâyaṇa, (and Atiśayadhavaḷa). Those two verses embody requests made by the author of the work. The first of them prays for the welfare of a person, mentioned as Nṛipatuṅga and Nîtinirantara, whom he has marked as a person of high rank and has most distinctly indicated as his patron. In the second of them he has asked a person, whom he has mentioned as Atiśayadhavaḷa, Vîranârâyaṇa, and Kṛitakṛityamalla, to inspire him with ability to perform the task lying before him. And, even apart from the colophons, the first of these two verses is sufficient to prove that the author of the work was not Nṛipatuṅga."

I give below the text of the two verses as transliterated by Dr. Fleet together with his translation<sup>2</sup> and propose to deal in order with each of the points that are misunderstood.

Śrî taḷt=uradoḷ kaustubha-

jâta-dyuti baḷasi kâṇḍapaṭad=ant-ire sam—I.

prîtiyin=âvanan=agalaḷ

Nîtinirantaran=udâran=â Nṛipatuṅgam II 1.

Kṛitakṛityamallan=apрати-

hata-vikraman=osedu Vîranârâyaṇan=a—I.

pp=Atiśayadhavalam namag=ig=

atarkkitôpasthita-pratâp-ôdayamam II 1, 2.

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Antiquary, Oct. 1904, pp. 261, 264.

<sup>2</sup> Idem, p. 261.

TRANSLATION :—(Verse 1) “ Let Fortune,—clinging to (*his*) breast, with the lustre, born from the kaustubha-jewel, lying round (*her*) like a screen surrounding a tent,—not abandon with (*her*) affection him (literally, whom ?) ; (namely) the noble Nîtinirantara (‘ he who never ceases to display statesmanship’), that (*famous* or *well-known*) Nripatunga ! ”—(Verse 2) “ Let Atiśayadhavaḷa,—who is Kṛitakṛitya-malla ‘ the wrestler, or the most excellent, of those who have done their duty,’ and who, possessing prowess which has not been checked (*just as the god Viṣṇu-Nârâyaṇa* had *three* strides which were not obstructed), has pleasingly become Vîranârâyaṇa,—give to us a development of power that comes quite unexpectedly ! ”

(1) The most important word in the first verse is kaustubha, which Dr. Fleet has entirely ignored in his explanatory comments from a misapprehension that no god is praised in the two verses. Dr. Kittel in his Kannada-English Dictionary says that kaustubha is the jewel suspended on the breast of Viṣṇu and that Kaustubhâbharāṇa is a name of Viṣṇu. We find a similar statement in the St. Petersburg Dictionary and in the dictionaries of Benfey and Monier Williams. Târânâtha in his Vâchaspatya mentions कौस्तुभलाञ्छन and कौस्तुभलक्षण as the names of the god Viṣṇu and explains कौस्तुभवक्षस् as कौस्तुभो वक्षसि यस्य and says it is an epithet of Viṣṇu. Amarasiṃha says :—

शङ्खो लक्ष्मीपतेः पाञ्चजन्यश्चक्रं सुदर्शनम् ।  
कौमोदकी गदा खड्गो नन्दकः कौस्तुभो मणिः ॥

Amara-Kôsha, Canto I, 28.

In the Mahâbhârata we read—

श्रीरनन्तरमुत्पन्ना घृतात्पाण्डुरवासिनी ।  
सुरादेवी समुत्पन्ना तुरगः पाण्डुरस्तथा ॥ ३६ ॥  
कौस्तुभस्तु मणिर्दिव्य उत्पन्नो घृतसंभवः ।  
मरीचिविकचः श्रीमान्नारायण उरोगतः ॥ ३७ ॥

Mahâbhârata I, 18.

अग्निं प्रदक्षिणं कृत्वा ब्राह्मणांश्च जनार्दनः ।  
कौस्तुभमणिमामुच्य श्रिया परमया ज्वलन् ॥ १४ ॥  
कुरुभिः संवृतः कृष्णो वृष्णिभिश्चाभिरक्षितः ।  
आतिष्ठत रथं शौरिः सर्वं यादवनन्दनः ॥ १५ ॥

Mahâbhârata I, 13.

Kālidāsa says :—

अस्तेन ताक्ष्यात्किल कालियेन मणिं विसृष्टं यमुनौकसा यः  
वक्षःस्थलव्यापिरुचं दधानः सकौस्तुभं न्हेपयतीव कृष्णम् ॥

Raghu. VI, 49-

भोगिभोगासनासीनं ददृशुस्तं दिवौकसः

... ..

प्रभानुलिप्तश्रीवत्सं लक्ष्मीविभ्रमदर्पणम् ।

कौस्तुभाख्यमपां सारं बिभ्राणं बृहतोरसा ॥

Raghu. X, 10.

शुशुभे तेन चाक्रान्तं मङ्गलायतनं महत् ।

श्रीवत्सलक्षणं वक्षः कौस्तुभेनेव कैशम् ॥

Raghu. XVII, 29.

येन नन्दनवनराजिरिव पारिजातेन मधुसूदनवक्षः-

स्थलीव कौस्तुभमणिना सा सुतरामराजत

Bāṇa, Kādambarī,<sup>1</sup> p. 66.

In the ancient Prākṛita poem Gaudavaho<sup>2</sup> the 22nd verse alludes to the rays of the kaustubha-jewel shining on the breast of Kṛishṇa. Māgha says :—

अथ सूर्यरुचीव तस्य दृष्टावुदभूत्कौस्तुभदर्पणं गतायाम् ।

पटु धाम ततो न चाद्भुतं तद्विभुरिन्द्रर्कविलोचनः किलासौ ॥

Śiśupāla-vadha XX, 37.

In old Kannada Literature we meet with frequent allusions to the kaustubha-jewel of the god Viṣṇu. The first Pampa, a distinguished author of the Rāshṭrakūṭa period, compares<sup>3</sup> Hastināpura to the kaustubha adorning the large breast of Kaiṭabh-ārāti, i.e., Viṣṇu. Abhinava-Pampa<sup>4</sup> also speaks of Hari's kaustubha. In the Kāvya-āvalōkana,<sup>5</sup> Verse No. 911, contains a conventional description of Kṛishṇa, bearing on his breast the kaustubha-jewel and the goddess Lakshmī; and Verse No. 810 in the same work represents Kṛishṇa smiling at the feeling of jealousy betrayed by Lakshmī on seeing her own image reflected in the kaustubha-jewel and mistaking it for a rival wife. We have thus seen that references to this jewel are found in Sanskrit, Prākṛita and Kannada Literatures. And it is also worth noting that some of the authorities cited are distinguished Jaina writers. The

<sup>1</sup> Nirṇayasāgara Press edition.

<sup>2</sup> Bombay Sanskrit Series, S. P. Pandit's edition.

<sup>3</sup> Pampa-Bhārata, edited by Mr. Rice, p. 9, prose passage.

<sup>4</sup> Pampa-Rāmāyaṇa, edited by Mr. Rice, p. 22, ch I. 119.

<sup>5</sup> Edited by Mr. R. Narasimhachar, M.A., in the Bibliotheca Carnatica series.

jewel is also referred to in Ancient Inscriptions. I quote the following verse from the Gupta Inscriptions,<sup>1</sup> p. 83.

Śaśin=êva nabhò vimalam kaus[t]ubha maṇin=êva Śârṅgiṇò  
vakshaḥ I

bhavana-varêṇa tath=êdam puram=akhilam=alamkṛitam=  
udâram II

In the Index to the Gupta Inscriptions, p. 321, Dr. Fleet says :—  
“Kaustubha, a jewel worn on the breast by Vishṇu.” Bâṇa says<sup>2</sup> :—

सुभाषितं हरि विशत्यधो गलान्न दुर्जनस्यार्करिपोरिवामृतम् ।

तदेव धत्ते हृदयेन सज्जनो हरिर्महारत्नमिवातिनिर्मलम् ॥

Here the great jewel, though not mentioned by name, is the famous kaustubha. The commentator explains यथा [हरिः] विष्णुर्नारायणो हृदयेन वक्षःस्थलेनातिनिर्मलं स्वच्छं महारत्नं कौस्तुभं दधाति ; and this explanation is confirmed by another passage cited above from the Kâdambarî. It is interesting to note the fact that in the time of Nṛipatuṅga himself, the people in the Canarese country knew that their king did not possess the kaustubha jewel and believed that it was worn on the breast by the god Vishṇu. The illustrious Jaina author Guṇabhadra, who was preceptor to Kṛishṇarâja II while the latter was yuvarâja, and who wrote the concluding five chapters of the Âdipurâṇa,<sup>3</sup> says, after a touching reference to his great teacher Jinasêna, who had just passed away :—

हृदि धर्ममहारत्नमागमांभोधिसंभवं ।

कौस्तुभादधिकं मत्वा दधातु पुरुषोत्तमः ॥ ३५ ॥

Âdipurâṇa, Chapter 43.

TRANSLATION.—Let the best of persons cherish in his heart the great jewel in the form of religion, sprung from the ocean-like Scripture, regarding it superior to kaustubha, which Vishṇu (Purushôttama) wears on his breast, and which is the great jewel sprung from the ocean.

In the following verse from the Kâvyaprakâśa<sup>4</sup> we are advised to meditate on the two feet of Him who wears the kaustubha jewel.

किमासेव्यं पुंसां सविधमनवद्यं द्युसरितः

किमेकान्ते ध्येयं चरणयुगलं कौस्तुभभृतः ।

किमाराध्यं पुण्यं किमभिलषणीयं च करुणा

यदासक्त्या चेतो निरवधिविमुक्त्यै प्रभवति ॥

<sup>1</sup> Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III, by Dr. Fleet.

<sup>2</sup> Kâdambarî, Introductory verses, Nirnayasâgar Press edition with commentary.

<sup>3</sup> Jinazênâchârya's Âdipurâṇa, composed in the time of King Nṛipatuṅga-Amôghavarsha, Deccan College MS. No. 305 of 1884-86.

<sup>4</sup> Vâmanâchârya's edition of Kâvyaprakâśa X, 521, p. 857.

Here no god is named. But Nâgôjibhaṭṭa, the celebrated author of the Paribhâṣhenduśêkhara in his commentary on this verse, remarks<sup>1</sup> विष्णोः पादयुगं नान्यदेवस्य that we are to meditate on the two feet of the god Viṣṇu who alone wears the kaustubha. Finally Professor Macdonell tells<sup>2</sup> us that the post-Vedic kaustubha or breast-jewel of Viṣṇu has been explained as the sun by Kuhn. The conclusion to be drawn from all this evidence is that Viṣṇu is invoked in the first two verses of the Kavirâjamârگا.

(2) The next important word in the first verse which is misunderstood is Śrî which is translated in the above extracts "fortune" "good fortune" and "welfare." Dr. Fleet speaks of "Fortune clinging to the breast of king Nṛipatuṅga." This is not an Indian idea and is very absurd. The word Śrî bears several meanings; which of these is to be accepted here? Mammaṭa in his Kâvyaprakâśa<sup>3</sup> says that in such a case we should be guided by the principles of interpretation which are enumerated by Bhartṛihari in his Vâkyapadîya, thus :—

संयोगो विप्रयोगश्च साहचर्यं विरोधिता ।

अर्थः प्रकरणं लिङ्गं शब्दस्यान्यस्य संनिधिः ॥

साहचर्यं or constant accompaniment is the principle that determines the meaning to be assigned to the word Śrî here. It means the goddess Lakshmî, who constantly accompanies Viṣṇu, reclines on his breast and never abandons him. We read in the Viṣṇu-purâṇa.<sup>4</sup>

इन्द्र उवाच

नमस्ये सर्वभूतानां जननीमब्जसंभवाम् ।

श्रियमुन्निद्रपद्माक्षीं विष्णुवक्षःस्थलस्थिताम् ॥ ११५ ॥

एवं यथा जगत्स्वामी देवराजो जनार्दनः ।

अवतारं करोत्येष तथा श्रीस्तत्सहायिनी ॥ १३९ ॥

पुनश्च पद्मादुद्भूता यदादित्योभवद्धरिः ।

यदा च भार्गवो रामस्तदाभूद्धरणी त्वियम् ॥ १४० ॥

राघवत्वेभवत्सीता रुक्मिणी कृष्णजन्मनि ।

अन्येषु चावतारेषु विष्णोरेषा सहायिनी ॥ १४१ ॥

देवत्वे देवदेहेयं मानुषत्वे च मानुषी ।

विष्णोर्देहानुरूपा वै करोत्येषात्मनस्तनुम् ॥ १४२ ॥

Book I, Chap. IX.

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Chandôrkâr's edition of Kâvyaprakâśa of Mammaṭa, Ullâsa, X, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> Vêdic Mythology, p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> Vâmanâchârya's edition of Kâvyaprakâśa, pp. 72, 73.

<sup>4</sup> H. H. Wilson's translation of the Viṣṇupurâṇa, pp. 78, 80, 59, 60.

नित्यैव सा जगन्माता विष्णोः श्रीरनपायिनी ।

यथा सर्वगतो विष्णुस्तथैवेयं दिजोत्तम ॥

Book I, Chap. VIII.

The expression विष्णुवक्षःस्थलस्थिताम् applied to Lakshmî means "reclining on the breast of Vishṇu." This notion is frequently met with in Indian Literature and Inscriptions. We read in the Kâdambarî<sup>1</sup> यो [शुकनासो] नारायण वक्षःस्थलेऽपि स्थितामदुष्करलाभाममन्यत प्रज्ञाबलेन लक्ष्मीम् ।

Mâgha says :—

हस्तस्थिताखण्डितचक्रशालिनं दिजेन्द्रकान्तं श्रितवक्षसं श्रिया ।

सत्यानुरक्तं नरकस्य जिष्णवो गुणैर्नृपाः शार्ङ्गिणमन्वयासिषुः ॥

Śisupâlavadha XII 3.

Here श्रिया श्रितवक्षसं शार्ङ्गिणम् means Vishṇu on whose breast Lakshmî has taken up her abode. The Kannada poet Ranna who enjoyed the patronage of the Châlukya king Tailapa II, makes the goddess Lakshmî say<sup>2</sup> "I am sprung from the ocean. I am the noble lady who reclines on the breast of Vishṇu." King Bhôja<sup>3</sup> thus prays for the immortality of his work :—

यावन्मूर्ध्नि हिमांशुकन्दलभृति स्वर्वाहिनी धूर्जटे-

यावद्वक्षसि कास्तुभस्तबकिते लक्ष्मीर्मुखद्वेषिणः ।

यावच्चित्तभुवन्निलोकविजयप्रौढं धनुः कौसुमं

भूयात्तावदियं कृतिः कृताधियां कर्णावतंसोत्पलम् ॥

In the Kâvyâvalôkana,<sup>4</sup> verse No. 303 runs.

âvom kâvom lôkama—

n âvonin amararkka! amarar enisidar olaviṃ—|

d âvon uras-thalado! La—

kshmî-vadhu nelas irppa! â Mura-dvishan îtam ॥

TRANSLATION :—This is that foe of Mura [*i.e.* Vishṇu] who protects the world, through whom the gods called themselves immortals and on whose breast the goddess Lakshmî has lovingly taken up her abode.

We read in the Gupta Inscriptions<sup>5</sup>

Yâvach=chandra-kalâ Harasya Śirasi

Śrîḥ Śârṅginô (ṇô) vakshasi.

In the Index Dr. Fleet explains Śrîḥ as "the goddess Lakshmî."

<sup>1</sup> Kâdambari, Nirṇayasâgar Press edition, p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> Gadâyuddha, Karpâṭaka Kâvyamanjari series No. 12, p. 141.

<sup>3</sup> Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharana, the concluding verse.

<sup>4</sup> Mr Narasimhachar's edition.

<sup>5</sup> Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III, p. 204.

This idea is also contained in the following illustration of the figure of sense called vyâja-stuti given by Nṛipatuṅga himself :—

jala-râśi-prabhaveyan a-vi-  
kala-Kṛishṇa-guṇ-ânurakteyam mige Lakshmî-  
lalaneyan ântum vaksha—  
sthaladoḷ pē ! ent udâra-charitane appai ||  
Kavirâjamârga, Chapter III, Verse 161.

TRANSLATION.—Say how thou canst be of noble character, though bearing on thy breast the fair Lakshmî sprung from a multitude of dull persons (sprung from the ocean) and fond of all black qualities (fond of all the qualities of Kṛishṇa.)

In this verse Viṣṇu, who bears the goddess Lakshmî on his breast, is apparently dispraised but really praised. From all these passages it is evident that the phrase Śrî taḷ uradoḷ does not mean Fortune clinging to the breast of Amôghavarsha. It should be translated “Lakshmî clinging to the breast of Viṣṇu,” as is seen in the celebrated temple of Vîranârâyaṇa at Gadag in Dharwar District where Lakshmî is represented as clinging to Vîranârâyaṇa's breast.

(3.) The next important word that is misunderstood is the verb agalaḷ. This is the only verb in the first verse and means “she does not abandon or never abandons” ; and “Śrî agalaḷ” means “Laksmî never abandons.” In the passage from the Viṣṇu-purâṇa cited above we are told that Lakshmî is the constant companion of Viṣṇu and that she never abandons him. The same idea is expressed by Murâri who says :—

आत्मान मिन्दुकरमेदुरचन्द्रकान्तस्तम्भोज्ज्वलं वितर मे हृदि निर्वृणोमि ।  
न भ्रातृसंगमसुखासिकया जहाति विष्णोः सकौस्तुभमुरश्चपलापि लक्ष्मीः ॥

Anarghya-Râghava'.

The Sanskrit words लक्ष्मीर्न जहाति can be rendered into Old Kannaḍa thus, Śrî agalaḷ or Śrî-vadhu agalade irpaḷ (lit. lives without abandoning). The former mode of expression is adopted by Nṛipatuṅga in the first verse of the Kavirâjamârga which is the subject of the present discussion ; and the latter mode is found in the opening verse of the Kannaḍa Pañchatantra<sup>2</sup> where Durgasiṃha says :—

Śrî-vadhu râgadiṃḍ agalad âvana vakshadoḷ irpaḷ âvag(n)aṃ  
dêva-nikâyam ôlagipud âvana nâbhi--sarôjadoḷ vacha—  
Śrî-varan utsavam berasu puṭṭidan âtan asêsha-daitya-vi-  
drâvaṇan îge Durga-vibhug Achyutan achyuta-saukhya-  
kôṭiyam II

<sup>1</sup> Published in the Kavyamâlâ series, p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> Published in the Karpâṭaka Kavyamañjari.

TRANSLATION :—May He, Vishṇu, on whose breast the goddess Lakshmî lovingly remains without abandoning (him), whom a multitude of gods serve, from the lotus in whose navel the husband of Sarasvatî [Brahmadêva] has taken his birth with joy, and who dispels all demons,—give to the lord Durga untold and uninterrupted blessings.

Dr. Fleet translates agala! “ Let her not abandon ” and says it expresses a prayer. This is opposed to the rules of Kannada grammar. This form of the verb is called pratishêdha-rûpa or the negative mood. It is composed of the root agal, to abandon, a, the particle of negation, and aḷ, the singular feminine verbal suffix of the third personal pronoun. It does not express the sense of the imperative and therefore cannot denote a prayer. Kêśirâja says<sup>1</sup> that the negative mood is used in all the three tenses and that mâḍam expresses the negation of what is denoted by the affirmative indicative forms, mâḍidam, mâḍidapam and mâḍuvam. So the form mâḍam means he did not, he does not and he will not do. In the Karṇâṭaka-Śabdânuśâsana we are assured that the negative mood never expresses the sense of the imperative. Bhaṭṭakalaṅka says<sup>2</sup> :—

Sûtram 524. Âśîr-âḍau bêḍam-bêḍau parataḥ. Vṛttiḥ-Tiṇaḥ parataḥ bêḍam, bêḍa ity êtau śabdau prayujyêtê âśîr-âdy-arthê prati-shêdha-vishayê II

Prayôgaḥ—Mâḍal bêḍam, mâḍal bêḍa ; nôḍaḷ bêḍam, nôḍal bêḍa II  
Âśîr-âḍâv iti kiṃ I mâḍam mâḍar II

In this passage the words “ âśîr-âḍâv iti kiṃ, mâḍam, mâḍar ” mean Why is the expression âśîr-âḍau inserted in the Sûtra? because when prayer, &c. (âśîr-âḍi) the meanings of the imperative mood given in Sûtra 465 are not denoted, then we have such forms as mâḍam (he does not, did not or will not, do), mâḍar (they do not, did not, or will not, do).

Dr. Caldwell has made very interesting remarks on the negative mood in his comparative grammar of the Dravidian languages. He says<sup>3</sup> : “ In general, the Dravidian negative verb has but one tense, which is an aorist or is indeterminate in point of time, e.g., pôgên, Tamil (pôvanu, Telagu, pôgenu, Ca.), I go not, means either I did not, I do not, or I will not go. The time is generally determined by the context. After noticing the peculiarities of Ku, Gond, and Tulu he proceeds “ in the other dialects (including Kannada) there is only one mood of the negative in ordinary use, viz., the indicative. Dr. Cald-

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Kittel's 1st. edition of Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa, Sutra 222, pp. 260, 261.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Rice's edition of Karṇâṭaka-śabdânuśâsana, p. 265.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Caldwell's comparative grammar of the Dravidian languages, 2nd Ed., p. 360.

well has given the following comparative paradigm of the negative form of the verb *gey*, to do<sup>1</sup> :—

NEGATIVE MOOD—AORIST.

*(Common to all tenses, but most used with a future signification.)*

	Tamil.	Malayalam.	Telugu.	Canarese.
I do not, did not or will not do.	Śeyyen	Cheyen	Chêyanu	Geyyem.
Thou	Śeyyây	Cheyjâ (impers.)	Chêyavu	Geyyay.
He	Śeyyân	Cheyân	Chêyañdu	Geyyam.
She	Śeyyâi	Cheyjâi	Chêyadu	Geyyai.
It	Śeyyâdu	Cheyjâ (impers.)	Do.	Geyyadu.
	Śeyyâ			

<sup>1</sup> Idem p. 447 ff

From this comparative view it is clear that like *geyya!* the form *agala!* means either she does not, did not or will not abandon. It does not mean "Let her not abandon." It is also equally evident that in none of the four Dravidian languages compared above do such forms as *geyya!* and *agala!* convey the sense of the imperative.

Dr. Kittel has discussed the negative verb in a most exhaustive manner in his grammar of the Kannada language. He says<sup>1</sup> that the conjugated negative of the verb is formed by suffixing the personal terminations to the infinitive ending in *a*, and is used for the present, past and future tense, according to circumstances. It was absolutely necessary both for Dr. Caldwell and Dr. Kittel to notice fully all the possible meanings of the negative verb in order to arrive at a correct explanation of the origin of this interesting form which is conspicuous by its absence in the Aryan languages. Dr. Kittel holds that *a*, the particle of negation, is the same as the infinitive ending in *a*. "That infinitive originally was a verbal noun and only in course of time came to get its specific meanings (§188). Thus, *e.g.*, *nôḍa* at first meant 'seeing', 'a seeing,' and thereupon 'to see,' 'about to see,' 'yet to see.' *Nôḍem* (*nôḍa* and *em*) therefore signifies, 'a yet to see—I, *i.e.*' my seeing (is or was) yet to be or (will be) yet to be, or my seeing (is) not actually existing, (was) not so, or (will) not be so, whence we arrive at the meaning 'I do not see,' 'I did not see,' '(I have not seen),' 'I shall not see<sup>2</sup>.' " Dr. Kittel very carefully notices all the meanings which the negative form *nôḍa!* or *nôḍa!* bears in the ancient, the mediæval and the modern dialect of the Kannada language and tells us that the negative verb is seldom used in the modern dialect except in proverbs and that such expressions as *koḍuvad ill* (I, etc., do not give, I, etc., shall not give), *koḍal illa* (I, etc., did not give) are now used in place of the conjugated negative<sup>3</sup>. The negative verb therefore does not express the sense of the imperative.

The unanimous opinion on this point of the four distinguished grammarians, Kêśirâja, Bhaṭṭakalaṅka, Dr. Caldwell and Dr. Kittel is supported by the usage of ancient Kannada authors. I shall quote four illustrations. Daṇḍi says :—

न मीलयति पद्मानि न नभोप्यवगाहते ।

त्वन्मुखेन्दुर्ममासूनां हरणायैव कल्पते ॥

अक्रिया चन्द्रकार्याणामन्यकार्यस्य च क्रिया ।

अत्र सन्दर्श्यते यस्माद्विरुद्धं नाम रूपकम् ॥

Kāvyaḍarśa, Chapter II, 83, 84.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Kittel's Grammar of the Kannada Language, p. 157.

Idem, p. 161.

<sup>3</sup> Idem, pp. 159, 332.

Nṛipatuṅga renders this thus—

kamal-âkarado! sankô—  
chaman alalam chakravâkado! mâḍadu-  
nna mukh-êndu-bimbam induge I  
saman embudu mige viruddha-rûpakam akkuṃ II  
Kavirâjamârگا III 19.

Here न मीलयति is translated into sankôchamaṃ mâḍadu ; therefore the negative verb does not mean “ Let it not cause, &c.” Daṇḍi says

त्वन्मुखं कमलेनैव तुल्यं नान्येन केन चित् ।  
इत्यन्यसाम्यव्यावृत्तेरियं सा नियमोपमा ॥

Kâvyâdarśa, Chapter II, 19.

Nṛipatuṅga translates :—

sarasijadol rinna mukhaṃ I.  
taruṇî sadṛśam samantu pôladu peratam II  
nirutam id embudu niyam-ân I  
taritam niyam-ôpamâ-vikalpita-bhâvam II  
Kavirâjamârگا, Chap. III, 64.

Here the meaning is : thy face does not resemble any other thing. The negative verb pôladu does not mean “ Let it not resemble.” Vṛishabhanâtha says to Bharatarâja “ your having seen the sun darkened by the clouds indicates that there shall be no rise of divine knowledge in the fifth age.”

घनावरणरुद्धस्य दर्शनादंशुमालिनः ।  
केवलाकोदयः प्रायो न भवेत्पंचमे युगे ॥ ७८ ॥

Jinasêna's Âdipurâṇa<sup>1</sup>, Chap. 40.

Pampa renders this thus :—

musurida mugilgaḷimḍ aṇa—  
m eseyade niṃḍ arka-bimbamaṃ kaṇḍudariṃ—  
d eseyadu dushshama-kâlado—  
! asadṛśa-kaivalya-bôdha-dinakara-bimbaṃ II  
Pampa's Âdipurâṇa<sup>2</sup>, Chap. XV, 30.

<sup>1</sup> Jinasêna's Âdipurâṇa, Deccan College, MS. No. 505 of 1884-86.

<sup>2</sup> Mysore Government Oriental Library series No. 7.

Here the meaning is The sun of divine knowledge shall not shine. The negative verb eseyadu does not mean "Let it not shine." Châmunḍarâja expresses the same idea thus :—

Mugilu musurida nêṣaraṃ kaṇḍudaṛiṃ kēvala-jñāniga! āgaru

Châmunḍarâja-purāṇa<sup>1</sup>, Chap. I.

This means that there shall be no more persons gifted with divine knowledge. The negative verb āgaru does not mean "Let them not be." Dr. Fleet has been led into his mistake by not recognizing the difference between the negative mood agala! "she does not abandon" and the negative imperative "agalad irke" "let her, &c., not abandon." Nripatunga uses iḍad irkke (iḍade and irkke) "let them not employ" in verses, Chapter II, 21 and 25, as iḍar or iḍaru does not convey this sense.

4. The next important word in the first verse which is misunderstood is āvanam. Dr. Fleet translates "Let fortune not abandon him (literally whom)." If āvanam literally means whom, how can it be rendered by the demonstrative pronoun him? Dr. Fleet has failed to understand the peculiar use of the interrogative pronoun in the Kannada language. Dr. Caldwell mentions<sup>2</sup> the remarkable fact that "the Dravidian languages have no relative pronoun, a participial form of the verb being used instead." "In the absence of a real relative pronoun, the interrogative is used as a relative in many of the Scythian languages." Referring to this use of the interrogative,

<sup>1</sup> Palm-leaf MS. of the Jaina Maṭha at Kolhāpur, dated S'aka 1427. Mr. Narasimhachar in his Introduction to Kāvyaavalōkana, p. 7, says, "Châmunḍarâja acquired the title Chaladaṅka-Gaṅga for having killed his own brother Nāgavarma." Against this undeserved charge of fratricide unknown to Jaina chroniclers and Jaina tradition I have simply to refer to a contemporary Sravaṇ Belgol Inscription No. 109, in which Chaladaṅka-Gaṅga-nṛpati is spoken of as desiring to take the Gaṅga Kingdom; his desire was frustrated and he was killed by Châmunḍarâja. The verse runs thus :—

आक्रष्टुं भुजविक्रमादभिलषन् गंगाधिराज्यश्रियं

येनादौ चलदङ्कगङ्गनृपतिर्व्यर्थाभिलाषीकृतः ।

कृत्वा वीरकपाळरत्नचषके वीरद्विषः शोणितं

पातुं कौतुकिनश्च कोणपगणाः पूर्णाभिलाषीकृताः ॥

Here येन refers to Châmunḍarâja. The passage in the Châmunḍarâja-purāṇa runs thus :—

Taana tammanam Nāgavammanam konda pagege Chaladaṅka-Gaṅganum Gaṅgara baṇṭanum enisida Madurāchayanum dā! iṭṭu konda chalamam nerapidudaṛiṃ Samara-Parasurāmanum. Châmunḍarâja took the title of "a Parasurāma in war" owing to displaying firmness in having suddenly attacked and killed Madurāchaya, who called himself Chaladaṅka-Gaṅga and Gaṅgara baṇṭa, to avenge the death of his brother Nāgavarma.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Caldwell's comparative grammar of the Dravidian languages, 2nd Ed., pp. 337 and 332.

Kêśirâja says<sup>1</sup> that the pronouns âvaṃ, âva! and âvudu are paratan-  
tranga! or dependent, as their sense is not completed unless they are  
followed by demonstrative pronouns. One of the instances cited by  
Dr. Kittel runs :—

Dhanam uḷḷan âvan avane indraṃ,

which he translates thus :—

Who is a rich man, he indeed is a prince.

In English the two clauses stand thus :—

He indeed is a prince, who is a rich man.

Dr. Kittel remarks<sup>2</sup> “such sentences appear to have originally been  
formed in imitation of Sanskrit ones with the relatives यद्, यावद्, यथा and  
their correlatives तद्, तावद् and तथा. The truth of this remark is beauti-  
fully illustrated by the following two passages, the first from Jinasêna  
and the second from Pampa, the latter being a translation of the  
former :—

प्रसाधितदिशो यस्य यशः शशिकलामलं ।

सुरैरसकृदुद्गीतं कुलक्षोणीधकुक्षिषु ॥ २५० ॥

\* \* \* \*

नप्ता श्रीनाभिराजस्य पुत्रः श्रीवृषभेशिनः ।

षट्खंडमंडितामेनां यः स्म शास्त्यखिलां महीं ॥ २५२ ॥

मत्वासौ गत्वरौ लक्ष्मीं जित्वरः सर्व भूभृतां ।

जगद्विसुत्वरौ कीर्तिमतिष्ठिपदिहाचले ॥ २५३ ॥

Jinasêna, Âdipurâṇa, Chap. XXX.

Dêv-Ânganeyar pâḍuva—

r âvana jasamaṃ kuḷ-âcha!-âvaḷiyo! śau—

ry-âvashṭambhadin âldava—

n âvaṃ shaṭ-khaṇḍa-maṇḍita-kshiti-taḷamaṃ II 76 II

âtaṃ Bharat-êśvaran in—

t î teradiṃ negaḷda tanna kîrtiyan î vi—

khyâta-Vṛishabh-âdriyo! sura—

gîta-yaśaṃ nîrisidam nelaṃ nilv inegaṃ II 77.

Pampa, Âdipurâṇa, Chap. XIII.

The construction employed by Jinasêna is : (a) यस्य यशः सुरैरुद्गीतम्, (b)  
यः महीं शास्ति स्म, (c) असौ कीर्तिमतिष्ठिपदिहाचले. Here the two subordinate  
clauses, (a) and (b), are attributive adjuncts to असौ ( भरतः ) in the  
principal clause (c); and the pronouns यस्य, यः and असौ are used as

<sup>1</sup> S'abdamaṇḍikâraṇa, Dr. Kittel's 1st Ed., p. 174, Sûtra 143.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Kittel's Grammar of the Kannaḍa language, pp. 351, 352.

correlatives according to the principle यत्तदोर्नित्यमभिसंबन्धः. Pampa renders the relative pronouns यस्य and यः by the interrogative pronouns âvana and âvam thus, (a) Dêv-âṅganeyar pàduvar âvana jasamaṁ, (b) âldavan âvam kshititalamaṁ, (c) âtaṁ Bharatêśvaran î vṛishabh-âdriyo! tanna kirtiyam nirisidaṁ. It is therefore evident that Pampa's verse 76 contains two subordinate clauses which are attributive adjuncts to âtaṁ Bharatêśvaram in verse 77 which contains the principal clause ; and the two verses form one complex sentence. This construction is also employed in the first two verses of the Kavirâjamârگا which form one sentence'. Srî âvanan agala! श्रीर्यं न जहाति is a subordinate clause, which is an attributive adjunct to Nṛipatuṅga which is in the nominative case, being the subject of the verb îge in the second verse. The principal clause is: â Nṛipatuṅgaṁ namage îge pratâpôdayamaṁ असौ नृपतुङ्गे नो ददातु प्रतापोदयम्. We should therefore translate âvanam by the relative pronoun whom ; and Dr. Fleet's rendering 'him (literally, whom ?)' must be rejected.

5. The next word that is misunderstood is â in â Nṛipatuṅgaṁ which Dr. Fleet translates ' that (famous or well-known) Nṛipatuṅga. We have already seen that âvanam and â are used as correlatives. In such a construction the relative, or, what is its equivalent in Kan-  
nada, the interrogative, being expressed, the demonstrative does not mean famous or well-known. Mammaṭa, the author of the Kāvya-prakāśa, says<sup>2</sup> :—

प्रक्रान्तप्रसिद्धानुभूतार्थविषयस्तच्छब्दो यच्छब्दोपादानं नापेक्षते

and cites as an illustration the following verse :—

द्वयं गतं संप्रति शोचनीयतां समागमप्रार्थनया कपालिनः ।

कला च सा कान्तिमती कलावतस्त्वमस्य लोकस्यच नैत्रकौमुदी ॥

Kâlidâsa, Kumârasambhava V.

Mallinâtha in his commentary on this verse says अत्र सेति प्रसिद्धार्थत्वात् यच्छब्दापेक्षा because the word सा here means well-known, therefore the relative या is not expressed. This view is endorsed by Kêśirâja who says<sup>3</sup> â denotes what is previously mentioned and what is well-known.

Gaja-haya-rûḍhiyo! Bhagaḍattanin â Naḷaniṁ migilâdam. In mounting elephants and horses he was superior to Bhagadatta and that (well-known or famous) Naḷa. In this example â is used by itself.

<sup>1</sup> This is called युग्म. Cf verses 27 and 28 in Chap. VIII in Pampa's Âdipurâna, p. 199. Mysore Or. Lib. Series No. 1. See also 2 important verses in the Baroda copperplate inscription, which were misunderstood by Dr. Fleet, but were correctly explained by Dr. Bhandarkar, Ind. Ant. XII, pp. 228, 229.

<sup>2</sup> Kāvya-prakāśa, Chap. VII., Vâmanâchârya's Ed., p. 372.

<sup>3</sup> Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa. Dr. Kittels' 1st Ed., Sutra 169, pp. 202, 203.

But in the first verse of the Kavirâjamârگا it is correlative to âvanam and therefore does not mean famous or well-known.

6. The next point that is misunderstood is the position of the noun Nripatunga. Dr. Fleet believes that it is in apposition with âvanam and translates 'Let Fortune not abandon him, (namely) that Nripatunga. This is impossible because âvanam is the object of agala and in the accusative case, while Nripatunga is in the nominative case, being the subject of the verb îge, as has been fully explained above. A solemn disregard for the principle<sup>1</sup> यत्तदोर्नित्यमाभिसंबन्धः is very frequent in Dr. Fleet's translations. The following three passages may be taken as fair specimens<sup>2</sup> :—

यस्य प्रांशुनखांशुजालविसरद्धारांतराविर्भव-  
त्पादांभोजरजःपिशंगमकुटप्रत्यग्र रत्नद्युतिः ।  
संस्मर्ता स्वममोघवर्षनृपतिः पूतोहमद्येत्यलं  
स श्रीमान् जिनसेनपूज्यभगवत्पादो जगन्मंगलं ॥

Dr. Fleet translates :—“ When the fresh lustre of the jewels in his diadem was made of a reddish colour by the pollen of the water-lilies which were (his) feet, appearing between the streams that flowed forth from the rays of the high nails of his (feet), the glorious King Amôghavarsha,—whose holy feet were worthy to be worshipped by Jinasêna, (and who was) the (embodiment of the) prosperity of the world,—thought of himself, ‘ I am purified to-day ; it is enough.’ ”

(a) That Jinasêna considered the feet of his own pupil holy, (b) that the illustrious Âchârya worshipped the feet of his pupil Amôghavarsha, and (c) that the pupil Amôghavarsha was jagan-maṅgalam (the blessing of the world) are not Indian notions and are equalled in their absurdity by the idea of the lustre of the kaustubha-jewel going round Fortune clinging to the breast of Amôghavarsha. The next two examples are from the Gupta Inscriptions<sup>3</sup> :—

निन्धाचारेषु योस्मिन्विनयमुषि युगे कल्पनामात्रवृत्त्या  
राजस्वन्येषु पांसुष्विव कुसुमबलिर्नोवभासे प्रयुक्तः ।  
स श्रेयोधाम्नि सम्राडिति मनुभरतालर्कमान्धातृकल्पे  
कल्याणे हेम्नि भास्वान्मणिरिव सुतरां भ्राजते यत्र शब्दः ॥ ४५ ॥

Dr. Fleet translates :—“ He who, in this age which is the ravisher, of good behaviour, through the action simply of (his good) intentions shone gloriously, not associating with other kings who adopted a re-

<sup>1</sup> Kāvya-pradīpā, p. 229, Kāvya-mālā series.

<sup>2</sup> Ind. Ant. Vol. XII, p. 217. A correct translation of this verse is given by Dr. Bhandarkar, Early History of the Dekkan, 2nd Ed., p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III, pp. 146, 147, 148.

prehensible course of conduct,—just as an offering of flowers (is beautiful when it is not laid down) in the dust,—he in whom, possessed of a wealth of virtue, (and so) falling but little short of Manu and Bharata and Alarka and Mândhâtṛi, the title of “universal sovereign” shines more (than in any other), like a resplendent jewel (set) in good gold.”

Here (a) the verb आबभासे, being in the past tense, does not refer to the living and reigning king ; (b) the correlatives यो and स refer to शब्दः ; (c) प्रयुक्त<sup>1</sup> means “applied” and not “associating with other kings,” (d) न should be construed with आबभासे and not with प्रयुक्त, and (e) कल्पनामात्रवृत्त्या<sup>2</sup> means “by dint of mere imagination,” and not “through the action simply of (his good) intentions.”

The construction is :—

अस्मिन्विनयमुषि युगे यो [ सभाडिति शब्दः ] निन्याचारेषु अन्येषु राजसु कल्पनामात्र-  
वृत्त्या प्रयुक्तः पांसुषु कुसुमबलिरिव नाबभासे स सभाडिति शब्दः यत्र [i. e., यस्मिन्] श्रेयोधात्रि  
मनुभरतालङ्कमान्धातृकल्पे [ प्रयुक्तः ] कल्याणे हेन्नि भास्वान्मणिरिव भ्राजते.

[That king] in whom, the abode of virtue [and] but little inferior to Manu, Bharata, Alarka and Mândhâtṛi, there shines forth exceedingly like a resplendent jewel set in good gold, that title of universal sovereign, which, [when] applied, in this age the ravisher of modesty, to other kings of reprehensible conduct, by dint of mere imagination, did not shine, just as an offering of flowers [does not shine when laid down] in the dust. Another verse in the same inscription runs :—

स्थाणोरन्यत्र येन प्रणतिकूपणतां प्रापितां (तं) नोत्तमाङ्गं  
वस्याश्लिष्टो भुजाभ्यां वहति हिमगिरिर्दुर्गश्चन्द्राभिमानम् ।  
नीचैस्तेनापि यस्य प्रणतिभुजबलावर्जनश्छिष्टमूर्ध्ना  
चूडापुष्पोपहारैर्भिहिरकुलमृषेणाञ्जितं पादयुग्मं ॥

Dr. Fleet's translation :—“ He by whom (his) head has never been brought into the humility of obeisance to any other save (the god) Sthânu ;—he, through the embraces of whose arms (Himâlaya) the mountain of snow carries no longer the pride of the title of being a place that is difficult of access ;—he to whose feet respect was paid, with complimentary presents of the flowers from the lock of hair on

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ब्रह्मप्यानन्द शब्दोयं प्रयुक्तः सुखवाचकः

बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्भाष्ये वार्तिके Ânandaśrama Ed. Part II. p. 1343

Cf. एकः शब्दः सम्यग्ज्ञातः सुष्ठु प्रयुक्तः शास्त्रान्वितः स्वर्गे लोके कामधुग्भवति.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. कृष्टिर्वा लयो वा स्थितिर्वा तत्त्वमिति पौराणिकाः । तदपि कल्पनामात्रम्  
Mâṇḍūkyaopaniṣad with Gauḍapāda's Kārikās, p. 88. Ânandaśrama series.

the top of (his) head, by even that (famous) King Mihirakula, whose forehead was pained through being bent low down by the strength of (his) arm in (the act of compelling) obeisance."

Here the reading प्रापित्ता is a mistake for प्रापितं and the expression "no longer" is a gratuitous insertion. The purport of the verse is misunderstood by Dr. Fleet. The relative pronouns in the first two lines येन and यस्य are correlatives to तेन मिहिरकुलनृपेण; therefore the clauses containing these relatives are adjectival adjuncts to तेन मिहिरकुलनृपेण; the principal clause is तेन मिहिरकुलनृपेण यस्य पादयुग्मं अर्चितम्. The relative यस्य occurring in the third line above refers to Yaśôdharman. The real purport of the verse is "He to whom obeisance was made even by that King Mihirakula who did not bow before anybody save the god Śiva and embraced by whose arms the mountain Himâlaya bears the pride of the title "inaccessible." It is not Yaśôdharman but Mihirakula who is spoken of as a worshipper of Śiva. This interpretation is according to the principle mentioned by Daṇḍi.

वंशवीर्यश्रुतादीनि वर्णयित्वा रिपोरपि ।

तज्जयान्नायकोत्कर्षवर्णनञ्च धिनोति नः ॥

Kāvyaḍarśa, Chapter I, 22.

The pronoun तेन in तेन मिहिरकुलनृपेण and in तेन श्रीयशोधर्मणा in the next verse cannot mean "famous" for one and the same reason. We are now in a position to offer the following literal translation of the first verse of the Kavirâjamârگا.

That most eminent king (Nṛipa-tuṅga) whom the goddess Lakshmî, clinging to his breast, never abandons through affection, the lustre springing from the Kaustubha-jewel spreading around and forming a screen, who is noble, who is well-versed in politics (Nîti-nirantara).

It is evident that the first verse does not give a complete sense, as it contains only the subject of the principal clause and some of its attributive enlargements, while the predicate occurs in the second verse. At this stage of the inquiry, it is not possible to know whether the epithets applied to the god Viṣṇu refer, in their secondary sense as titles, to one or more persons. Let us now proceed to examine Dr. Fleet's translation of the second verse.

7. After explaining the expression apratihata-vikraman he adds the parenthetical clause (just as the god Viṣṇu-Nârâyaṇa had three strides which were not obstructed). This must be rejected, as the god Vîra-Nârâyaṇa, himself the owner of the kaustubha-jewel, is praised in the two verses.

8. "Appa" does not mean "who has become." It is a present relative participle of âgu, 'becoming', 'being' and should be translated 'that is', 'who is' according to Dr. Kittel's Grammar, p. 243.

9. This will also show that 'osedu' cannot be construed with 'appa', as Dr. Fleet has done. It naturally goes with îge.

Cf.

taruṇiyan osed ittaṃ.

Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa<sup>1</sup>, sūtra 61.

Osed ittu kṛit-ârtthanen appem.

Pampa<sup>2</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, VI, 111

ishtaṇ orvvan adhidêvateg end osed ittudaṃ

Inscription of Śaka 820, No. 60, Nagar<sup>3</sup> Taluq

osadu koṭṭor = î dvija-mukhyar

Ind. Ant. Vol. XII, p. 223.

In the last quotation osadu should be osedu ; and Dr. Fleet translates the words "these best of the twice-born . . . gave with pleasure." Dr. Kittel in his grammar, p. 419, translates "osedu koṭṭam" into "he was delighted (and) gave."

10. The most important word in the second verse is pratâpa which is misunderstood and mistranslated. According to Dr. Fleet, pratâpa means "a power, in dealing with the subject lying before him (the author), which he himself unaided, could not hope to display." This absurd explanation of the well-known Sanskrit word pratâpa is repeated at page 264, where we are told it means "ability to perform the task lying before him." By this periphrasis Dr. Fleet obviously means poetical talent or power, though he does not say so in plain language. Of course Dr. Fleet is unable to cite any authority. His assertion that king Nṛipatunga is invoked to grant poetical power is too absurd to deceive anybody. A king can give patronage but not poetical powers.

Surêśvara says :

धनार्थं ब्राह्मणा यान्ति राजानमितियुज्यते ।

न त्वनापदि विद्यार्थं तं यान्तीह द्विजोत्तमाः ॥

बृहदारण्योपनिषद्भाष्यवार्तिकम्

Part III, p. 1354, Ānandaśram edition.

Besides, invocations are never addressed to kings in Indian poems ; they are always addressed to gods, preceptors or other holy personages.

<sup>1</sup> Kittel's 1st Ed., p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Rice's Ed., p. 145.

<sup>3</sup> Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. VIII, Inscriptions in the Shimoga District, Part II, p. 280.

The fact is, Dr. Fleet<sup>1</sup> has been obliged, in order to uphold a wrong interpretation of the second verse, to mistranslate the well-known Sanskrit word which is explained by Amarasimha II, 20.—

स प्रतापः प्रभावश्च यत्तेजः कोशदण्डजम् ।

The commentator<sup>1</sup> says कोशो धनं दण्डः सैन्यं ताभ्यां जातम्. Thus प्रताप means that glory which arises from treasures and troops. Only a king can possess this quality. Târânâtha in his Vâchaspatya calls it कोश दण्डजातम् नृपतेजः a king's glory arising from money and armies. Bhavabhûti calls it क्षत्रधर्म, a quality of the warrior caste लवः † यत् पुनश्चन्द्रकेतो वदसि किन्तु भवतस्तातप्रतापोत्कर्षेऽप्यमर्ष इति तत्पृच्छामि किं व्यवस्थितविषयाः क्षत्रधर्मा इति.

Uttara-Râmacharita V.

The word pratâpa, therefore, means military prowess and occurs frequently in Sanskrit and Kannada literatures and in old Sanskrit and Kannada inscriptions. The expression in our text is pratâp-ôdayam, which is also employed in describing the high pitch of military prowess displayed by King Narasimha<sup>2</sup>.

We have thus far critically examined the translation of the first two verses of the Kavirâjamârگا so kindly presented by Dr. Fleet to Sanskrit scholars and have fully set forth the reasons for rejecting it altogether. I shall now give a correct and literal translation of the two verses.

May that best of kings (Nṛipatuṅga), whom the goddess Lakshmi clinging to his breast never abandons through affection,—the lustre springing from the Kaustubha jewel spreading around and serving like a screen,—who is well-versed in politics (Nîtinirantara,) who is noble, who is a wrestler that has performed his duty (Kṛitakṛityamalla), whose valour is uninterrupted, who is exceedingly pure (Atiśayadhavaḷa), who is Vîra-Nârâyaṇa, give to us a high pitch of military prowess that is attained unexpectedly.

From this literal and correct rendering of the first two verses of the Kavirâjamârگا it is clear that the god Vîra-Nârâyaṇa or Vishṇu, the owner of the kaustubha jewel, on whose breast the goddess Lakshmi reclines and whom she never abandons, is praised here. The god is invoked to grant prowess. The author who prays for prowess must have been a king. And from the epithets Nṛipatuṅga, Atiśayadhavaḷa, &c., applied to the god, we are forced to conclude that the royal author wishes to make a punning reference to his

<sup>1</sup> Amarakôśa with the commentary Vâkyasudhâ, Nirṇaya S. Press, p. 312.

<sup>2</sup> Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. IV., Inscriptions in the Mysore District Part II. Inscription No. 38, line 23.

own titles. This method of indirectly suggesting one's own name or title is adopted by Samantabhadra, Akalañkadêva, Nênichandra Pûjyapâda and Guṇabhadra. Addressing the last Tîrthañkara Vardhamâna, Samantabhadra says<sup>1</sup> :—

बहुगुणसंपदसकलं परमतमपि मधुरवचनविन्यासकलम् ।  
नयभक्त्यवतंसकलं तव देव मतं समन्तभद्रं सकलम् ॥ १ ॥  
श्रीवर्द्धमानमकलंकमनिश्चयं पादारविन्दयुगलं प्रणिपत्य मूर्ध्ना ।  
भव्यैकलोकनयनं परिपालयंतं स्याद्वादवर्त्म परिणौमि समन्तभद्रम् ॥ २ ॥  
ये संस्तुता विविधभक्तिसमंतभद्रैरेन्द्रादिभि विनतमौलिमणिप्रभाभिः ।  
उद्योतितांग्रियुगलाः सकलप्रबोधास्ते नो दिशंतु विमलां कमलां जिनेन्द्राः ॥ ३ ॥

Akalañkadêva addresses Mahāvîra as Akalañka

सर्वज्ञाय निरस्तबाधकधिये स्याद्वादिने ते नम-  
स्त्यात्प्रत्यक्षमलक्षयन्स्वमतमभ्यस्याप्यनेकांतभाक् ।  
तत्त्वं शक्यपरीक्षणं सकलवित्रैकांतवादी ततः  
प्रेक्षावानकलंक याति शरणं त्वामेव वीरं जिनम् ॥

Laghîyastraya<sup>2</sup>.

Nênichandra addresses the Tîrthañkar Nêminâtha as Nênichandra

सि०धं सु०धं पणामिय जिणिंदवरणेमिचंद्रमकलंकं  
गुणरयणभूषणुदयं जीव०स परूषणं बो०छं ॥

Gomaṭa-sâra<sup>3</sup>

which Kêśavaṇṇa renders into Sanskrit thus—

सिद्धं शुद्धं प्रणम्य जिनेन्द्रवर नेमिचंद्रमकलंकं  
गुणरत्नभूषणोदयं जीवस्य प्ररूपणं वक्ष्यामि

In Nênichandra's Trilôkasâra<sup>4</sup> we read—

बळगोविंदसिद्धामणिकिरणकलावरुणचरणणहकिरणं ।  
विमलयरणेमिचंद्रं तिहुवणचंद्रं णमंसाभि ॥

In this verse also the author Nênichandra calls the Tîrthañkara Nêminâtha after himself and thus makes an indirect reference to his own name. It may be also noted here that Pûjyapâda, the celebrated author of the Jainendra Vyākaraṇa, whose other

<sup>1</sup> Svayambhūstotra, MS. of the Jaina Maṭha at Kolhapur, verses 2 and 3 are not found in some MSS ; verse 2 occurs also in the Aṣṭaśatī.

<sup>2</sup> Palm-leaf MS. of the Jaina Maṭha at Kolhapur, p. 38 (b).

<sup>3</sup> Terdal MS. of the Gomaṭasâra, the opening verse.

<sup>4</sup> Deccan College MS. No. 599 of 1875-76, leaf 2 (b).

name was Dêvanandi, makes the latter name part of the adjective qualifying the god whom he invokes.

लक्ष्मीरात्यन्तिकी यस्य निरवद्यावभासते ।

देवनन्दितपूजेशे नमस्तस्मै स्वयंभुवे <sup>1</sup> ॥ ५५ ॥

Guṇabhadra calls Jina guṇa-bhadra after himself.

उपयांति समस्तसंपदो विपदो विच्युतिमाप्नुवंत्यलं ।

वृषभं वृषमार्गदेशिनं झषकेतुद्विषमीयुषां सतां ॥ ३५७ ॥

इत्थं भवंतमतिभक्तिपथं निनीषोः

प्रागेव बंधकलयः प्रलयं व्रजंति ।

पश्चादनश्वरमयाचितमप्यवश्यं

संपत्स्यतेस्य विलंसद्गुणभद्र भद्रं ॥ ३५८ ॥

Âdipurâṇa, Chapter 44.

The distinguished Râshtrakûṭa author Pampa who finished his Âdipurâṇa<sup>2</sup> in Śaka 863, mentions, as his titles, Sukavi-jana-mânas-ottamaśaṃsa, Guṇârṇava, Saṃsâra-sârôdaya and Sarasvatîmaṇi-hâra. He then transfers these titles to Âdinâtha, who is invoked in the beginning, to Bharatêśvara, Dêvendra and other divine persons very frequently in his Âdipurâṇa. The two concluding verses of each chapter and the opening verses of the second and all the succeeding chapters contain illustrations of this remark. The ninth chapter opens thus:—

Śrî-pati Puru-param êśvara—

n âpûrṇa-manôratham naman-nṛipa makuṭ-â-

ṭôpam trailōky- ânta—

vyâpita-mahimam Sarasavtî-maṇi-hâram ॥

Here Âdinâtha is described as the lord of prosperity, whose desires are fulfilled, who is adorned by the splendour of the crowns of kings making a bow, whose glory has filled the three worlds, and who is a string of jewels to the goddess Sarasvatî (Sarasvatî-maṇihâram). In the concluding verse of the eighth chapter we read:

Sâkêta-simhâsan-âsînam pâlisidam mahî-valayamam Saṃsâra-sâr-ôdayam ॥

Âdinâtha, seated on the throne of Ayôdhyâ, the promoter of the essence of life [*i.e.* religion], protected the circle of the earth. In these passages Pampa has transferred his own titles to the first Tîrthaṅkara Vṛishabhanâtha. Pampa's object evidently is that they should be understood in their primary sense as referring to the god

<sup>1</sup> Jainendra-vyâkarana. Deccan College MS. No 591 of 1875-76.

<sup>2</sup> Mysore edition referred to in note 2, p. 12.

and in their secondary sense as giving his own titles as the author of the Âdipurâṇa. Abhinava-Pampa has only followed the example of his distinguished predecessor and namesake in this matter.

As I have already remarked, the first two verses of the Kavirâjamârṅga contain a prayer addressed to the god Viṣṇu to grant military prowess. This indicates that the author was a king. And the intentional use of the expressions Nripatunga, Atiśaya-dhavaḷa, &c., as epithets to the god, leads us to infer that they must have been the titles of this royal author. But as prowess will not help him in dealing with the subject lying before him, the royal author proceeds in the third verse to invoke the goddess Sarasvatî to give him poetical power.

dēvi Sarasvatî haṃsa-vi |  
bhâvade nele-golge kûrttu man-mânasado! ||

Let the goddess Sarasvatî take up her abode with love in my mind (mâṇasa) just as the flamingo takes up his abode in the lake Mâṇasa. In the fourth verse the royal author calls upon former great poets to aid him in his literary work.

To borrow the language of Mammaṭa the first two verses have two meanings, the वाच्य (obvious) and the व्यङ्ग्य (implied). The व्यङ्ग्यार्थ (the implied meaning) that the author was a king, and that atīśaya-dhavaḷa was one of his titles is confirmed by the following passage:—

Atiśayadhavaḷ-ôrvvip-ôdit-âlaṅkṛiti I, 147, which means “the figures of speech composed by King Atiśayadhavaḷa.” Dr. Fleet has failed to understand the meaning of the word uḍita. It does not mean here “sprung from.” It is the past passive participle of वृद् to speak, and is often used in the sense of composed (विरचित). Mallishêṇa who finished his Mahâpurâṇa<sup>1</sup> in Śaka 969, says : —

श्रीजिनसेनसूरितनुजेन कुट्टाष्टिमत्प्रभेदिना ।  
गारुडमंत्रवादसकलागमलक्षणतर्क वेदिना ॥  
तेन महापुराणमुदितं भुवनत्रयवर्त्तिकीर्त्तिना ।  
प्राकृतसंस्कृतोभयकवित्वधृता कविचक्रवर्त्तिना ॥  
तीर्थे श्रीम(मु)कुण्डनाम्नि नगरे श्रीजैनधर्म्मालये  
स्थित्वा श्रीकविचक्रवर्त्तियतिपः श्रीमल्लिषेणान्हयः ।  
संक्षेपात् प्रथमान(नु)योगकथनं व्याख्यानितं शृण्वतां  
भव्यानां दुरितापहं रचितवान्निःशेषविद्यांबुधिः ॥  
इत्युभयभाषाकविचक्रवर्त्तिश्रीमल्लिषेणसूरीविरचित-  
त्रिषष्टिलक्षणमहापुराणसंग्रहे श्रीवर्द्धमानतीर्थकरपुराणं समाप्तं ॥

<sup>1</sup> MS. of the Jaina Maṭha at Kolhapura.

In the first verse cited above the words महापुराणमुदितं mean महापुराणं विरचितं. Vaidyanâtha, the author of the Udâharaṇa-chandrikâ,<sup>1</sup> says :—

अनल्पकविकल्पिताखिलसदर्थमञ्जूषिकां  
सदन्वयविबोधिकां विबुधसंशयोच्छेदिकाम् ।  
उदाहरणयोजनाजननसज्जनाल्हादिकाम्  
उदाहरणचन्द्रिकां भजत वैद्यनाथोदिताम् ॥ १ ॥

In the colophon we read वैद्यनाथेन रचितायां काव्यप्रकाशोदाहरणविद्वताबुदारण-चन्द्रिकायां दशम उक्तासः संपूर्णः. The Râshṭrakâṭa author Pampa makes Bharata praise the Jinas thus :

Saṃsâra-sâr-ôday-ô-I

dita-mâṇikya-Jina-stav-âvali jayaṃ bhadraṃ Śubhaṃ maṅgalaṃ II

Pampa's Âdipurâṇa XVI, 10

May the verses in praise of the Mâṇikya-Jinas uttered by Bharata (composed by Pampa) the propagator of the essence of life (*i. e.*, religion) confer blessings. It is obvious from the context that the expression Saṃsârasâr-ôdaya is used in a double sense ; and “ uditâ ” means ‘ uttered ’ and ‘ composed.’

The next passage that is misunderstood and mistranslated by Dr. Fleet is the opening verse of the third chapter which runs thus :

Śrî-vidit-ârth-âlaṅkā-

r-âvaliyam vividha-bhêda-vibhav-âspadamam I

bhâvisi besasidan akhila-dha-

râ-vallabhan int Amôghavarsha-nṛipêndram II

Kavirâjamârگا III,<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Fleet translates this thus :—

“ Having thought over the well-known series of embellishments of sense, which is a receptacle of the display of various kinds of distinctions, the great King Amôghavarsha, the favourite of the whole world, commanded (the treatment of it) thus (as follows).” At page 268 Dr. Fleet explains the meaning of the verse more fully and says “ the great King Amôghavarsha thought over the famous and well-known series of embellishments of sense, and commanded (the treatment of it) in the manner which the author then followed.”

The obvious objections against this translation and explanation are that the original text contains nothing answering to the words “(treatment of it)” and the words “ which the author then followed,” that the transitive verb besasidam having for its object arthâlaṅkā-

<sup>1</sup> Kāvya-prakâśa, Vâmanâchârya's Ed., Intr. p. 40.

âvaliyam (the series of embellishments of sense) cannot mean "commanded" and that it is absurd to suggest that Amôghavarsha thought over the embellishments while he commanded "the treatment of it (them ?)" by another person, because thinking over the subject is the most essential part of the author's work. The verb besasidam means declared, made known, communicated, or described. This can be easily proved by the following passages from two eminent authors of the Râshtrakûṭa period.

Jinasēna says :—

अथान्यदा महादेवी सौधे सुप्ता यशस्वती ।  
 स्वप्नेपश्यन्महीं ग्रस्तां मेरुं सूर्यं च सोऽबुधं ॥ १०० ॥  
 सरः सहस्रमब्धिच चर्वाचिकमैक्षत ।  
 स्वप्नांते च व्यबुद्धासौ पठन्मागधनिःस्वनैः ॥ १०१ ॥  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 सा पत्ये स्वप्नमालां तां यथादृष्टं न्यवेदयत् ॥  
 दिव्यचक्षुरसौ देवस्तत्फलानीत्यभाषत ॥ १२३ ॥

Jinasēna's Âdipurāṇa XV.

Pampa<sup>1</sup> translates the last verse thus :—

Yaśasvati tanna kaṇḍa kanasugaḷan anukramam dappad  
 aripuvudum anitumam Puru paramēśvaran avadhārisi, tat-  
 svapna-phalaṅgaḷan int endu besasidam.

TRANSLATION.

When the Queen Yaśasvati communicated in order the dreams she had seen, Puru-paramēśvara listened to all that and described in the following manner the fruits of her dreams.

Jinasēna makes Bharata say :—

अपिचाय मया स्वप्ना निशांते षोडशेक्षिताः ।  
 प्रायोनिष्टफलाश्चैते मया देवामिलक्षिताः ॥ ३४ ॥  
 यथादृष्टमुपन्यस्ये तानिमान्परमेश्वर ।  
 यथास्वं तत्फलान्यस्मत्प्रतीतिविषयं नय ॥ ३५ ॥  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 षोडशैतेष यामिन्यां दृष्टाः स्वप्ना विदांवर ।  
 फलविप्रतिपत्तिं मे तद्गतां त्वमपाकुरु ॥ ४१ ॥  
 इति तत्फलविज्ञाने निपुणोप्यवधित्विषा ।  
 सभाजनप्रबोधार्थं पप्रच्छ निधिराट् जिनं ॥ ४२ ॥  
 तत्प्रश्नावसितावित्थं व्याचष्टे स्म जगद्गुरुः ।  
 वचनामृतसंसेकैः प्रीणयन्नाखिलं सदः ॥ ४३ ॥

Jinasēna's Âdipurāṇa, Chap. 41.

Pampa's Âdipurāṇa, VIII, pp. 198, 199.

the top of (his) head, by even that (famous) King Mihirakula, whose forehead was pained through being bent low down by the strength of (his) arm in (the act of compelling) obeisance."

Here the reading प्रापिता is a mistake for प्रापितं and the expression "no longer" is a gratuitous insertion. The purport of the verse is misunderstood by Dr. Fleet. The relative pronouns in the first two lines येन and यस्य are correlatives to तेन मिहिरकुलनृपेण; therefore the clauses containing these relatives are adjectival adjuncts to तेन मिहिरकुलनृपेण; the principal clause is तेन मिहिरकुलनृपेण यस्य पादयुग्मं अर्चितम्. The relative यस्य occurring in the third line above refers to Yaśôdharman. The real purport of the verse is "He to whom obeisance was made even by that King Mihirakula who did not bow before anybody save the god Śiva and embraced by whose arms the mountain Himâlaya bears the pride of the title "inaccessible." It is not Yaśôdharman but Mihirakula who is spoken of as a worshipper of Śiva. This interpretation is according to the principle mentioned by Daṇḍi.

वंशवीर्यश्रुतादीनि वर्णयित्वा रिपोरपि ।

तज्जयान्नायकोत्कर्षवर्णनञ्च धिनोति नः ॥

Kâvyâdarśa, Chapter I, 22.

The pronoun तेन in तेन मिहिरकुलनृपेण and in तेन श्रीयशोधर्मणा in the next verse cannot mean "famous" for one and the same reason. We are now in a position to offer the following literal translation of the first verse of the Kavirâjamârگا.

That most eminent king (Nṛipa-tuṅga) whom the goddess Lakshmî, clinging to his breast, never abandons through affection, the lustre springing from the Kaustubha-jewel spreading around and forming a screen, who is noble, who is well-versed in politics (Nîti-nirantara).

It is evident that the first verse does not give a complete sense, as it contains only the subject of the principal clause and some of its attributive enlargements, while the predicate occurs in the second verse. At this stage of the inquiry, it is not possible to know whether the epithets applied to the god Viṣṇu refer, in their secondary sense as titles, to one or more persons. Let us now proceed to examine Dr. Fleet's translation of the second verse.

7. After explaining the expression apratihata-vikraman he adds the parenthetical clause (just as the god Viṣṇu-Nârâyaṇa had three strides which were not obstructed). This must be rejected, as the god Vîra-Nârâyaṇa, himself the owner of the kaustubha-jewel, is praised in the two verses.

8. "Appa" does not mean "who has become." It is a present relative participle of âgu, 'becoming', 'being' and should be translated 'that is', 'who is' according to Dr. Kittel's Grammar, p. 243.

9. This will also show that 'osedu' cannot be construed with 'appa', as Dr. Fleet has done. It naturally goes with îge.

Cf.

taruṇiyan osed ittaṃ.

Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa<sup>1</sup>, sūtra 61.

Osed ittu kṛit-ârtthanen appaṃ.

Pampa<sup>2</sup> Râmâyana, VI, 111

ishtaṇ orvvan adhidêvateg end osed ittudaṃ

Inscription of Śaka 820, No. 60, Nagar<sup>3</sup> Taluq

osadu koṭṭor = î dvija-mukhyar

Ind. Ant. Vol. XII, p. 223.

In the last quotation osadu should be osedu ; and Dr. Fleet translates the words "these best of the twice-born . . . gave with pleasure." Dr. Kittel in his grammar, p. 419, translates "osedu koṭṭam" into "he was delighted (and) gave."

10. The most important word in the second verse is pratâpa which is misunderstood and mistranslated. According to Dr. Fleet, pratâpa means "a power, in dealing with the subject lying before him (the author), which he himself unaided, could not hope to display." This absurd explanation of the well-known Sanskrit word pratâpa is repeated at page 264, where we are told it means "ability to perform the task lying before him." By this periphrasis Dr. Fleet obviously means poetical talent or power, though he does not say so in plain language. Of course Dr. Fleet is unable to cite any authority. His assertion that king Nripatunga is invoked to grant poetical power is too absurd to deceive anybody. A king can give patronage but not poetical powers.

Surêśvara says :

धनार्थे ब्राह्मणा यान्ति राजानमितियुज्यते ।

न त्वनापदि विद्यार्थे तं यान्तीह द्विजोत्तमाः ॥

बृहदारण्योपनिषद्भाष्यवार्तिकम्

Part III, p. 1354, Ānandaśram edition.

Besides, invocations are never addressed to kings in Indian poems ; they are always addressed to gods, preceptors or other holy personages.

<sup>1</sup> Kittel's 1st Ed., p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Rice's Ed., p. 145.

<sup>3</sup> Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. VIII, Inscriptions in the Shimoga District, Part II, p. 280.

vatî who is as distinguished a grammarian as Bhaṭṭākalāṅka himself, and whose work is read at the present day in all parts of India. In his gloss on Pāṇini's sūtra विशत्यादिभ्यस्तमडन्यतरस्याम् V, 2, 56 we read विशत्यादिभ्य इति प्रत्यासत्त्या 'पङ्क्तिः'—इत्यादि सूत्रेण निपातिता विशत्यादयो गृह्यन्ते, न लोकप्रसिद्धा विप्रकृष्टत्वादिति भाष्यमतम् वृत्तिकृता तु विशत्यादयो लौकिका एव संख्याशब्दा गृह्यन्ते न पङ्क्तिः इत्यादिसूत्रनिर्दिष्टाः । तद्ग्रहणे त्वेकविंशतिप्रभृतिभ्यो न स्यात् । ग्रहणवता प्रातिपदिकेन तदन्तविधिप्रतिषेधात् । एवंच सति षष्ट्यादेश्चासंख्यादेः इति पर्युदासो युज्यत एवेत्युक्तम् एकविंशतितम इति यद्यपि भाष्यमते तदन्तविधिर्दुर्लभः तथापि षष्ट्यादेश्च इति सूत्रे संख्यादिपर्युदासो शापयति इह प्रकरणे तदन्तानामपि ग्रहणम् इति । एवंच सति एकात्रविंशतेः पूरण एकात्रविंशतितम इत्यपि सिध्यति । लौकिकानां ग्रहणमिति वृत्तिमते तु नैतत्सिध्येत् विंशतिसंख्यातः प्राग्भावित्वादस्याः संख्यायाः । एतच्च कैयटहरदत्तग्रन्थयोः स्पष्टम् ।

### TATTVABÔDHINÎ.

#### TRANSLATION.

The expression विशत्यादयः should be understood in the sense of the numerals beginning with twenty as enumerated in Pāṇini.V, 1, 59 owing to proximity and not in the sense of ordinary numerals beginning with twenty in the popular sense owing to the latter being remote. This is the opinion of Patañjali. The author of the Kāśikāvr̥tti<sup>1</sup> on the other hand holds that ordinary numerals beginning with twenty are intended and not those enumerated in Pāṇini V, 1, 59 ; as according to the latter interpretation, such a form as एकविंशतितमः could not be formed according to the maxim<sup>2</sup> that when a specific form of a noun is mentioned in Pāṇini, a termination should not be affixed to a word ending in such a form. On this supposition the exclusion of numerals beginning with sixty which are preceded by numerals in Pāṇini V, 2, 58 becomes perfectly consistent. Though, according to Patañjali's interpretation, the affixing of terminations to words ending in specific forms mentioned in Pāṇini, might appear to be disallowed, still the exclusion of sixty preceded by numerals in Pāṇini V, 2, 58, indicates that such a thing is allowed in this part of Pāṇini's grammar. According to this view the ordinal एकात्रविंशतितमः can be correctly formed, while according to the opinion of the author of the Kāśikāvr̥tti, it is ungrammatical, as the numeral 'nineteen' precedes 'twenty' in popular enumeration. And this is made clear in the works of Kaiyaṭa and Haradatta.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mahābhāṣya, Dr. Kielhorn's Ed., Vol. II, Part II, p. 385.

Kāśikāvr̥tti, Benares Ed., pp. 52, 53, Part II.

<sup>2</sup> Paribhāṣhenduśekhara. Dr. Kielhorn's Ed., pp. 29, 30.

<sup>3</sup> Siddhānta-Kāumudī with Tattvabôdhinī, Nirṇayasāgar Press 2nd Edn., pp. 286 and 207.

This subject is discussed by Kaiyaṭa in his *Bhâshyapradîpa*<sup>1</sup> and by Haradatta in his *Padamañjarî*.<sup>2</sup> The expression Kaiyaṭa-Haradatta-granthayôḥ means in the works composed by Kaiyaṭa and Haradatta. In the same way the genitive compound Nṛipatuṅga-granthê means in the work composed by Nṛipatuṅga, namely, the *Kavirâjamârگا* which deals with the different usages of the Southern and Northern schools of poets in verses 11, 100-108. This is the most interesting external evidence in support of Nṛipatuṅga's authorship of this oldest Kannada work, of which manuscripts have been found. The internal evidence contained in the passages that have been examined above, is, as I have proved already, equally conclusive on this point. Nor does the identification of King Nṛipatuṅga present the slightest difficulty. He was a king, a paramount sovereign ; his titles were Amôghavarsha and Atiśayadhavaḷa. He was a devout worshipper of Jina or Tīrthaṅkara. King Nṛipatuṅga, therefore, was Jinasênâchârya's pupil, Amôghavarsha, who had the title of Nṛipatuṅga as we learn from the opening praśasti of Mahâvîrâchârya's *Gaṇitasâra*,<sup>3</sup> and must have composed the *Kavirâjamârگا* between Śaka 737 and 799. The contrivance by which Nṛipatuṅga has interwoven his own titles into the first two verses of his work is so ingenious as to render impossible any subsequent attempt to tamper with the text. Still Dr. Fleet has ventured to make such an attempt, but with the result that his so-called translation of the two verses, besides containing ten mistakes, asserts that Nṛipatuṅga possessed the kaustubha jewel, an assertion contradicted by a distinguished contemporary author, Guṇabhadra, who as preceptor to Akâlavarsha while the latter was yuvarâja, had frequent opportunities of coming into personal contact with King Nṛipatuṅga and who tells us that in his time there prevailed in the Canarese country the belief that the great jewel, kaustubha, sprung from

<sup>1</sup> *Mahâbhâshya* with *Bhâshyapradîpa*, Benares Ed., p. 85 ( अ. ५, पा. २, आ. १. )

<sup>2</sup> *Padamanjarî*, Benares Ed., p. 305, Part II.

Cf. *Anuśabda-prayôgâd êva kṛita-maṅgalôyam Sâstrakṛiditi Sûtrakṛid-âchârâ-nuvartti Vṛittikârô'pi tayaiva diśā svayam api sva-granthântê maṅgalam âcharitam sūchayati. Karnâṭaka-Śabdânuśâsana*, p. 290. Here "sva-grantha" means the work composed by himself. In this passage Sâstrakṛit, sūtrakṛit and Vṛittikâra refer to one and the same person. In the same way verse 53, Chap. II of the *Kavirâjamârگا* must be interpreted in accordance with the specific information contained in the first 2 verses of the first chapter and the opening verse of the third chapter. Cf.

दृग्गोचरं पूर्वसूरिग्रन्था राजकथाश्रयाः ।

मम त्वेकादश गता मतं नीलमुनेरपि ॥

*Rājatarāṅgiṇī* I. 14.

<sup>3</sup> *Kavirâjamârگا*, Intro., p. 7. In this praśasti the words nṛipa-tuṅga and amôghavarsha, which are employed as epithets to Jina, contain a punning reference to the titles of the reigning sovereign.

name was Dêvanandi, makes the latter name part of the adjective qualifying the god whom he invokes.

लक्ष्मीरात्यन्तिकी यस्य निरवद्यावभासते ।

देवनन्दितपूजेशे नमस्तस्मै स्वयंभुवे <sup>1</sup> ॥ ५५ ॥

Guṇabhadra calls Jina guṇa-bhadra after himself.

उपयांति समस्तसंपदो विपदो विच्युतिमाप्नुवंत्यलं ।

वृषभं वृषमार्गदेशिनं श्लषकेतुद्विषमीयुषां सतां ॥ ३५७ ॥

इत्थं भवंतमतिभक्तिपथं निनीषोः

प्रागेव बंधकलयः प्रलयं व्रजंति ।

पश्चादनश्वरमयाचितमप्यवश्यं

संपत्स्यतेस्य विलसद्गुणभद्रं भद्रं ॥ ३५८ ॥

Âdipurâṇa, Chapter 44.

The distinguished Râshtrakûṭa author Pampa who finished his Âdipurâṇa<sup>2</sup> in Śaka 863, mentions, as his titles, Sukavi-jana-mânas-ottamaśaṃsa, Guṇârṇava, Saṃsâra-sârôdaya and Sarasvatîmaṇi-hâra. He then transfers these titles to Âdinâtha, who is invoked in the beginning, to Bharatêśvara, Dêvêndra and other divine persons very frequently in his Âdipurâṇa. The two concluding verses of each chapter and the opening verses of the second and all the succeeding chapters contain illustrations of this remark. The ninth chapter opens thus:—

Śrî-pati Puru-param êśvara—

n âpûrṇa-manôratham naman-nṛipa makuṭ-â-

tôpam trailôky- ânta—

vyâpita-mahimam Sarasavtî-maṇi-hâram ॥

Here Âdinâtha is described as the lord of prosperity, whose desires are fulfilled, who is adorned by the splendour of the crowns of kings making a bow, whose glory has filled the three worlds, and who is a string of jewels to the goddess Sarasvatî (Sarasvatî-maṇihâram). In the concluding verse of the eighth chapter we read:

Sâkêta-simhâsan-âsînam pâlisidam mahî-valayamam Saṃsâra-sâr-ôdayam ॥

Âdinâtha, seated on the throne of Ayôdhyâ, the promoter of the essence of life [*i.e.* religion], protected the circle of the earth. In these passages Pampa has transferred his own titles to the first Tîrthanâkara Vṛishabhanâtha. Pampa's object evidently is that they should be understood in their primary sense as referring to the god

<sup>1</sup> Jainêndra-vyâkarana. Deccan College MS. No 591 of 1875-76.

<sup>2</sup> Mysore edition referred to in note 2, p. 12.



## ART. VIII.

### *An Epigraphical Note on Dharmapâla, the second prince of the Pâla dynasty.*

BY SHRIDHAR RAMKRISHNA BHANDARKAR, M.A.

(Communicated.)

There has been going on for some time a controversy as to the date of Dharmapâla, the second prince of the Pâla dynasty. Cunningham in his Archæological Survey Report, Vol. XV., page 151, approximately fixed his accession in 831 A.D. But the date is inconsistent with the conclusion, drawn by my brother, Devadatta R. Bhandarkar, in his remarks on the Cambay plates of Govinda IV., that "Dharmapâla was a contemporary of the Râshtrakûṭa prince Indra III., for whom the Râshtrakûṭa records furnish the dates 915 and 917 A.D."

The following are the grounds on which Devadatta bases his conclusion. The Cambay plates speak of Indra III. having devastated Mahodaya (Kanauj). The date of Kshitipâla or Mahîpâla of Kanauj is 917 A.D. and he was thus a contemporary of Indra III. According to a Khajurâho inscription, "a king named Kshitipâla was placed on his throne by the Chandella prince Harshadeva." "This Harshadeva flourished at the beginning of the tenth century." The Kshitipâla, therefore, whom he reinstated, must have been this Kshitipâla and the throne that of Kanauj. Devadatta further proceeds to identify this Kshitipâla, Mahîpâla, Herambapâla, or Vinâyakapâla with Chakrâyudha of the Bhâgalpur plate and Upendra of the Nausari plates of Indra III., in which Indra III. is represented as having conquered an Upendra. In the Bhâgalpur plate it is stated that Dharmapâla acquired the sovereignty of Mahodaya by conquering Indrarâja and other enemies, and bestowed it upon Chakrâyudha. In the Khâlimpur charter, where the same incident is referred to, Indrarâja is not mentioned, nor is Chakrâyudha, but the person on whom the sovereignty was conferred by Dharmapâla is mentioned as a prince of Kânyakubja. Therefore Chakrâyudha was of Kânyakubja and Indrarâja who had to be defeated must have wrested the sovereignty from him. The question now is whether the Indrarâja of unnamed dynasty of the Bhâgalpur plate is identical with, or different from, the Râshtrakûṭa Indra III. of the Cambay plates. Devadatta inclines to the former view,

<sup>1</sup> Ep. Ind., VII, pp. 26-33.

because the account pieced together from the Bhāgalpur and Khālimpur plates on the one hand, and the account as pieced together from the Cambay plates and the Khajurāho inscription, referred to, on the other hand, agree in the two particulars that an Indrarāja ousted a king of Kanauj from his throne and that the latter was again re-established. But there are two particulars in which the two accounts differ. The name of the king of Kanauj according to the latter account was Kshitipāla and according to the former Chakrāyudha, and the king who set him up was the Chandella prince Harshadeva and Dharmapāla respectively. Devadatta explains the latter by saying that in all likelihood both helped to set the king up again and credit was claimed on behalf of each. The former he explains by identifying Chakrāyudha with Kshitipāla and thinks the identification to be confirmed by the fact that the name Chakrāyudha signifies the same thing as Upendra, the name of the prince subjugated, according to the Nausari plates, by Indra III.

This explanation and this identification, however, can be conceded only if the identification of the two Indrarājas be well-established. But just on account of the difference as regards the two particulars it would be equally open to another to hold that the two Indrarājas were different. And in the history of India it is nothing strange if different kings at different times ruling over the same province are defeated and ousted from their thrones and again set up.<sup>1</sup> A somewhat unusual coincidence in the case of Kanauj may be that on two of the occasions on which its prince was deprived of his throne the names of the two victors were identical. And I have come across what I look upon as definite evidence that Dharmapāla was not a contemporary of Indra III., but of Govinda III.; and it is at the suggestion of Devadatta himself that I here publish it apart from, and before, the paper of which it should naturally form a part.

For a considerable time I have had in my hands a Rāshtrakūṭa copperplate grant of Amoghavarsha I. The charter is rather a big one, having an introduction of fifty-two stanzas. Except for one drawback it would have been published long ago. It is very incorrectly engraved and it alludes vaguely to not a few names and things of which very little or nothing was known when it came into my hands, and on only a few of which some glimmering of light has been thrown since. This fact renders it very difficult to make out to one's satisfaction the sense of many passages.

<sup>1</sup> Supposing, as Devadatta does, that the Indrarāja defeated by Dharmapāla did not belong to the same line as Chakrāyudha and that Chakrāyudha had been displaced by him. The point will be considered later on.

Pampa translates this passage thus :—

ad alladeyum indina dinam beḷagappa jâvadoḷ padinâru kana-  
sugaḷam kaṇḍen â kanasugaḷ anishta-phala-sûchakaṅgaḷ  
embudaṃ sâmaṇyadin upalakshisiden avara phalamuman  
enag ariye besasim end avadhijñânadim tân â kanasugaḷan  
arivan âgiyuṃ sabhâ-janakkam aripal endu besa-goluvuḍuṃ  
prâśn-ânuḱramadim tri-lôka-guruv int endu besasidaṃ.

Pampa's Âdipurâṇa, XV, p. 398 ff.

In these passages I have made Jinaśênâchârya translate Pampa's words int endu besasidaṃ into इत्यभाषत and इत्थं व्याचष्टे स्म "described or declared in the following manner." Dr. Fleet refers to the words "pêl endu besase" in sûtra<sup>1</sup> 3 of the Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa, which he translates 'on ordering me to relate.' But the same form of the word besase is used in the sense of 'declaring' by Pampa.

श्रुतं च बहुशोस्माभिराप्तीयं पुष्कलं वचः ।

जिनाश्चक्रधरैः सार्धं वत्स्येतीहेति भारते ॥ १४४ ॥

Jinasêna, Âdipurâṇa, Chap. 28.

Pampa<sup>2</sup> translates this thus :—

Bharata-kshêtradoḷ î yugadoḷ Tîrthakararuṃ chakravartigaḷum  
appar endu sarvajñar besase palavu sūl âm ellam kêld aridevu.

"We know having frequently heard omniscient persons declare that there shall arise Jinas and universal emperors in the Bharata-kshêtra in this age."

A correct translation of the opening verse of the third chapter of the Kavirâjamârگا is as follows :—

The eminent King Amôghavarsha, the lord of the whole world, thought over and declared in the following manner the series of excellent and well-known figures of sense which are the abode of abundance of various distinctions. The meaning of this verse is that the great King Amôghavarsha, who was a paramount sovereign, composed the figures of sense. This is in perfect accord with the meaning of the other passages explained above, that the author was a king, that his titles were Nṛipatuṅga, Atiśayadhavaḷa and that King Atiśayadhavaḷa composed these figures of speech.

It is perfectly clear then that the author of the Kavirâjamârگا is not different from Nṛipatuṅga-Amôghavarsha. Nor does he "represent himself as putting forward views concurred in by Nṛipatuṅga"<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Here the sense of the word is determined by the preceding expression pêl endu : see the next quotation.

<sup>2</sup> Pampa's Âdipurâṇa, XII, p. 325.

<sup>3</sup> Ind. Ant., XXXIII, p. 260.

as such a supposition is directly contradicted by the fifth verse of the third chapter in which the author tells us that he is guided by "ancient authorities ;" and Nṛipatuṅga certainly was not an "ancient authority." This verse runs thus :--

Vidit-ârtthâlaṅkāra-

spada-bhêdaṅgaḥ purāṇa-sâstr-ôktaṅgaḥ |

tad-anumata-lakshya-lakshaṇa—

nidarśanaṅgaḥ anukram-ôktiye pēlvem

Kavirâjamârga, Chap. III, 5.

#### TRANSLATION.

The distinctions which have for their abode the well-known figures of sense have been described by ancient authorities ; I will relate in order these figures, their definitions and illustrations sanctioned by them (*i.e.*, by the ancient authorities).

One of these ancient authorities<sup>1</sup> is Daṇḍi as I have satisfactorily proved. The word "anumata" in this verse indicates Daṇḍi's authorship of the definitions and illustrations which Nṛipatuṅga has borrowed from the Kâvyâdarśa. The colophon of the third chapter also contains unmistakable evidence of Nṛipatuṅga's authorship in the expression<sup>2</sup> Parama—Sarasvatî-tîrthâvatâra-Nṛipatuṅga-dêva, which means King Nṛipatuṅga who is a holy incarnation of the great Sarasvatî or a flight of steps leading to the sacred waters of the great Sarasvatî.

This view is further confirmed by verse III, 230, in which we are told that "a high-souled person who has obtained the ship in the form of the specific knowledge contained in Nṛipatuṅga-dêva-mârga, can reach the great further shore of the ocean of poetry filled with the highest excellences." This statement is intelligible only on the supposition that Nṛipatuṅga was the author of this work and excludes the possibility of any other person being the author of it. Here the specific knowledge contained in Nṛipatuṅga-dêva-mârga means, of course, the

<sup>1</sup> In verse I, 47, Nṛipatuṅga says "Having considered the faults mentioned in the works of the multitude of ancient poets and to the best of my own knowledge, I will declare some to wise men." In verse II, 44, he says : "Having studied the method of ancient authorities, I will relate this much in Kannaḍa." In verse II, 49, he says : "Having considered the distinction known to ancient poets I will declare it according to the method of my knowledge." These verses contradict Dr. Fleet's assertion that the work does not contain "any allusion of any kind to views of predecessors."

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Fleet has ignored this expression because it militates against his erroneous assumption that Nṛipatuṅga was not the author of the work. Dr. Fleet's statement that "verse III, 225, compares some person, who the editor says is Nṛipatuṅga, to a flight of steps leading to the sacred waters of Sarasvatî," is inaccurate. It is not the editor but the colophon of the 3rd chapter that speaks of Nṛipatuṅga as Sarasvatî-tîrthâvatâra.

knowledge contained in the Kavirâjamârگا<sup>1</sup> and the poetry alluded to is the Kannaḍa poetry with its characteristic prâsa which the work professes to teach. On this Dr. Fleet remarks, "We need not lay any stress upon the fact that the original of this passage does not contain anything answering to the "Kavirâjamârگا" and "Kannaḍa," which are gratuitous insertions by the editor." Of course Dr. Fleet is unable to suggest any other possible explanation of the passage.<sup>2</sup> But his objection to "gratuitous insertions" has my entire approval. On this ground we have already rejected such translations as "commanded the treatment of it" and "to inspire him with a power, in dealing with the subject lying before him, which he himself unaided could not hope to display." On this very ground we must reject the following translation of verse I, 149 :—

... Kavi |

prakaram Śrîvijaya-prabhûtaman idam kai-koḷvud î mâlkeyim ||

"The multitude of poets will accept this product of Śrîvijaya in this (new) guise." It will be easily noticed (a) that the original does not contain any word for (new), (b) the word mâlke does not mean "guise," (c) and the phrase î mâlkeyôḷ which means "in this manner" should be construed with the verb kai-koḷvudu. The original text literally means "the multitude of poets should accept this production of Śrîvijaya in this manner," from this it is clear that Śrîvijaya is one of the titles of the author himself.

The last verse of Chapter II runs :—

Bhâvisi śabda-tattva-sthitiyaṃ kurit ond asêshâ-bhâ- |  
shâ-vishay-ôktiyaṃ bagedu nôḍi purâṇa-kavi-prabhu-prayô- ||  
g-âvilasad-guṇôdayaman âyd-avarim samed ondu kâvyadiṃ |  
Śrîvijaya-prabhûta-mudamaṃ tanag agisidom kavîśvaraṃ ||

Dr. Fleet translates :—Having thought over the established condition of the conventional settlement of the essential nature of sounds, (and) having given attention to (that) one (thing) expression which is the object of all language, (and) having considered and seen

<sup>1</sup> The work is so called because it contains the mârگا or the method indicated (pêḷda) by Nripatuṅga. Abhinavapampa's use of the word pêḷdu (having composed) to indicate S'rutakîrti's authorship of the Jaina Râghavapâḍaviya is exactly similar to Durgasiṃha's use of the same word to indicate the authorship of the same work by Dhanañjaya. Dr. Fleet's suggestion that Abhinava-pampa uses the word in the sense of "having recited" (Ind. Ant., XXXIII, p. 279) is as absurd as his assertion that Nripatuṅga possessed the kaus tubha jewel. Brahmin lads of 10 or 12 years old can recite backwards and forwards greater poems than the Jaina Râghava-Pâḍaviya ; and yet nobody thinks of commemorating them in inscriptions or praising them in literary works."

<sup>2</sup> It is absurd to suggest that any other than Kannaḍa-poetry is taught in a Kannaḍa work professing to teach Kannaḍa poetry.

seated Chakrâyudha,  
 III. It would thus  
 since, the family had  
 'ha mentioned in the  
 was probably a  
 vanquished by  
 one referred to  
 'harmapâla did not  
 e sovereignty of it  
 y connected with  
 th the names may be  
 the rightful predeces-  
 after his defeat and  
 e been raised to the throne  
 nant. So that some time  
 n of Bhavabhôti, which must  
 of the eighth century, one  
 was ruling in 783 A.D. He was  
 perhaps by somebody else, until  
 n by Bhojadeva of the Gôrjara  
 nth century, and thereafter Kanauj  
 dynasty.



nobly born one " employed by Kêśava in the fourth verse of the concluding praśasti of the Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa. And the translation "which was born from the source that was the supreme Śrīvijaya " is also incorrect, because Śrīvijaya-prabhûti is a bahuvrîhi compound which can be dissolved Śrīvijayât prabhûtir yasya that which took its origin from Śrīvijaya, namely, this work called Kavirâjamârگا. The real meaning of the last verse of the Kavirâjamârگا is: "Let the fame of one whose lineage is unblameable, which arises from the work having for its author the great Śrīvijaya,... . . . . . endure as long as the moon and the stars last." This is in accordance with the custom, prevalent among Hindu authors, of expressing a prayer in the concluding verses that their works may endure as long as the sun, moon, &c., last. We need only refer to the concluding verses of Guṇabhadra's Uttarapuraṇa, the Sarasvatî-kaṇṭhâbharāṇa of Bhôja and the Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa as illustrations. On the other hand no example can be quoted of a single Indian author who has expressed in the colophon of his work a hope that the fame or the works of a dead author may endure till the end of time. For these reasons and from the correct translations of the three verses given above it is plain that Śrīvijaya is one of the titles of the author of the Kavirâjamârگا, and cannot refer to the older Śrīvijaya mentioned by the author in his introductory verse 33, Chap. I. The conclusion which Dr. Fleet has attempted to deduce from the misinterpretations of the last three verses does not demand serious notice here.

The most interesting external evidence in support of Nṛipatuṅga's authorship of the Kavirâjamârگا is found in Bhaṭṭâkalaṅka's Karṇâṭaka Śabdânuśâsana in which our attention is invited to a description of the skill displayed in the different usages of the Northern and Southern schools in Nṛipatuṅga-grantha or the work composed by Nṛipatuṅga. Owing to a hopeless misunderstanding of the two opening verses of the Kavirâjamârگا Dr. Fleet is led to believe that Bhaṭṭâkalaṅka uses the expression Nṛipatuṅga-grantha to denote that Nṛipatuṅga was not the author but the inspirer of the work. This attempt to pervert the natural meaning of the expression will not be countenanced by Sanskrit scholars; for Bhaṭṭâkalaṅka is a profound grammarian and writes in Sanskrit. He says that such forms as namage and nammol, though not noticed by previous grammarians, are nevertheless correct and quotes in support of his view three invocatory verses, one of which is the opening verse of the Pamparâmayāṇa. He says :—

Atra kêchit kâvya-mukham âśirupaṃ parârtham api bhavatîti  
nanam anaṅgîkurvāṇâ ninam éva paṭhanti nimage nimmol  
iti || tad anyê nâbhimanyantê nirvighna-parisamâpti-kâmaḥ

prâripsita-pratibandhaka-duritâpanôdanârtham Paramâtma.  
 guṇānukîrtana-rûpam maṅgaḷam âcharantas svârtham  
 apahâya parârtham êva prayatanta ity ayuktam êva |  
 aprêkshâvattva-prasaṅgât || anyatrâpi tathâ prachûra-pra-  
 yôga-darśanâch cha | atô trâsmad-artha-vâchakô nan-śabda  
 êvâbhimantavya iti || tathâpi sa kais chid êvâṅgîkriyatê |  
 uttara-mârgânugâmibhih kavîśvarair na sarvaiḥ | dakṣhiṇa-  
 mârgânuyâyibhis tair anaṅgîkârât | en-pakshapâtinô hi  
 dâkṣhiṇâtyâḥ kavî-janâ iti || dakṣhiṇôttara-mârga-bhêda-  
 bhinna-prayôga-châturî-prapañchô Nṛipatuṅga-granthê drash-  
 ṭavya iti ||

Karṇâṭaka-Śabdānuśâsana, Mr. Rice's edition, p. 161.

#### TRANSLATION.

Here [in the three invocatory verses] some who do not recognize such forms as namage, nammoḷ read instead nimage, nimmoḷ on the ground that the opening verse of a poem which forms an invocation,<sup>1</sup> contributes also to the benefit of others. This view is not accepted by other scholars, since it is quite inconsistent that authors who desire that their literary undertaking should be finished without any obstacle and who address invocation by way of celebrating the praises of the Highest Being in order to drive away the sin which might interfere with the completion of their literary work, should strive only for the good of others, laying aside their primary object, since such a course would argue a lack of prudence, and also because many such forms are found elsewhere [in passages containing no invocations]. However, this view is accepted by some, namely, by lords of poets belonging to the Northern school and not by all; while the followers of the Southern school reject it, for the poets of the Southern school are in favour of such forms as emage, emmoḷ. A detailed description of the skill displayed in the different usages of the Southern and Northern schools is to be seen in Nṛipatuṅga's work.

Here Nṛipatuṅga-grantha means the work composed by Nṛipatuṅga namely, the Kavirâjamârگا which gives illustrations of the different usages of the Southern and Northern schools in verses II, 100-108. With the expression Nṛipatuṅga-grantha we may compare the genitive compounds कैयटग्रन्थ and हरदत्तग्रन्थ employed by Jñânêndra-Saras-

<sup>1</sup> Here Bhaṭṭâkalaṅka says that the opening verse of the Pampa-Râmâyana contains an invocation. Mr. Rice, in his Analysis prefixed to his 2nd edition of the poem, says: "(1) The author invokes Muni-suvrata (the 20th Tîrthaṅkara), (2) the Siddhas. (3) the Âchâryas, &c." On the other hand Dr. Fleet says: The author of the Pampa-Râmâyana has not invoked any god at all in the introductory stanzas of his work, namely, verses 1 to 14 of the first Âśvâsa or canto. (!!!) Ind. Ant. XXXIII, p. 262. It is needless to say that Dr. Fleet's statement is opposed to fact.

vatî who is as distinguished a grammarian as Bhaṭṭakalaṅka himself, and whose work is read at the present day in all parts of India. In his gloss on Pāṇini's sūtra विशत्यादिभ्यस्तमडन्यतरस्याम् V, 2, 56 we read विशत्यादिभ्य इति प्रत्यासत्त्या 'पङ्क्तिः'—इत्यादि सूत्रेण निपातिता विशत्यादयो गृह्यन्ते, न लोकप्रसिद्धा विप्रकृष्टत्वादिति भाष्यमतम् वृत्तिकृता तु विशत्यादयो लौकिका एव संख्याशब्दा गृह्यन्ते न पङ्क्तिः इत्यादिसूत्रनिर्दिष्टाः । तद्वहणे त्वेकविंशतिप्रभृतिभ्यो न स्यात् । ग्रहणवता प्रातिपदिकेन तदन्तविधिप्रतिषेधात् । एवंच सति षष्ट्यादेश्चासंख्यादेः इति पर्युदासो युज्यत एवेत्युक्तम् एकविंशतितम इति यद्यपि भाष्यमते तदन्तविधिर्दुर्लभः तथापि षष्ट्यादेश्च इति सूत्रे संख्यादिपर्युदासो शापयति इह प्रकरणे तदन्तानामपि ग्रहणम् इति । एवंच सति एकात्रविंशतेः पूरण एकात्रविंशतितम इत्यपि सिध्यति । लौकिकानां ग्रहणमिति वृत्तिमते तु नैतत्सिध्येत् विशतिसंख्यातः प्राग्भावित्वादस्याः संख्यायाः । एतच्च कैयटहरदत्तग्रन्थयोः स्पष्टम् ।

### TATTVABÔDHINÎ.

#### TRANSLATION.

The expression विशत्यादयः should be understood in the sense of the numerals beginning with twenty as enumerated in Pāṇini.V, 1, 59 owing to proximity and not in the sense of ordinary numerals beginning with twenty in the popular sense owing to the latter being remote. This is the opinion of Patañjali. The author of the Kāśikāvr̥tti<sup>1</sup> on the other hand holds that ordinary numerals beginning with twenty are intended and not those enumerated in Pāṇini V, 1, 59 ; as according to the latter interpretation, such a form as एकविंशतितमः could not be formed according to the maxim<sup>2</sup> that when a specific form of a noun is mentioned in Pāṇini, a termination should not be affixed to a word ending in such a form. On this supposition the exclusion of numerals beginning with sixty which are preceded by numerals in Pāṇini V, 2, 58 becomes perfectly consistent. Though, according to Patañjali's interpretation, the affixing of terminations to words ending in specific forms mentioned in Pāṇini, might appear to be disallowed, still the exclusion of sixty preceded by numerals in Pāṇini V, 2, 58, indicates that such a thing is allowed in this part of Pāṇini's grammar. According to this view the ordinal एकात्रविंशतितमः can be correctly formed, while according to the opinion of the author of the Kāśikāvr̥tti, it is ungrammatical, as the numeral 'nineteen' precedes 'twenty' in popular enumeration. And this is made clear in the works of Kaiyaṭa and Haradatta.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mahābhāṣya, Dr. Kielhorn's Ed., Vol. II, Part II, p. 385.

Kāśikāvr̥tti, Benares Ed., pp. 52, 53, Part II.

<sup>2</sup> Paribhāṣhenduśekhara. Dr. Kielhorn's Ed., pp. 29, 30.

<sup>3</sup> Siddhānta-Kāumudī with Tattvabôdhinī, Nirṇayasāgar Press 2nd Edn., pp. 286 and 207.

This subject is discussed by Kaiyaṭa in his *Bhâshyapradîpa*<sup>1</sup> and by Haradatta in his *Padamañjarî*.<sup>2</sup> The expression Kaiyaṭa-Haradatta-granthayôḥ means in the works composed by Kaiyaṭa and Haradatta. In the same way the genitive compound Nṛipatuṅga-granthê means in the work composed by Nṛipatuṅga, namely, the *Kavirâjamârگا* which deals with the different usages of the Southern and Northern schools of poets in verses II, 100-108. This is the most interesting external evidence in support of Nṛipatuṅga's authorship of this oldest Kannada work, of which manuscripts have been found. The internal evidence contained in the passages that have been examined above, is, as I have proved already, equally conclusive on this point. Nor does the identification of King Nṛipatuṅga present the slightest difficulty. He was a king, a paramount sovereign; his titles were Amôghavarsha and Atiśayadhavaḷa. He was a devout worshipper of Jina or Tīrthaṅkara. King Nṛipatuṅga, therefore, was Jinasênâchârya's pupil, Amôghavarsha, who had the title of Nṛipatuṅga as we learn from the opening praśasti of Mahâvîrâchârya's *Gaṇitasâra*,<sup>3</sup> and must have composed the *Kavirâjamârگا* between Śaka 737 and 799. The contrivance by which Nṛipatuṅga has interwoven his own titles into the first two verses of his work is so ingenious as to render impossible any subsequent attempt to tamper with the text. Still Dr. Fleet has ventured to make such an attempt, but with the result that his so-called translation of the two verses, besides containing ten mistakes, asserts that Nṛipatuṅga possessed the kaustubha jewel, an assertion contradicted by a distinguished contemporary author, Guṇabhadra, who as preceptor to Akâlavarsha while the latter was yuvarâja, had frequent opportunities of coming into personal contact with King Nṛipatuṅga and who tells us that in his time there prevailed in the Canarese country the belief that the great jewel, kaustubha, sprung from

<sup>1</sup> *Mahâbhâshya* with *Bhâshyapradîpa*, Benares Ed., p. 85 ( अ. ५, पा. २, आ. १. )

<sup>2</sup> *Padamanjarî*, Benares Ed., p. 305, Part II.

Cf. *Anu-śabda-prayôgâd êva kṛita-maṅgalôyam Sâstrakṛiditi Sûtrakṛid-âchârâ-nuvartti Vṛittikârô'pi tayaiva diśā svayam api sva-granthântê maṅgalam âcharitam sūchayati. Karnâṭaka-Śabdânusâśana*, p. 290. Here "sva-grantha" means the work composed by himself. In this passage *Sâstrakṛit*, *sûtrakṛit* and *Vṛittikâra* refer to one and the same person. In the same way verse 53, Chap. II of the *Kavirâjamârگا* must be interpreted in accordance with the specific information contained in the first 2 verses of the first chapter and the opening verse of the third chapter. Cf.

दृग्गोचरं पूर्वसुरिग्रन्था राजकथाश्रयाः ।

मम त्वेकादश गता मतं नीलमुनेरपि ॥

*Râjatarāṅgiṇī* I, 14.

<sup>3</sup> *Kavirâjamârگا*, Intro., p. 7. In this praśasti the words *nṛipa-tuṅga* and *amôghavarsha*, which are employed as epithets to Jina, contain a punning reference to the titles of the reigning sovereign.

the ocean was worn on the breast by the god Viṣṇu. If Dr. Fleet learns this single conception of Hindu Mythology, the meaning of the negative verb and the peculiar use of the interrogative pronoun as explained by Dr. Kittel and Dr. Caldwell, and the fact, of Lakṣmī clinging to the breast of Vīraṇārāyaṇa in the temple at Gadag, he will have made satisfactory progress in his study of the two opening verses of Nṛpatuṅga's Kavirâjamârگا.

A careful perusal of the arguments set forth above cannot fail to convince Sanskrit scholars that Dr. Fleet's assertion that Mr. Rice wrongly attributed the composition of the Kavirâjamârگا to Nṛpatuṅga is itself wrong. The authorship of this interesting Kannada work was ascribed to Nṛpatuṅga in Śaka 1526 by no less an authority than the celebrated grammarian Bhaṭṭakalaṅka, whose opinion on this point is invaluable, as it rests upon the most important verses in the work itself which were misunderstood by Dr. Fleet but which have now been satisfactorily explained. Dr. Fleet's paper contains many other gratuitous assertions. But an examination of them may well be postponed till he has satisfied Sanskrit scholars that there is no invocation of any kind to any god in the opening verses of Nṛpatuṅga's Kavirâjamârگا and of Abhinava-Pampa's Râmāyaṇa. One assertion, however, need be noticed here. Dr. Fleet says on pp. 272, 273 (Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXIII) that 2 verses "stand in precisely the same form" in the Kavirâjamârگا (II, 32, 35) and the Chhandômbudhi (53, 55) and admits that the former work is older than the latter ; and yet he tells us that this "does not prove that it was from the Kavirâjamârگا that the verses were taken into the Chhandômbudhi." This conclusion is most absurd, as he has not actually discovered these verses in an older author from whom the two works could have borrowed independently. Then Dr. Fleet finds 2 verses with different readings given in the two works, and as he cannot suggest "any acceptable" reason why Nâgavarma should vary the text, we are asked to believe that Nâgavarma actually borrowed these verses, not from the Kavirâjamârگا but from an older work which Dr. Fleet has yet to discover. But until the promised discovery is made by Dr. Fleet and because we can give very "acceptable" reasons for the variation of the text by Nâgavarma, the world may safely believe that these verses were taken into the Chhandômbudhi from the Kavirâjamârگا. It was absolutely necessary for Nâgavarma to alter the readings kṛitakṛityamalla-Vallabha-matadiude and Nṛpatuṅgadêva-vidita-kramadiṃ, as otherwise his claims to the authorship of the Chhandômbudhi would have been disputed by some critic who cannot understand invocatory verses in Indian poems and

who, if the readings had been preserved, would have been disposed to represent Nṛipatuṅgadêva as the author of the Chhandômbudhi. As to the reading Śatamakha-sadṛiśa, &c., Nâgavarma must have borrowed the verse containing this reading from a manuscript of the Kavirâjamârگا which was accessible to him and which might be regarded as a predecessor of the present manuscript of that work which, as Dr. Fleet admits, does give that reading. It is obvious, therefore, that those four verses were really borrowed from Nṛipatuṅga-grantha (Nṛipatuṅga's work) by Nâgavarma and not from an older work which exists only in Dr. Fleet's imagination. In conclusion I may be permitted to reply to the charge of "a most indecorous attempt by the editor to abuse the confidence of his readers" in the following words of Guṇabhadra :—

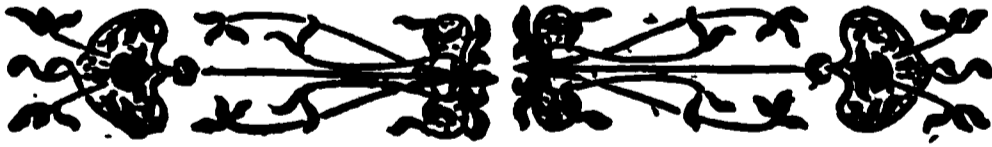
गुणागुणानभिज्ञेन कृता निन्दाथवा स्तुतिः ।

जात्यन्धस्येव धृष्टस्य रूपे हासाय केवलम् ॥ २६ ॥

अथवा सोनभिज्ञोपि निन्दतु स्तौतु वा कृतिम् ।

विदग्धपरिहासानामन्यथा कास्तु विश्रमः ॥ २७ ॥

Adipurâṇa, Chapter 43.



## ART. VIII.

### *An Epigraphical Note on Dharmapâla, the second prince of the Pâla dynasty.*

BY SHRIDHAR RAMKRISHNA BHANDARKAR, M.A.

(Communicated.)

There has been going on for some time a controversy as to the date of Dharmapâla, the second prince of the Pâla dynasty. Cunningham in his Archæological Survey Report, Vol. XV., page 151, approximately fixed his accession in 831 A.D. But the date is inconsistent with the conclusion, drawn by my brother, Devadatta R. Bhandarkar, in his remarks on the Cambay plates of Govinda IV., that "Dharmapâla was a contemporary of the Râshtrakûṭa prince Indra III., for whom the Râshtrakûṭa records furnish the dates 915 and 917 A.D."

The following are the grounds on which Devadatta bases his conclusion. The Cambay plates speak of Indra III. having devastated Mahodaya (Kanauj). The date of Kshitipâla or Mahîpâla of Kanauj is 917 A.D. and he was thus a contemporary of Indra III. According to a Khajurâho inscription, "a king named Kshitipâla was placed on his throne by the Chandella prince Harshadeva." "This Harshadeva flourished at the beginning of the tenth century." The Kshitipâla, therefore, whom he reinstated, must have been this Kshitipâla and the throne that of Kanauj. Devadatta further proceeds to identify this Kshitipâla, Mahîpâla, Herambapâla, or Vinâyakapâla with Chakrâyudha of the Bhâgalpur plate and Upendra of the Nausari plates of Indra III., in which Indra III. is represented as having conquered an Upendra. In the Bhâgalpur plate it is stated that Dharmapâla acquired the sovereignty of Mahodaya by conquering Indrarâja and other enemies, and bestowed it upon Chakrâyudha. In the Khâlimpur charter, where the same incident is referred to, Indrarâja is not mentioned, nor is Chakrâyudha, but the person on whom the sovereignty was conferred by Dharmapâla is mentioned as a prince of Kânyakubja. Therefore Chakrâyudha was of Kânyakubja and Indrarâja who had to be defeated must have wrested the sovereignty from him. The question now is whether the Indrarâja of unnamed dynasty of the Bhâgalpur plate is identical with, or different from, the Râshtrakûṭa Indra III. of the Cambay plates. Devadatta inclines to the former view,

<sup>1</sup> Ep. Ind., VII, pp. 26-33.

because the account pieced together from the Bhāgalpur and Khālimpur plates on the one hand, and the account as pieced together from the Cambay plates and the Khajurāho inscription, referred to, on the other hand, agree in the two particulars that an Indrarāja ousted a king of Kanauj from his throne and that the latter was again re-established. But there are two particulars in which the two accounts differ. The name of the king of Kanauj according to the latter account was Kshitipāla and according to the former Chakrāyudha, and the king who set him up was the Chandella prince Harshadeva and Dharmapāla respectively. Devadatta explains the latter by saying that in all likelihood both helped to set the king up again and credit was claimed on behalf of each. The former he explains by identifying Chakrāyudha with Kshitipāla and thinks the identification to be confirmed by the fact that the name Chakrāyudha signifies the same thing as Upendra, the name of the prince subjugated, according to the Nausari plates, by Indra III.

This explanation and this identification, however, can be conceded only if the identification of the two Indrarājas be well-established. But just on account of the difference as regards the two particulars it would be equally open to another to hold that the two Indrarājas were different. And in the history of India it is nothing strange if different kings at different times ruling over the same province are defeated and ousted from their thrones and again set up.<sup>1</sup> A somewhat unusual coincidence in the case of Kanauj may be that on two of the occasions on which its prince was deprived of his throne the names of the two victors were identical. And I have come across what I look upon as definite evidence that Dharmapāla was not a contemporary of Indra III., but of Govinda III.; and it is at the suggestion of Devadatta himself that I here publish it apart from, and before, the paper of which it should naturally form a part.

For a considerable time I have had in my hands a Rāshtrakūṭa copperplate grant of Amoghavarsha I. The charter is rather a big one, having an introduction of fifty-two stanzas. Except for one drawback it would have been published long ago. It is very incorrectly engraved and it alludes vaguely to not a few names and things of which very little or nothing was known when it came into my hands, and on only a few of which some glimmering of light has been thrown since. This fact renders it very difficult to make out to one's satisfaction the sense of many passages.

<sup>1</sup> Supposing, as Devadatta does, that the Indrarāja defeated by Dharmapāla did not belong to the same line as Chakrāyudha and that Chakrāyudha had been displaced by him. The point will be considered later on.

The evidence I have alluded to above is the following stanza relating to Nirupamatanaya Prabhûtavarsha Jagattuṅga, *i. e.*, Govinda III.:—

हिमवत्पर्वतनिर्झराम्बु तुरगैः पीतञ्च ग(गा)[ढ]ङ्गै-

र्द्धनितं मज्जनतूर्यकैर्दिगुणितं भूयोपि तत्कन्दरे [']

स्वयमेवोपनतौ च यस्य महत्स्तौ धर्मचक्रायुधौ ।<sup>1</sup>

हिमवान्कीर्तिसरूपतामुपगतस्तत्का(त्की)र्त्तिनारायणः ॥ [२३]

The mention together here of Dharma and Chakrâyudha in a Dvandva compound, though unfortunately there are no further particulars given of them, makes it plain, I think, that they are the same as the Dharmapâla and Chakrâyudha of the Bhâgalpur plate.

There is a Chakrâyudha in the Gwalior inscription of Mihira Bhoja noticed in Dr. Kielhorn's Epigraphic Note No. 17.<sup>2</sup> He is referred to therein as one "whose low state was manifested by his dependence on another (or others)" and as conquered by Nâgabhaṭa ; and Dr. Kielhorn identifies him with the Chakrâyudha of the Bhâgalpur plate. This Nâgabhaṭa also seems to be referred to in the following verses, which immediately precede the verses quoted above :—

स नागभटचन्द्रगुप्तनृपयोर्यशौ(शो?)र्य रणे

स्वहार्यमपहार्य धैर्य(र्य)विकलानथोन्मूलयत् (न्मूलयन् or न्मोचयन्?) [']

यशोर्जनपरो नृपान्स्वभुवि शालिसस्यानिव ।<sup>3</sup>

पुनःपुनरतिष्ठिपत्स्वपद एव चान्यानपि । [२२]

The Chandragupta mentioned here may be the one whose name occurs in No. 617 in Dr. Kielhorn's List of Inscriptions of Northern India. The inscription is from Sirpur and is of "about the beginning of the ninth century A. D."

Dharmapâla must thus have been a contemporary of Govinda III., whose dates are Śaka 716, 726, 730 (A.D. 794, 804, 808), and flourished about the beginning of the ninth century A.D.

Darmapâla and Chakrâyudha being thus referred to a period earlier than that of Indra III., the identification with Kshitipâla of the Upendra whom Indra III. defeated and of the fact of the devastation of Mahodaya by that prince with the defeat or dethronement of Upendra, which, Devadatta thought, was probable, must now be given up.

But who is the Indrarâja who was defeated by Dharmapâla before Chakrâyudha was set up on his throne? May he not now be the

<sup>1</sup> Omit.

<sup>2</sup> Die Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse.

<sup>3</sup> Omit.

brother of Govinda III., as conjectured by Mr. Batavyal<sup>1</sup>? If he be, the unusual coincidence I have mentioned above of two different victors of Kanauj having the same name, Indrarāja, is not as unusual as it would otherwise be, since they both belong to a dynasty having three Indras in the direct line and one in a collateral line. Indra may have accompanied Govinda III., in the latter's victorious march, which was as far as the Himalayas, and might have been left by him in possession of the kingdom of Kanauj. And may not Nāgabhaṭa, whose glory is represented in the second of the above quotations as having been wrested from him by Govinda III., be the Gûrjara prince on whom Govinda's brother Indra is represented as having inflicted a defeat<sup>2</sup>? If Indra, the brother of Govinda III., was in the latter's company during his victorious march, there is nothing unusual if the credit of the victory over Nāgabhaṭa should be claimed for him also.

It may then be, that Dharmapāla and Chakrâyudha yielded themselves up to Govinda III., that Indra, the brother of the last, was left in charge of Kanauj at least, that defeating Indra, Dharmapāla set Chakrâyudha on the throne, and that, when Dharmapāla and Chakrâyudha yielded themselves up, Nāgabhaṭa too, at whose hands Chakrâyudha suffered defeat, either before or after this event, had to do the same.

Dr. Kielhorn<sup>3</sup> is of opinion that it is the Indrâyudha, who is referred to at the end of the Jaina Harivaṃśapurāṇa as reigning in the north in Śaka 705 (A.D. 783), and that he was of the same family as Chakrâyudha and was his predecessor on the throne of Kanauj. But his identification of the Râshṭrakûṭa Parabala, who erected the Pathârî Pillar bearing his inscription, with the Râshṭrakûṭa Parabala, who was the father-in-law of Dharmapāla,<sup>4</sup> would seem to militate against such a supposition. The great victorious march of Govinda III. occurred not later than A.D. 804.<sup>5</sup> Chakrâyudha must, on Dr. Kielhorn's supposition, have been set on the throne by Dharmapāla before this event. And further, if Nāgabhaṭa defeated Chakrâyudha before the victorious march, it would have to be held as not unlikely, that Chakrâyudha was set on his throne several years before A.D. 804. But under any circumstances, as the coronation of Chakrâyudha cannot be later than 804 A.D., Dharmapāla who set him up must then have been of an age not only to govern but also to conquer and set others on the throne, say about thirty. His father-in-law, who might naturally be expected to be older, must at that time have been about forty and would have to

<sup>1</sup> Journ. Beng. As. Soc. LXIII, p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> Baroda grant of Karka of the Gujarat Branch, Ind. Ant., XII. p. 165, ll 33-5.

<sup>3</sup> Epigraphic Note, No. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Epigraphic Note, No. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Bhandarkar's Early History of the Dekkan (and edn.), p. 66.

be considered as being about ninety-seven at the date of the Pathârî Pillar inscription of A.D. 861. But if it be assumed that Dharmapāla set up Chakrâyudha some time after the victorious march of Govinda III. on defeating the last one's brother Indra, he might be assumed to have been younger in 804 A.D. and consequently Parabala less than ninety-seven in A.D. 861.

There is one other point to notice. Dr. Hoernle has drawn the conclusion that in 840 A.D. the Gûrjara empire did not include the northern kingdom of Kanauj and the conquest of the kingdom happened only under Bhoja I.<sup>1</sup> Thus there is still left unfilled the gap among the rulers of Kanauj, "of not less than 100 years between this king (Bhoja) and Yaśovarman, patron of Bhavabhûti," noticed by Devadatta in his paper on the Gûrjaras.<sup>2</sup> But Chakrâyudha has been made out by him to be a ruler of Kanauj. So there is now one at least to fill up the gap and another also, if the Indrâyudha of the Jaina Harivaṃśa should have likewise been a ruler of Kanauj as Dr. Kielhorn maintains.

That Chakrâyudha, who was a contemporary of the Gûrjara prince Nâgabhaṭa, was a ruler of Kanauj is an additional confirmation of the correctness of Dr. Hoernle's view.

Moreover one reason adduced by Devadatta, in the paper just mentioned, for assuming that the Gûrjara Vatsarāja's power was not restricted to Rajputana alone, but extended over the country ruled by Bhoja, is that the Gauda country was so far away from Rajputana that it is difficult to understand how otherwise Vatsarāja could subjugate it as he did. But the difficulty of the task may be regarded as not quite so insuperable or the inexplicability may be considered to have been removed by the fact to which attention has been drawn by Mr. A. M. T. Jackson that the Gauda country was no other than Thanesar.<sup>3</sup>

Finally, in addition to the fact noticed by Mr. Jackson, this fact also, that Dharmapāla was a contemporary of Govinda III. (794 A. D.), completely does away with the preceptorship on the part of Kṛṣṇa II (877 A. D.) with regard to Dharmapāla's children, which Dr. Hoernle refers to,<sup>4</sup> even if the words गौडानां विनयव्रतार्पणगुरुः had been capable of that meaning.

The scraps of information gathered may then be put together as follows :—

Chakrâyudha was raised to the throne of Kanauj by Dharmapāla after conquering Indrarāja and others according to the Bhāgalpur

<sup>1</sup> J. R. A. S., 1904, pp. 646-7.

<sup>2</sup> J. R. A. S., 1902.

<sup>3</sup> J. R. A. S., 1903, pp. 1034.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 1904, p. 651.

grant. Nâgabhaṭa of the Gûrjara dynasty defeated Chakrâyudha, and Nâgabhaṭa himself was defeated by Govinda III. It would thus appear, that when Nâgabhaṭa was the Gûrjara prince, the family had not established itself at Kanauj. The Indrâyudha mentioned in the Harivaṁśa as ruling over the north in 783 A. D. was probably a ruler of Kanauj; and he may have been one of those vanquished by Dharmapâla about the end of the eighth century and the one referred to by the name of Indrarâja in the Bhâgalpur plates. Dharmapâla did not annex the country to his territory but bestowed the sovereignty of it on Chakrâyudha. Chakrâyudha was probably connected with Indrâyudha, as the ending word âyudha of both the names may be taken to indicate. Indrâyudha may have been the rightful predecessor of Chakrâyudha or a usurper and, after his defeat and probable death also, Chakrâyudha may have been raised to the throne by Dharmapâla as the next or rightful claimant. So that some time after the death of Yaśovarman, the patron of Bhavabhûti, which must have taken place about the middle of the eighth century, one Indrâyudha got possession of it and was ruling in 783 A.D. He was succeeded by Chakrâyudha and he perhaps by somebody else, until this petty dynasty was overthrown by Bhojadeva of the Gûrjara dynasty about the middle of the ninth century, and thereafter Kanauj became the capital of the latter dynasty.



## ART. IX.

### *A comparison of the Avestic Doctrines of the Fravashees with the Platonic Doctrines of the Ideas and other later Doctrines.*

BY R. K. DADACHANJI, B.A., LL.B.

(Read 27th July, 1905.)

The history of all human thought establishes the correctness of the following three principles : First, all civilization and progress are the results of the evolution of thought from its simplest to its most complex forms, step by step, among the different races of mankind from the dawn of human history. Secondly, all ideas relating to objects and forms of worship were in reality in primitive times intended to be explanations of the mysterious phenomena of nature and events of human life on the supposition that such phenomena were the results of the operations of spirits, and were, so to speak, the effects of what may be called "spiritual causes" as distinguished from what we understand as "physical causes." These ideas represented, as it were, the *sciences* of primitive times and led to the birth and growth of the sciences properly so-called of modern times. Thirdly, with the advance of knowledge and culture, "spiritual causes" are supplanted gradually by physical causes, as explaining natural phenomena and the events of human life. The first of these three principles establishes what may be called the principle of the suggestiveness of ideas, *vis.*, that old existing ideas have the power of suggesting new ideas ; that conversely, new ideas never arise except through the suggestion of, or as being derived from, old existing ideas, and bear, therefore, a necessary connection with the latter and would never come into existence but for the prior existence of the latter. This principle is akin to, but distinct from, the principle of association of ideas. The second of the said three principles is a corollary of the first and may be described as representing the principle of the unity and continuity of human thought throughout all ages in the history of the civilized nations of the world. The remaining third principle shews, that the greater the advance made by the human mind in knowledge and culture, *vis.*, in the actual production of, and in the power of producing, new ideas out of old ideas, the less are natural phenomena and events of human life explained with reference to "spiritual causes," and the more are they ex-

plained with reference to physical causes. These principles, therefore, suggest tests for ascertaining the stage, at which any particular idea must have been developed, and its relations in point of growth to other ideas, similar in substance but different in forms. We shall see, that the Fravashees, a certain class of spirits representing also human beings, dead, living and to be born, were regarded in the Avestic times as explaining most of the mysterious phenomena of nature and human life. But when we come to the times of Plato, which were far later than those in which the Avestic ideas of Frohars or Fravashees came into existence, we observe, that physical causes *e.g.*, fire, air, water, are accepted as explaining the phenomena of existence in the world by some Greek thinkers, who denied that such phenomena were due to the working of spirits. In those times, we observe that Plato makes only a limited use of the idea of spirits. While in the Avestic times the Fravashees were regarded as explaining all phenomena, all the mysteries of nature and human life in this world, Plato looked upon the idea of the existence of spirits as only explaining metaphysical questions concerning life before birth and life after death. In later times than those of Plato, Christianity taught through Catholicism the activity in this world, for the good of devout Christians, of the spirits of those few elect dead personages only who were canonized. Thus though Catholicism denied the activity of the spirits of all dead Christians who had met with Christian burial, and for whose spiritual benefit certain religious ceremonies had been performed, it admitted the beneficent activity of the spirits of those few who were revered as saints. But this limitation of the idea of the activity of the spirits of the human dead was abolished centuries later by Protestantism, which refused to accept the idea of the beneficent activity of the spirits of those whom Catholicism venerated as saints, though it retained the idea of the existence of the spirits of the dead, and their future salvation. And in the middle of the 19th century, when science had explained through physical causes and laws all phenomena of nature and human existence, physically observable, rejecting all explanations based on the agency of spirits, we find that Auguste Comte (who founded the Religion of Humanity in the hope of its supplanting all existing "supernatural religions," as A. Balfour has called them, meaning those which teach the existence of spiritual life after death) utilized for the purposes of his new religion an idea similar to the idea of the Frohars or Fravashees of the dead, not in its entirety, but with its connection with spirits eliminated. And coming to our own days, we observe that with all orthodox Parsees the idea of Fravashees, as representing the dead, are living, moving ideas ; but that these ideas are, and have been, restricted to

the beneficent activity of the Fravashees invoked with proper ceremonies and observances. Thus Parseeism believes in the beneficent activity in this world of the Fravashees or spirits, representing the dead, including the Fravashees representing those living and to be born, though Catholicism, which arose much later than the ideas of the Fravashees, confines such activity to the spirits of those whom it has recognized as saints. This paper will, therefore, after setting out the Avestic doctrines as to the Fravashees, state and discuss the doctrines of Plato regarding what he has called the Ideas, and compare and contrast them with the former. It will, also, refer to Comte's Religion of Humanity, as far as it bears on the subject herein dealt with. This paper will, further, demonstrate, how the unity and continuity of thought are preserved by great religions, after their establishment, by the adaptation and absorption of ideas, which in their existing forms they desired to displace, but which they could not wholly extinguish. It is, generally, supposed, that a new religion has always absolutely broken up the old order of ideas and replaced it by an entirely new one. But attentive observation shews, that it is impossible to remove completely an existing intellectual and moral outfit from the human mind, and equip it with an entirely new one.

This paper will, also, attempt to settle the relation of the teachings of what are known as the later Avesta writings to those of the Gathas, to solve the questions firstly, whether the former are simple pre-Zoroastrian or post-Zoroastrian ideas, or are really Zoroastrian adaptations of pre-Zoroastrian ideas ; secondly, what their age is with reference to the propagation of Zoroastrianism and the early Aryan emigration to India.

2. The "Gathas" are universally acknowledged as embodying the teachings of the great Zoroaster. With reference to the date of this grand work, the dates of composition of different parts of the remaining extant Zoroastrian scriptures have first to be fixed. And the opinion prevails, that the Yeshtas are writings, which belong to a later period than that of the Gathas and are, therefore, known as forming a part of what are called the later Avesta writings. As Dr. Haug observes in his learned "Essays on the Parsis",—"The name Fravashee is never to be met with in the Gathas." But as is well known the "nusks," which formed the body of the Zoroastrian scriptures, have been lost, and as it can never be assumed that the Gathas were the only original work, representing the teachings of the great Iranian prophet, it cannot be inferred from the silence of the Gathas as to the Fravashees, that the great prophet disbelieved the existence of the Fravashees, or preached their non-existence. If this had been the case, the later Avesta would not have assigned one whole Yashta

specially to the Fravashees, *viz.*, the Frawardeen Yesht, and would not have made constant references to them in its other parts, nor would the recital of the Frawardeen Yesht have constituted, as it has constituted from time immemorial till the present day, the most important part of the Zoroastrian ritual of the dead. And, moreover, it is impossible to assume either that the great prophet inculcated no ritual in honour of the dead who are always the first care of every great religion ; and that if he did, as he could not but have done, there was any other ritual prescribed than, *inter alia*, the recital of the Frawardeen Yesht. Assuming, therefore, that no significance can be attached to the fact of the Gathas not referring to the Fravashees, we shall set out the main doctrines of the Fravardeen Yashta and afterwards discuss them in relation to the Platonic doctrines as to the Ideas ; because nothing brings out the salient points of any doctrines so much as their comparison and contrast with other similar doctrines. It is when placed against the background of the latter, that the former appear in all their striking colours, disclosing the strong and weak points of both.

3. The doctrines of the Frawardeen Yesht regarding the Fravashees are as follows on the following points :—

I. What the Fravashees or Frohars are and their powers. “The Frohars or Fravashees are invisible, incapable of being imagined, are far-seeing, strong, powerful, successful in war, health-giving, grantors of gift and happiness.”

II. The place of abode of the Fravashees or Frohars :—“The Fravashees or Frohars move about at their will in the upper region of air (or ether).”

III. What beings and bodies are represented by the Fravashees or Frohars :—“Ahuramazda, the yezds, the angels, the heavens, water, earth, trees (vegetation), goats and kine, and men, living, dead, and to be born, pious creations, and even the Mathravani have all their respective Fravashees or Frohars. But the Frohars of the pious living human beings are more powerful than those of departed ones.”

IV. Explanations of phenomena based on the agency of the Fravashees or Frohars :—

“(a) The sun, moon, planets, and innumerable stars were stationary at first for a long time, but the Frohars opened and pointed out the true paths for them . . . . Water was likewise stationary at first for a long time, but the Frohars shewed to it good ways into streams . . . . Trees were also stationary, inactive at first, did not develop or yield fruits ; but the Frohars gave to them

the power of developing and yielding fruits, according to ordained ways and at ordained times."

"(b) It is through the aid of the Frohars that Ahura Mazda sustains the earth and the heavens, preserves the unborn in the wombs of their mothers. If there had been no Frohars, no creatures of Ahura Mazda, rational and irrational, would have been in existence, but Angremenyush, and the "Deruj's, and the (evil) Meenoes (spirits) would have overpowered everything, and exercised their sway unchecked."

V. The time, mode and results of the adoration of the Frohars :—  
 "The Frohars descend from their higher region to the earth on the occasion of the Hamaespathan ghambar [a certain part of the Parsi year], and move about the streets for ten nights, desirous of their names being remembered, their praises and glory being proclaimed, their worship being effected with pious prayers, and their being welcomed with hands bearing food and raiment [not, it is to be noted, being fed with food, or clothed with raiment] . . . . . The blessings, which the Frohars that have had their aforementioned desires satisfied, possess the power of granting, and do grant on invocation, are as follows :—(a) "Increase of cattle and human beings," (b) "fleet horses and strong vehicles," (c) "power, with leadership of the Anjuman (public body)," (d) "help in enterprises and in distress," (e) "health and recovery from illness," (f) "victory in battles."

Inferentially it may be stated, that Angremenyush, the Derooj's, and the evil Meenoes are not represented by Frohars, and that the Frohars are the beings forming the connecting link between the spiritual and the physical world—between mind and matter, and are the beings who connect Ahura-Mazda with his good creations.

4. Dr. Haug says in his "Essays on the Parsees": "Every being of the good creation, whether living or deceased, or still unborn, has its own Fravashee or guardian, who has existed from the beginning. Hence they are a kind of prototype, and may best be compared to the Ideas of Plato, who supposed everything really existing to have a double existence, first in idea, secondly in reality. Such celestial or invisible prototypes are also mentioned in the Bible. . . See Heb., IX, 23. Exod. XXV, 9, 24." We shall now state the doctrines of Plato as to the Ideas, and then note the points of similarity and dissimilarity between them and the doctrines of the Avesta, regarding the Fravashees or Frohars.

5. The doctrines of Plato on the Ideas, which were intended by him to prove the immortality of the soul, are put by him into the mouth of

Socrates in the dialogue entitled *Phædo*. Socrates expresses them just before drinking the cup of hemlock, and bravely submitting to the execution of the sentence of death passed upon him. He holds his last discourse with his devoted grief-stricken disciples, appropriately on death and the immortality of the soul. He seeks to inspire his disciples with courage and fortitude to bear his approaching death, by trying to prove in his usual way that death to a true pure-minded philosopher, which Socrates had undoubtedly proved himself to be, was but the opening of the door of the prison of the body in which his immortal soul had been imprisoned, and afforded a passage to that higher and sublimer unchanging life in the glorious upper regions of the gods, which was the reward of the true pure-hearted philosopher. The excellence of the analyses of the Platonic Dialogues given by Grote in his great work, entitled "*Plato and the other companions of Socrates*," is testified to by Jowett, and is proved by a study of the latter's own fascinating translations of the dialogues. The following doctrines, therefore, of Plato on the Ideas are stated mostly in the words of Grote, which, besides being accurate, can hardly be improved upon :—

I. What the Ideas are, and what functions they discharge, [not being, it is to be noted, invested with, and not exercising, any powers themselves] : "The Ideas are invisible, eternal unchanging intelligible essences, or realities, are substantial, universal, absolute universal, causative, entities, are extra phenomenal transcendental causes. Each idea imports or communicates its own nature to the particulars, which bear the same name with it and exist in this world of sense, transient phenomena, uncertainty and mere opinion, *e.g.*, Self-Beautiful and Self-Good are the eternal Ideas, and if any thing else be beautiful or good, it can only be, and is beautiful or good, because it inheres or partakes in or has in it the presence of, the Self-Beautiful or Self-Good.

II. The place of abode of the Ideas : In the invisible upper regions of the earth, which are glowingly described in detail by Socrates, as if under inspiration, at the end of his discourse and where everything is fairer than here and where the gods also reside, there dwell the Ideas.

III. Metaphysical explanations, not based on the assumed agency of the Ideas, but upon logical inferences drawn or deductions made, from the theory of their existence : (i) Immortality of the soul. "That which being in the body gives it life is the soul, which exists both as a particular thing in the world and as an universal Idea in the transcendental world. But contrary ideas can and will never

co-exist in anything, but will exclude one another. Therefore the soul, which always brings with it life, can never receive, or admit, or co-exist with, death, which always brings with it the contrary of life. The soul therefore is not liable to death, but is immortal." (ii) Life after death and the transmigration of souls: "After the death of each individual, his soul is conducted by his attendant genius to whom he belonged in life to the proper place, and there receives its reward or sentence of condemnation to suffering greater or less, according to his conduct in life, to be carried out in certain ways. The reward or condemnation of the soul is determined by the following consideration :—(a) If the soul has undergone during the life in this world of the body, left behind by it, the purifying influence of philosophy, having detached itself as much as possible from all connection with the body, with passions, appetites, and impulses, from all pleasures and pursuits connected with the body, in order to pursue true wisdom and knowledge, then, it is relieved from the obligation of entering into any other body, and is allowed to live by itself ever afterwards, disembodied in the pure region of the Ideas, in companionship with the gods. (b) If the soul has undergone no such purification, it first takes the form of a ghost, and becomes visible and then after undergoing some purification enters fresh bodies of different species of men or animals, according to the particular temperament it carries away with it, and the wrongs committed by it during its embodied life, *e.g.*, the soul of a despot, a violent or rapacious man, passes into the body of a wolf or kite; of a glutton or drunkard into that of an ass; but the soul of a man, just and temperate by habit and disposition, and not through the exercise of the pure intellect passes into the body of a gentle and social animal, such as the ant, bee, wasp, &c., or may return into the human form of a moderate man. (iii) Life before birth: "The soul during its pre-existence, while completely apart from the body, acquires through intellectual contemplation and commerce with the eternal Ideas, wisdom or knowledge of the other eternal Ideas, to which its own nature is cognate. But such wisdom or knowledge is lost by the soul on birth, owing to its conjunction with the body, and during its existence in this world; and if it acquires any part of that knowledge afterwards during its life in the world, such knowledge is mere reminiscence, a renewal of the Ideas, with which the soul was already familiar during its anterior life, while separate from the body." (iv) Conflict between the soul and the senses: "Out of the body, there grow passions, appetites and impulses, feelings of pleasure and pain, which corrupt the soul's perception of truth, and misguide it in its search for wisdom and knowledge, which can only be acquired through pure mental contem-

plation of the eternal Ideas, and thus the perceptions of the senses lead to no truth, but only to confusion and deceit. The soul, therefore, existing in an embodied state must sever its connection with the senses, with all passions, appetites, and impulses, and must engage itself in true intellectual contemplation."

6. Before instituting any comparison between the Platonic doctrines regarding the Ideas, and the Avestic doctrines regarding the Frohars, it will be interesting to note the comments of Jowett on the former. That great scholar remarks: "At the conclusion of the dialogue [Phædo] Socrates replaces the veil of mythology and describes the soul and her attendant genius in the language of the mysteries, or a disciple of Zoroaster . . . . . When we consider how much the doctrine of Ideas was also one of words, we cannot wonder, that Plato should have fallen into verbal fallacies; early logic is always mistaking the truth of the form for the truth of the matter . . . . The conception of an abstract soul is the impersonation of the ideas . . . and . . . is in Plato himself but half expressed . . . . Plato had the wonders of psychology just opening to him, and he had not the explanations of them, which are supplied by the analysis of language, and the history of human thought . . . . Nor is it difficult to see that his crowning argument is purely verbal, and is but the expression of an instinctive confidence put into a logical form:—'The soul is immortal because it contains the principle of imperishableness.' Nor does he seem to be at all aware, that nothing is added to human knowledge by his 'safe and simple answer,' that 'beauty is the cause of the beautiful.' " It is clear, that Plato's proofs of his doctrines rest upon what appear to us like verbal juggleries. But this paper is concerned with his doctrines, and not with their proofs, however unsatisfactory they may appear to our modern minds. However it is to be noted, that as regards these proofs themselves, the great philosopher was not free from doubt and uncertainty. He puts the following observation into the mouth of one of the characters, who takes part in the discourse:—"I dare say, that you Socrates feel as I do, how very hard, or almost impossible is the attainment of any certainty about questions such as these in the present life." And the same character is at the end of the discourse again made to observe as follows:—"I can see no reason for doubt after what has been said. But I shall feel and cannot help feeling uncertain in my own mind, when I think of the greatness of the subject, and the feebleness of man."

7. The following points strike us, when comparing Plato's doctrines of Ideas, with the Avestic doctrines of the Fravashees :—

I. As Jowett observes, it is not impossible, that Plato borrowed his idea of the attendant genius of each individual to whom he belongs in life from the Avesta either directly, or indirectly through the mysteries, and that this attendant genius corresponds to the Fravashee of the living. But the Avesta recognizes the Fravashee of the living, as distinct from the Fravashee of the dead; while Plato does not. According to him, the attendant genius of each individual attends on him when living, as well as after his death.

II. The Platonic Ideas are not powers, or natural agents, producing any natural phenomena, except so far as they are essences of animate and inanimate objects, and their qualities. They are not active spiritual beings, except those that represent souls. They do not represent the gods, and do not require adoration through offerings, but claim only contemplation. They possess no power for good, nor are they beneficent in themselves. It is through their pure intellectual contemplation, that good comes, *vis.*, release from future embodiment. In all these particulars the Ideas differ from the Fravashees.

III. The Avestic doctrines of the Fravashees do not inculcate the transmigration of souls; but on the contrary teach that every individual has three separate Fravashees representing him at three distinct stages of his existence, *vis.*, before birth, after death and after birth. The Avesta does not mention any process of purification to be followed in this world by the Fravashee of any departed individual. On the contrary the Fravashees of the dead descend in their spiritual disembodied condition on certain days during the year to bless the living, and not to re-enter the bodies of men or animals. Their beneficent power arises from the fact of the individuals whom some of them represent being pious during their lives. But once these individuals die, they resume no earthly forms again.

IV. The Avestic Fravashees cannot be identified with the Platonic souls, or what are ordinarily known as souls; living individuals themselves are represented by Fravashees residing apart from them and by themselves in a disembodied, spiritual condition; consequently these Fravashees, which remain outside the human bodies of living individuals, cannot be identical with what are called the souls of the living, which are necessarily within and are in possession of the bodies of the living. And it is possible, though it is not quite clear, that the Fravashees of the dead may not be their souls, which animated them during life. This view finds support from the prevailing

Parsi belief which makes a difference between the soul of a dead individual and his Fravashee. The inference, therefore, is that after the birth of a man, a Fravashee comes into existence ; so also after his death.

8. With reference to the biblical allusions to ideas of prototypes mentioned by Dr. Haug, it is to be noted that such allusions are to be met with in Sanskrit literature also. Kalidas's *Sakuntala* or the *Lost Ring* refers to such an idea in the following passage, as translated by Sir Monier Williams, describing the peerless beauty of the heroine:—  
“ Such the divine, the wondrous prototype, whence her fair shape was moulded into being.”

9. The ideas about Fravashees as taught by the Avesta, especially the duty of propitiating them in the way enjoined by the Avesta about the very time fixed by the holy texts, are in force and acted upon, even now, amongst orthodox Parsis. The days sacred to the Fravashees are popularly called the Muktaḍ days and are 18 in number, beginning with the 25th day of the last month of the Parsi calendar year and ending with the 7th day of the following new year, including the 5 intercalary days, called the Gatha-ghambhar days, added by the Parsi calendar at the termination of the last month of every year. Strictly considered, the Muktaḍ days should be 10 only, beginning with the 26th day of the last month of the year, and ending with the 5th intercalary day, the first day of the new year marking the close of the holidays. But for some reason or another the Muktaḍ days became nominally extended to the 7th day of the first month of the new year, though even in popular belief and imagination, the last 10 days of the old year have been held far more sacred than the first 6 days of the following new year. The last 5 intercalary days are popularly regarded as days for repenting of the sins of the closing year and for forming pious determinations for the new year ; while the first 6 days of the new year are assigned to rejoicings, which are never adopted till the advent of the new year or the last day of the old departing year. During the Muktaḍ days in every orthodox Parsi household, ceremonies are performed and prayers are recited by priests day and night in honor of the Fravashees, especially the Fravashees of the dead, and offerings of food, &c., are specially prepared for them. A room in the house is specially cleaned and prepared for the occasion for the visit of the Fravashees and is adorned daily with fresh flowers and rendered fragrant with the burning of incense. In this room some prayers are recited while offerings are offered, in honor of the Fravashees, other prayers being recited elsewhere. At the end of the holidays, a hearty send-off is given by the popular imagination to the

visiting Fravashees. When for any reason a Parsi household is not in a position to perform the Muktaḍ days' ceremonies in honor of the Fravashees, the task is entrusted to managers of "Agiaries," where they are performed in a separate room for as many households as may direct their performance there.

10. Dr. Haug says : "Originally the Fravashees represented only the departed souls of ancestors, comparable to the 'Pitras' of the Brahmans, and the 'Manes' of the Romans." If he meant, as he most likely did mean, that the Fravashees were Zoroastrian adaptations of pre-Zoroastrian ideas of the worship of ancestors, his opinion is well-founded. But Herbert Spencer viewed the doctrines of the Fravashees as proving only ancestor-worship. We shall, therefore, state his views and discuss them, especially as by so doing, we shall be able to bring out some more peculiarities of those doctrines and the religious usages still prevailing amongst the Parsis in connection with them. Herbert Spencer says : "Concerning the ancient Aryans of Persia, we have, on the highest authority, statements distinctly proving a dominant ancestor-worship. While one of the several souls possessed by each individual (and we have seen, that various savages believe in two, three, and even four souls, shadow, reflection, health, heart), the Fravashee is the predominant and the propitiated soul. It is supposed to need food, like the other-self of the dead savage. Not ordinary men only, but deities up to the Supreme One, have each his ghost, implying that he was originally a man ; there is god and 'spirit of god,' as among the Hebrews. We see, too, that these which are ancestral ghosts become the agents, to whom the powers of surrounding objects are ascribed—fetish ghosts. We see, that worship of them, beginning with worship of those of the family and the clan, originates in time the worship of more conspicuous traditional persons, as heroes and gods just as among the Figians and others at this day." But as we have shewn, the Fravashee is not a soul "possessed by each individual" embodied in him, as Spencer imagines it to be, and does not even reside on the earth in an embodied or disembodied form and is not, therefore, a ghost, as Spencer imagines it to be, and does not need food, but needs only reverence, as evidenced by the mere offering of food, not intended to be appropriated by it. As, therefore, the Fravashee does not represent a soul, or constitute a ghost, its adoration in no wise proves ancestor-worship, much less dominant ancestor-worship ; because as already repeatedly observed there are Fravashis not only for the dead, but also for the living and those to be born. It is true, that at the recital of the Fravardeen Yesht, as a part of a ceremony in memory of a dead individual, it is still customary among the Parsis to invoke by their

respective names the Fravashees of the deceased's ancestors, going as far at times as the ancestor, who had, as a fugitive from Persia, landed in India, and founded here the family of the deceased. And there is the further practice, still prevailing, of nominating what is called the adoptive son of a deceased Parsi, though unmarried or childless at the time of death, and of invoking blessings of the Fravashees on such son. The original object of this practice was undoubtedly to provide a deceased male with an adoptive son, who should look after the welfare of the ghost or the spirit of the deceased. But the above Parsi practices would not prove ancestor-worship, even if we disregarded the facts already pointed out ; because there is the further practice prevalent from times immemorial, almost certainly from Zoroastrian times, of invoking the Fravashees of deceased females, and especially of those females, who have in any way attained to pre-eminence, by being the mothers of national great men, or otherwise. Thus the Fravashees of the mother and the daughters of the great prophet, and the wives and mothers of great national heroes like Zal and Rustom are also still ordinarily invoked. This conclusively proves, that the Zoroastrian invocation of the Fravashees of the dead is by no means of the nature of ancestor-worship. It resembles, if it did not actually supply a model for, the commemoration ceremony prescribed by Auguste Comte for his Religion of Humanity.

11. We now see most clearly, after a thorough examination of the ideas of the Fravashees, that they are as intellectual and spiritual as the Platonic abstract essential causative ideas, but are purer than the latter, as they never enter the bodies of men or animals as the latter do, but represent the higher order of beings, and are invested with far greater powers than the Ideas, which are practically powerless.

12. Turning, now, to Comte's Religion of Humanity, the metaphysical theory upon which he bases his doctrine of the non-spiritual worship of the dead is evidently inspired by Platonism, and is partially an adaptation to the requirements of the 19th century thinker of a portion of the Platonic theory of the Ideas, thus being an illustration of the principles of the suggestiveness of ideas and continuity of thought. Comte's metaphysical theory is as follows :—"The supreme power is the continuous result of all the forces capable of voluntarily taking part in the amelioration of the race, even without excepting our worthy helpmates amongst the animals. Each individual member of this great whole has two successive existences, the one objective, and always transitory, in which he serves directly the great being by using the entire series of the previous labors of our race, the other subjective

and perpetual, in which the service is indirectly prolonged by the results which he leaves his successors. . . . The first life forms nothing but the trial of a man's worthiness for the final incorporation. . . . Once incorporated with the supreme being, he becomes truly inseparable from it. Thus man serves Humanity as a being during his life, strictly so called, and as an organ after his death, which finally transforms his life into a subjective life. . . . The living are, therefore, always and even more and more governed by the dead." And upon this theory the great thinker bases the following system of the worship of the dead :—"As the static festivals represent morality, so dynamic festivals will represent history. In these the Worship of Humanity acquires a more concrete and animated form, as it will consist principally in rendering honor to the noblest types of each phase of human development." And Comte framed a complete system of commemoration applicable to Western Europe under the title of "Positivist Calendar." It may be noted, that the Parsis do possess such a calendar and that every addition to the calendar is made by the unanimous decision of the community in a general meeting assembled on the third day, Uthamna, ceremony, in honor of the death of a distinguished popular Parsi, on the proposition of the Dastur (High Priest), and that thenceforth, his Fravashee is invoked generally amongst the community, when any prayers are recited in honor of the Fravashee of any deceased Parsi. It is interesting to note the grounds upon which Comte justifies his commemoration service in honor of the dead, those being the grounds, upon a part of which additions are made to the Parsi calendar, as above stated. He says: "While striving to surpass our ancestors, we shall yet render due honor to all their services, and look with respect on their systems of life. By commemoration of past services, we shall strengthen the desire inherent in all of us to prolong our existence. . . . The praise given to our ancestors will stimulate a noble rivalry, inspiring us with the desire to become incorporate into the Mighty Being, whose life endures through all time, and who is formed of the dead far more than the living."

*(To be concluded.)*



## ART. X.

### *Maçoudi on Volcanoes.*

BY JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A.

(Read 26th April 1906.)

While studying for my lecture on "Mount Vesuvius and my visit to that mountain in 1889" delivered before the Dnyán Prasârak Society on Tuesday, the 17th instant, I looked into some of the Eastern authors, to see if they gave any description of volcanoes. In Firdousi we find no regular description of volcanoes.

It is in Maçoudi that we find a description of some of the volcanoes of the world. Modern European scientific writers on the subject of volcanoes have given references to the writings of the classical authors who have alluded to the subject; but, as far as I know, they have not referred to Maçoudi. The object of this short paper is to collect Maçoudi's references to some of the volcanoes of the world, as it may be of some interest and importance to vulcanologists to know what an Arab writer of the 10th century said of this grand phenomenon of nature.

Abou 'l Hasan Ali, surnamed Maçoudi from one of his ancestors, flourished in the first half of the 10th century after Christ. He was born in Bagdâd and travelled through Persia and India and went even to the Malay Peninsula and to the Chinese seas. He travelled also in Egypt. So, what he says of the volcanoes, especially of the Asiatic volcanoes, seems to be the result of his own observations. The book, in which he has embodied his observations and the result of his studies, is known as Maruj ul Zahab va Ma'din ul Jóhar (مروج الذهب و معادن الجواهر) i.e., the Meadows of Gold and the Mines of Jewels.

Maçoudi has written in Arabic and I give his description of the volcanoes from the translation of the work in French by C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille.

I. The first reference to volcanoes by Maçoudi is in the 16th chapter which treats of seas and their peculiarities.<sup>1</sup> He gives the following description of a mountain in the most distant parts of the islands situated in the sea of China : —

"From these mountains emanates a continuous fire, of which the flames, which are red during the day and blackish at night, rise

<sup>1</sup> Vol. I., p. 342.

so high that they reach the clouds. These eruptions are accompanied with sounds of the most terrible thunder. Often there emanates from it a strange and frightful voice announcing the death of a king or simply of a chief according as it is more or less resonant. There are those who can distinguish this perfectly, being instructed in this matter by a long experience which never makes mistakes. These mountains form part of the large volcanoes of the earth. Not far from these is an island, in which one hears continuously the echo of the sound of drums, flutes, lutes and of every kind of instrument, of sweet and agreeable voices, and also of harmonious steps and clapping of hands. On lending an attentive ear, one distinguishes clearly all the sounds without confounding them. The mariners who have voyaged on these sea-coasts say that it is there that the Dajâl (دجال), *i.e.*, the Antichrist, has fixed his abode."

Now, which are the volcanoes that Maçoudi here refers to as being situated in the sea of China? It appears that they form the volcanoes of Java and Sumatra. Of the great volcanic lines described by Prof. Ansted in his *Physical Geography*, "the most active is," as he says, "that of Java and Sumatra, separating the China Sea from the Indian Ocean."<sup>1</sup> He adds further on, that "the islands near the Malay Peninsula, commencing with the Andaman group and the Nicobar Islands, and extending through Sumatra into Java, are all volcanic, and the volcanic force attains there the condition of intense energy. Along the whole length of Java, the volcanic mountains are so close that it is difficult to distinguish between the various groups. This is the case for at least 700 miles. In this Island the volcanoes range from 5,000 to 13,000 feet in height above the sea."<sup>2</sup>

So, when Maçoudi speaks of the mountains in plural (جبال) and of their flames as "a continuous fire, rising so high that they reach the clouds," it seems clear that he refers to this volcanic belt of great activity in Java. He refers to this belt of volcanoes once more, as we shall see later in the 17th chapter,<sup>3</sup> where he speaks of the volcanic belts of the Caucasus and of the Mediterranean. There he remarks that "of all the volcanoes of the world, the most remarkable for its terrible sounds, for its whirlwinds of black smoke and for its frequent eruptions is that which lies in the kingdom of the Mahârâjâ." This is a reference to the group of volcanoes at Java and Sumatra which were then ruled over by a Mahârâjâ.

<sup>1</sup> *Physical Geography* by Prof. David T. Ansted (Fifth Edition 1871), p. 326.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 332-33.

<sup>3</sup> Maçoudi, Vol. II., p. 26.

There is one other casual reference to this group in Maçoudi which shows that it is the volcanoes of Java to which he refers. In the 35th chapter of his book<sup>1</sup> while speaking of the Franks (*i.e.*, the Firangis or the Europeans) he refers to the Island of Sicily and to its volcanoes, and then says that he has elsewhere referred to the volcano of Zâbej in the China Sea (اطم بلاد الزابع من بحر الصين) *i.e.*, the volcano of the city of Zâbej in the sea of Sin, *i.e.*, Chin or China). Barbier de Meynard takes this Zabej to be the same as modern Java.

There are several other points in Maçoudi's description which require observation.

1. Maçoudi speaks of the eruption of these mountains as "accompanied with sounds of the most terrible thunder." The last eruption of one of these mountains, the most terrible eruption that we have ever had in our times, was that of Krakatoa in 1883, which caused the death of about 36,000 people. The sound of that eruption was heard at a distance of about 3,000 miles.

2. Maçoudi then refers to "a strange and frightful voice announcing the death of a king or simply of a chief, according as it is more or less resonant." Superstitious effects of this kind on minds terrified to the extreme are not rare even in our times, whether in the East or in the West.

3. Maçoudi refers to "the sound of drums, flutes, lutes and of every kind of instrument, of sweet and agreeable voices and also of harmonious steps and clapping of hands." Now, all this is due to what are called "rhythmical puffs and bursts" which occur at regular intervals of a few seconds, and which are observed even in the case of the eruptions of Vesuvius as referred to by Dr. Philipps in his work on Vesuvius.<sup>2</sup> Dion Cassius, who wrote about 230 A.D., while describing the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 A.D., notes the tradition that he was acquainted with, and says "a blast, as if of trumpets, was heard."<sup>3</sup>

4. The last observation of Maçoudi, in his description of this extreme-east volcano which requires observation is the statement of the mariners that "it is there that the Dajâl (دجال) has fixed his abode." Now, who is this Dajâl? Dajâl generally means "an impostor, a liar." Barbier De Meynard translates the word as "Anti-christ." So, if we assume that the mariners referred to a particular class of *dajâls* or liars, *viz.*, those who did not acknowledge Christ as Messiah, it follows that the mariners referred to were Christian seamen, who took these volcanoes to be the seat of Hell itself and thus the seat of those who did not believe in the mission of Christ.

<sup>1</sup> Maçoudi par B. de Meynard, &c., Vol. III, p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> Vesuvius, by John Phillips, p. 145.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

This allusion then indirectly shows that in the 10th century trade flourished between the Christian countries of Europe and the sea-coast towns of China.

Now, the allusion to these volcanoes as the seat of Hell, or as the seat of the punishment of the sinful, is natural. The first impression upon my mind, when I stood at the edge of the crater of the Vesuvius on 28th July 1889, and when I heard the terrible and frightful sounds from within, with the occasional showers of stone that rose from it, was that of Hell. I have noted the first impression in my note-book there and then, thus “અરે ! આવાજો, દેવખાનું !” i.e., “Oh ! the sounds ! They are of Hell.”

It is possible, that many a religious writer has conceived a part of his picture of Hell from what he himself saw and heard at a volcano or from what he heard of it from others.

Mount Vesuvius, the recent eruption of which has suggested to me the subject of this paper, is even now spoken of by some as a Hell. The city of Naples, the natural beauty of which has given rise to the saying “*Vedi Napoli e poi mori*,” i.e., “See Naples and then die,” is said to be “a paradise as seen from hell,” because we see Naples at its best from the top of Vesuvius, which in itself is, as it were, a hell.

That part of Sicily in which Mount Etna is situated is called Valle Demone, because popular tradition believed that the inside of the volcano was a region of demons.

Maçoudi says that these islands were ruled over by a Mahârâjâ. This points to the fact of the spread of Hinduism from India into the East, and of the influence of India.

II. The second important reference by Maçoudi to a set of volcanoes is in his 17th Chapter.<sup>1</sup> Here, he at first refers to the mountains of the Caucasus. Then he refers to Baku as the principal place of naphtha, especially of black naphtha, which, he says, is only found there. He then proceeds to say : “In the land occupied by the sources of the naphtha there is a volcano or a source of fire, the eruptions of which never cease and which emits at all times jets of flames high into air. In front of this portion of the coast are situated several islands. One of them, about 3 days’ voyage from the mainland, contains a great volcano. At certain times of the year its sides roar and emit flames which rise in the air to the height of steep mountains and throw in the sea a vivid light which is seen from the mainland, from a distance of about 100 farsangs. This volcano can be compared to that of Jebel al-Bourkân (جبل البركان) situated in Sicily which forms a part of

<sup>1</sup> Maçoudi par B. de Meynard, &c., II., pp. 25–27.

the country of the Franks and is situated near Africa in the west. Of all the volcanoes of the world, the most remarkable for its terrible sounds, for its whirlwinds of black smoke and for its frequent eruptions is that which lies in the kingdom of the Mahârâjâ. It is necessary to place in the second rank the volcano of the valley of Barhout (برهوت) which rises not far from the country of Asfâr (اسفار) and of Hadramaut (حضر موت) in the territory of Assheher (الشحر) between Yemen and Oman. One hears it grumbling like thunder at the distance of several miles. It ejects embers as large as mountains and pieces of black rock, which, after being thrown into the air where they are seen from a great distance, fall back immediately into the crater or round about it. The embers which the volcano throws out are only the stones which have been melted into lava under the pungent action of heat."

In this long passage he refers to two belts of volcanic activity.

1. The Caucasus group. While referring to this belt, he casually refers (a) to the Java group already referred to, and to the volcano of Sicily, which he calls Jabal al Barkan.

2. The Arabian group, which is spoken of as the volcanoes of the Valley of Barhout near Hadramaut (Hazramaut), a province in Arabia referred to in the Genesis (Chap. X, 26).

Now, of the first group in this passage, *viz.*, the Caucasus group, Professor Ansted says: "Many of the high peaks in the Taurus chain and Mount Elburz itself, the giant of the Caucasus, are volcanic in their origin; but they certainly cannot fairly be ranked as among existing volcanoes, active in the modern period."

Of Mount Demavend, a lofty peak of the Elbourz, Dr. Edward Hull<sup>2</sup> says: "Mount Demavend, in Persia, which rises to an elevation of 18,464 feet near the southern shore of the Caspian Sea, a volcanic mountain of the first magnitude, is now extinct or dormant."<sup>3</sup>

We said above, that it is from the volcanoes that many religious writers seem to have got their conceptions of Hell. It seems that later Zoroastrian writers seem to have taken their conception of Hell from a volcano of this Caucasus group. In the Bundelesh<sup>4</sup> we read "Albourz kuf Arzur grivak chekâti pavan babâ-i-duzakhu munash hamvâr shaêdaân dvârashniya temman vâdunend,"

<sup>1</sup> Ansted's Physical Geography, p. 330.

<sup>2</sup> Volcanoes Past and Present, by Edward Hull, (1862), p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> "This mountain was ascended in 1837 by Mr. Taylor Thomson, who found the summit covered with sulphur, and from a cone fumes at a high temperature issued forth, but there was no eruption." Journal, Royal Geographical Society, Vol. VIII, p. 109. (Volcanoes Past and Present, by E. Hall, p. 24, n. 1.)

<sup>4</sup> Vide S. B. E., Vol. V., Chap. XII 8. Vide my Bundelesh, p. 38.

"The narrow summit of Arzur of the Elbourz Mountain is a  
 the gate of Hell where the demons always meet."

Another passage shows, that Arzura (Arezura), one of the Elbourz mountains, is considered to be the gate of Hell, the seat of the demons, the evil man. It appears, then, that one of the volcanic mountains of the Caucasus group suggested to the Zoroastrian writer his conception of Hell.

...Verdad, there is a question, **«سوالی است. در حقیقت»**. Which is the first place on this earth which is most grieved? The reply is

[illegible]

وَجَعَلْنَا مِنْكُمْ إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَإِسْمَاعِيلَ مُبَارَكَيْنِ وَآدَمَ هَبْنَاهُ آلَافَ مِائَاتٍ سَلَامًا عَلَى إِبْرَاهِيمَ

...to the summit of Arezura. The demons and the devil run out  
...  
...

Now, from what we know of volcanoes, we can clearly understand why Mount Vesuvius is considered to be the worst place on the surface of the earth. The suffocating stink and smoke render it so. Again, the allusion to its being the seat of demons and of the devil is clear. We shall see later on that Italian tradition, as noted by Dion Cassius, has pointed out Vesuvius also as a mountain from which rush forth giants and extraordinary forms.

Again, in another part of the Vendidad<sup>2</sup> the demons are spoken of coming out of the Arezur with shouts. They think of carrying away Zoroaster to that place. The reference to the shouts indicates that the mountain is a volcano.

The second group in the above passage of Maçoudi, *viz.*, the Arabian group, is also referred to by Prof. Ansted as a volcanic group. He says: "Syria, the Holy Land, and Arabia, all exhibit volcanic phenomena of a very direct nature."<sup>3</sup>

III The third long reference to volcanoes by Maçoudi is in the 35th chapter entitled "The Franks and the Galiciens." The passage runs as follows:

They likewise possessed also the countries of Africa and Sicily. We have already spoken of these islands and in particular of the island which is known under the name of Al Borkan. It is a source of fire from which come out enflamed figures resembling bodies of men, but without arms, which rise high in the air during the night to fall back after-

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1. *Journal of Geography*, p. 330.

1. . . . . Maynard, III, pp. 67—69.

wards into the sea. These are stones with which they lustre and polish the paper of account books. They are light, white and assume the form of a honey-comb or the models of dinars of small diameter. This volcano is known under the name of the Volcano of Sicily. . . . . We have spoken also of all the volcanoes of the earth such as the volcano of Wadi-Berhout in Hadramaut and the country of Al Sheher; the Volcano of Zbedj of (زاج) (i.e., Java) in the Chinese Sea; the Volcano of Esk (Eskibun) between Fars and Ahwaz in the dependency of the city of Arrajan (ارجان) which forms a part of Fars. The fires of this last volcano are seen at night from a distance of about 20 farsangs and they are well-known in all the Musalman countries. The word *atimah* (اطمه) means properly a source of fire which burst out of the earth. We will not speak in this volume of hot springs of sulphur and vitriol nor of the springs of hot water from which burst out flames arising from *atimah* (volcano) in the country of Mâçabadan (ماسبدان) in the dependency of Arrajân and Sîrwân and known under the name of Naumân. It is an extraordinary volcano which water cannot extinguish nor fight against in any manner. So powerful is its incandescence and such vivacity have its flames that it passes for one of the wonders of the world."

In this long passage Maçoudi refers to the following volcanoes:—

1. Etna the volcano of Sicily.
2. The volcano of Wadi Berhout in Hadramaut and the country of Alshahar, i.e., the volcanoes of the Arabian group.
3. The volcano of Java.
4. The volcano of Esk (Eskibun) between Fars and Ahwaz in the country of Pars.

We have already referred to the second and the third in the list.

The first volcanic mountain referred to here is the well known mountain of Etna in Sicily.

The following statement in the description of this volcano attracts one's special attention. Maçoudi says: "It is a source of fire from which come out enflamed bodies (اجسام من النار) resembling bodies of men but without head which rise high in the air during the night to fall back afterwards to the sea." Maçoudi also refers to this casually in Chapter XII<sup>1</sup> where he says that this volcano throws out "fires accompanied by bodies" (النار وفيها اجسام). Compare with this the following version of the Vesuvius eruption of A.D. 79 by Dion Cassius, who wrote in about 230 A.D. He says: "Many

<sup>1</sup> Vol. I, p. 259.

huge men, surpassing human stature, such as the giants are described to have been, appeared wandering in the air and upon the earth, at one time frequenting the mountain, at another the fields and cities in its neighbourhood. . . . Some thought the giants were rising again, (for many phantoms of them were seen in the smoke, and a blast as if of trumpets, was heard)."<sup>1</sup>

Thus it appears both from an Arab author and a Roman author that people thought that they saw figures of men rising from the volcanoes high into the air. Don Cassius says that they appeared to hover over cities and fields. Of course, this was due to all the fantastic shapes which the vapours emanating from the craters assumed. But these statements suggest the idea that perhaps it is from the appearance of such phantoms or fantastical shapes of vapours, added to the terrible sound from within, that the ancients thought that the volcanoes were the localities of Hells where the bodies of the sinful were burnt in suffocating flames and smoke.

Other Arab writers speak of Etna as Jabl-al-nar (جبل النار), i.e., "the mountain of fire." Modern Sicilians call it 'Mongibello,' a word said to have been made up of *mon* (Italian *monte*, i.e., mountain) and *gibello* (Arabic *jebal* (جبل) i.e., a mountain). Thus this word, both parts of which mean a mountain, is made up partly of an Italian and partly of an Arabic word.

I do not understand why Maçoudi calls the island of Sicily and the volcano El-Borkân (البركان). At first sight we may think that it means the mountain of 'bark,' i.e., lightning (برق). But then the word is spelt with *kaf-i-kaliman* and not *quarashat*.

The next volcano referred to in the above passage is that of Esk (Eskibun). We do not find any special reference to this volcano in any of our books on physical geography or vulcanology. But we know that there is a band of mountains in Persia which may be called, both for its volcanic and seismic energy, an energetic band. This is a volcano of that band between Pars and Ahwaz at Ask, which is a place near Arrajân.

Lastly, Maçoudi refers to the hot springs of sulphur, vitriol and hot water in the province of Arrajan and Sirwan. Professor Ansted thus refers to this region of seismic activity. "From the Gulf of Scanderoon, by Aleppo and Mosul, to Lake Van, and the south of Ararat to Shirvan and Baku, on the Caspian, there is another wide and energetic band, probably joining the Caucasus, and connected with the occasionally disturbed districts of the Oural."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vesuvius, by Dr. John Phillips, (1869), pp. 26-27.

<sup>2</sup> Physical Geography, p. 350.

## ART. XI.

### *The Date of the Death of Nizami.*

BY JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A.

(Read 26th April 1906.)

According to M. Mohl, Nizami was the first of the Persian poets, who, after the decadence of the Epic literature, inaugurated by Firdousi, (A.D. 941-1020), brought the historical romance into fashion.<sup>1</sup> One of his Persian biographers, Doulat Shah, as pointed out by Ousley, says of him, in his "Memoirs of the Poets," that "it is impossible for either tongue or pen to describe his sanctity, his excellence, or his science."<sup>2</sup>

Nizami is best known for his "Five Poems" known as the Khamseh (خمسه), *i.e.*, 'the five' and also as the Panj Ganj, *i.e.*, 'the five treasures.' These five poems are—

1. Makhzan-u'l-Asrâr (مخزن الاسرار), *i.e.*, the Treasury of Secrets.
2. Khusru and Shirin.
3. Laili and Majnun.
4. Haft Paikar (هفت پیکر), *i.e.*, the Seven Portraits.
5. The Sikandar-Nameh, *i.e.*, the Book of Alexander.

Of these five, three, the second, fourth and fifth poems, treat of historical romances, in which kings Khusru (Chosroes II) and Behram Gour (Behram V) of the Sassanian dynasty and Sikandar (Alexander the Great) who overthrew the Achemenian dynasty are the principal heroes.

Just as Firdousi had a host of imitators, who tried to imitate his Shâhnâme and wrote poems like Burzo-nâme, Frâmroz-nâme, Kersâsp-nâme, Bânu-Goshasp-nâme, Sârnâme, Jehângier-nâme, and Bahman-nâme, so, Nizami had several imitators of his Khamseh. The most well-known of these imitators was Amir Khusro.

<sup>1</sup> "Le premier qui mit à la mode le roman historique fut Nizami (né l'an 513 et mort l'an 576 de l'hégire)." Le Livre des Rois, small edition, Preface, p. LXXXII.

<sup>2</sup> Biographical Notices of Persian poets by Sir Gore Ousley (1846), p. 43.

Now Bacher, whom we have followed in the words of his translator, Robinson, has, as shown above, determined the date of the death of Nizami, not on the authority of the author himself, but on the authority of a later glossarist, who gives the age of the author when he completed the *Sikandar-nâme*. Bacher seems to believe that the author himself has not given the date of the composition of the *Sikandar-nâme*. He says, "It remains still to settle with regard to the Alexander-Book (*Sikandar-nâme*), the time of its composition, which Nizami does not directly give."<sup>1</sup>

I now produce, for the inspection of members, an old manuscript,<sup>2</sup> about 300 years old, of a poem of Nizami known as the *Sikandar-nâme* or the book of Alexander. At the end (last page) of this *Sikandar-nâme*, as given in this old manuscript, Nizami himself gives the date of the composition of this poem. As far as I know, no author who has treated the subject of the date of Nizami's death has referred to these lines. Nizami says :

خجسته همیشه چو سرو جوان	بماناد در بزم شاه جهان
بتاریخ پانصد نود هفت سال	که خوانند زو نگیرد ملال
سر سال چهارم محرم بدست <sup>4</sup>	ز ساعت گذشته چهارم بدست <sup>3</sup>

Translation—May the king of the world be always blessed in his assembly like an young cypress. In order that the reader may not be tired, on the date of the year 597, in the beginning of the year, on the 4th (day) of (the month of) Moharam<sup>5</sup> when the 4th hour had passed.

These couplets then clearly point out that Nizami was alive in the year 597 Hijri, and so all the dates previous to this, generally given as the date of his death, cannot be correct. Then, as Nizami according to the above glossarist, died shortly after finishing his *Sikandar-nâme*, the date of his death comes to about 597 Hijri.

Now, when we speak of Nizami, as finishing his *Sikandar-nâme* in 597, we must understand by that, the completion of the second recension

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 113.

<sup>2</sup> The manuscript belongs to Mr. Manockjee Rustomjee Unwalla of Bombay, of whom I have often spoken in this room as a fortunate possessor of many old Oriental manuscripts. Comparing this old manuscript with a lithographed copy of Nizami's *Khamsah*, I find that about 300 couplets are lost in the beginning.

<sup>3</sup> The first part of the 2nd couplet occurs in verses "quoted in the *Haft-Asmân*, but which the author thinks to be of doubtful authenticity" Dr. C. Ricu's catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum, Vol. II, p. 568b.

چهارم = چهارم

<sup>5</sup> Moharam is the 1st month of the year.

It is no wonder, that the date of the death of such a person, who had ended his life in retirement, and around whose old age a halo of a miraculous sanctity had spread, has not been certain and is variously stated. Many known authors differ on this point. The object of this short paper is to determine the date of his death on the authority of an old manuscript of the poet's *Sikandar-nâme* or the book of the life of Alexander. This manuscript was one of the old manuscripts that I exhibited at the Exhibition held in our City in December 1904 in connection with the Indian National Congress.

Dr. Wilhelm Bacher, in his history of Persian literature published in 1871, says: "The statements which are contained in Oriental sources as to the year of Nizami's death diverge, in their extreme limits, more than twenty years, and unhappily European authors have inclined to that side which, according to what follows, is submitted as the incorrect account. Daulat Shah, in his biography, which gives only very scanty and quite insufficient notices with regard to our poet, says, that Nizami died in some month of the year 576 of the Hejra. This date has been adopted by Haji Khalifa also, in one place; whilst in other places of his Dictionary he has named quite different dates, *vis.*, twice A.H. 596, once 597, and finally 599. Now the first named date, A.H. 576, is the one which has been adopted by the most eminent writers. So Von Hammer, in his history of Persian polite literature, and Von Erdman, who yet expressly adds, that Haji Khalifa incorrectly says that Nizami died A.H. 597. Flügel, in his account of Persian literature, names likewise the year 576."<sup>1</sup>

M. Mohl. also, as quoted above, gives 576, as the date of Nizami's death.

Dr. Bacher himself gives the date as 599 Hijri.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Hermann Ethé<sup>3</sup> also gives the date as 599 Hijri (1203 A.D.). Ousley<sup>4</sup> gives the year as 597 Hijri (1200 A.D.).

Dr. Charles Rieu, in his Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum, (1881, Vol. II., p. 564b) says: "Most conflicting statements have been made regarding the date of Nizami's death. Daulat Shah gives A.H. 576, the *Âtashkadah* A.H. 586, the *Jahânârâ* A.H. 597, Haj. Khal. A.H. 596, the *Subh-i-Sâdik* A.H. 602, and *Tâkî Kâshî* A.H. 606." Dr. Rieu himself determines the date to be A.H. 598 or 599 (*Ibid.* p. 565a).

<sup>1</sup> "Persian Poetry for English Readers" by Robinson (1883), pp. 109-110.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 113.

<sup>3</sup> Article on Nizami in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th edition, Vol. 17, p. 522. col. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Biographical Notices of Persian Poets* (1845), p. 48.

so high that they reach the clouds. These eruptions are accompanied with sounds of the most terrible thunder. Often there emanates from it a strange and frightful voice announcing the death of a king or simply of a chief according as it is more or less resonant. There are those who can distinguish this perfectly, being instructed in this matter by a long experience which never makes mistakes. These mountains form part of the large volcanoes of the earth. Not far from these is an island, in which one hears continuously the echo of the sound of drums, flutes, lutes and of every kind of instrument, of sweet and agreeable voices, and also of harmonious steps and clapping of hands. On lending an attentive ear, one distinguishes clearly all the sounds without confounding them. The mariners who have voyaged on these sea-coasts say that it is there that the Dajâl (دجال), *i.e.*, the Antichrist, has fixed his abode."

Now, which are the volcanoes that Maçoudi here refers to as being situated in the sea of China? It appears that they form the volcanoes of Java and Sumatra. Of the great volcanic lines described by Prof. Ansted in his *Physical Geography*, "the most active is," as he says, "that of Java and Sumatra, separating the China Sea from the Indian Ocean."<sup>1</sup> He adds further on, that "the islands near the Malay Peninsula, commencing with the Andaman group and the Nicobar Islands, and extending through Sumatra into Java, are all volcanic, and the volcanic force attains there the condition of intense energy. Along the whole length of Java, the volcanic mountains are so close that it is difficult to distinguish between the various groups. This is the case for at least 700 miles. In this Island the volcanoes range from 5,000 to 13,000 feet in height above the sea."<sup>2</sup>

So, when Maçoudi speaks of the mountains in plural (جبال) and of their flames as "a continuous fire, rising so high that they reach the clouds," it seems clear that he refers to this volcanic belt of great activity in Java. He refers to this belt of volcanoes once more, as we shall see later in the 17th chapter,<sup>3</sup> where he speaks of the volcanic belts of the Caucasus and of the Mediterranean. There he remarks that "of all the volcanoes of the world, the most remarkable for its terrible sounds, for its whirlwinds of black smoke and for its frequent eruptions is that which lies in the kingdom of the Mahârâjâ." This is a reference to the group of volcanoes at Java and Sumatra which were then ruled over by a Mahârâjâ.

<sup>1</sup> *Physical Geography* by Prof. David T. Ansted (Fifth Edition 1871), p. 326.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 312-33.

<sup>3</sup> Maçoudi, Vol. II., p. 26.

There is one other casual reference to this group in Maçoudi which shows that it is the volcanoes of Java to which he refers. In the 35th chapter of his book<sup>1</sup> while speaking of the Franks (*i.e.*, the Firangis or the Europeans) he refers to the Island of Sicily and to its volcanoes, and then says that he has elsewhere referred to the volcano of Zâbej in the China Sea (اطم بلاد الزابع من بحر الصين) *i.e.*, the volcano of the city of Zâbej in the sea of Sin, *i.e.*, Chin or China). Barbier de Meynard takes this Zabej to be the same as modern Java.

There are several other points in Maçoudi's description which require observation.

1. Maçoudi speaks of the eruption of these mountains as "accompanied with sounds of the most terrible thunder." The last eruption of one of these mountains, the most terrible eruption that we have ever had in our times, was that of Krakatoa in 1883, which caused the death of about 36,000 people. The sound of that eruption was heard at a distance of about 3,000 miles.

2. Maçoudi then refers to "a strange and frightful voice announcing the death of a king or simply of a chief, according as it is more or less resonant." Superstitious effects of this kind on minds terrified to the extreme are not rare even in our times, whether in the East or in the West.

3. Maçoudi refers to "the sound of drums, flutes, lutes and of every kind of instrument, of sweet and agreeable voices and also of harmonious steps and clapping of hands." Now, all this is due to what are called "rhythmical puffs and bursts" which occur at regular intervals of a few seconds, and which are observed even in the case of the eruptions of Vesuvius as referred to by Dr. Philipps in his work on Vesuvius.<sup>2</sup> Dion Cassius, who wrote about 230 A.D., while describing the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 A.D., notes the tradition that he was acquainted with, and says "a blast, as if of trumpets, was heard."<sup>3</sup>

4. The last observation of Maçoudi, in his description of this extreme-east volcano which requires observation is the statement of the mariners that "it is there that the Dajâl (دجال) has fixed his abode." Now, who is this Dajâl? Dajâl generally means "an impostor, a liar." Barbier De Meynard translates the word as "Anti-christ." So, if we assume that the mariners referred to a particular class of *dajâls* or liars, *vis.*, those who did not acknowledge Christ as Messiah, it follows that the mariners referred to were Christian seamen, who took these volcanoes to be the seat of Hell itself and thus the seat of those who did not believe in the mission of Christ.

<sup>1</sup> Maçoudi par B. de Meynard, &c., Vol. III, p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> Vesuvius, by John Phillips, p. 145.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 27.

of 2'9½" broad by 1'4½" high. The first line of the inscription is well-nigh destroyed, and nearly half of it on the proper left side has peeled off.

The inscription opens with obeisance to (the god) Lakulîśa. The first verse is irrevocably lost, and the second appears to have been devoted to the praise of the goddess Sarasvatî. The next two verses contain the mention and description of a city of the name of Nâgahrada. Verse 5 tells us that in this city there flourished a king named Śrî-Bappaka, the moon amongst the princes of the Guhila dynasty. The verse following probably mentioned the name of the king Allaṭa, father of Naravâhana to whose reign the record refers itself and whose glory is described in verses 7 and 8. The next three verses, though not complete and entire, are sufficiently preserved to supply us with information highly important for the history of the Lakulîśa sect. In the country of Bhṛigukachchha, *i.e.* Broach, through which the Narmadâ, daughter of Mêkala, flows, the sage Bhṛigu, being cursed by Murabhid (Vishṇu), propitiated the god Śiva, who in the presence of that very sage, incarnated himself as characterised with a club (*lakula*) in his hand. As Śiva thus descended to earth in body, the place where this occurred was called Kâyavarôhaṇa. A short description of the place then follows, and we are told that by remaining in Kâyavarôhaṇa Śiva did not at all remember his Kailâsa. What the purport of verse 12 is, it is not easy to say, but the verse following asserts that there lived ancient sages, such as Kuśika and others, who were conversant with the Pâsupata *Yôga*, and who resorted to the use of ashes, barks, and matted hair. From verses 14 and 15 we glean that certain ascetics whose fame had spread from the Himâlayas to Râma's bridge always worshipped the god Êkalinga,<sup>1</sup> and, by them, as verse 16 has it, was caused to be made this temple of Lakulîśa on the mountain Âsvagrâma. From the next two verses we learn that there was a celebrated dilectician called Śrî-Vêdân̄ga *muni* who silenced the disputants of the Syâdvâda (Jaina), Saugata (Buddhist), and other sects, and his pupil was the poet Âmra, son of Âdityan̄ga who composed the *prasasti*. From verse 19 we obtain as the date of the inscription 1028 (of the era) of the king Vikramâditya, which is, therefore, equivalent to the English year 971. The next, which is the last, verse is not complete, but expresses a wish for the permanence of either the temple or the *prasasti*. Then follow the names of *Kârâpakâh*, those who caused

<sup>1</sup> There can be no doubt that they were connected with the temple of Êklingjî. That the priests of this temple were Pâsupatas may be seen from an inscription published in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol LV. pt. I. p. 48, in which Hârîtarâsi is called *Śrî-Êkaligña-Harârâdhana-pâsupat-âchârya*.

ment of the Pâsupata vows that the ascetic-disciples of Lakulîśa became incarnate. Our inscription also, while describing the *avatâra* of Lakulîśa, speaks of Pâsupata *yôga*. Again, the ascetics who built the temple of Lakulîśa, as our inscription has it, were connected with the temple of Êklingjî, and one of the high priests concerned with this temple has been described in an inscription as *Śrî-Êkalinga-Harârâdhana-pâsupat-âchârya*.<sup>1</sup> The inscriptions thus show that in North India Pâsupatas were the adherents of the Lakulîśa system. In the south also the doctrines of Lakulîśa must have been followed by the Pâsupatas, as the expression *Na(La)kulîśa-Pâsupata-darśana* used by Sâyaṇa clearly indicates ; but, in Southern India, in addition to the Pâsupatas, Kâlâmukhas seem to have espoused the system of Lakulîśa. It is not necessary here to reiterate the instances given above in which certain ascetics who are called Kâlâmukhas are also represented as upholders of the *Lākula-siddhânta*. That the Kâlâmukhas were devotees of Lakulîśa is also implied by what Râmânuja says about them. Just at the place where he specifies the four sects, Râmânuja speaks of *laguḍa-dhâraṇa* as one of the characteristic practices of the Kâlâmukhas. *Laguḍa-dhâraṇa*, by its very mention, associates itself in our mind with Lakulî, who, as we have seen, was so called because he held a *lakula*, i.e., *lakuṭa*, a club, in his hand, and it is but natural that his followers should consider it as a badge of their sect. But the other two sects, especially the sect known as Śaiva, were probably not the adherents of the Lākula system. Sâyaṇa, in the *Sarva-darśana-saṁgraha*, contrasts the Śaiva, with the *Na(La)kulîśa-Pâsupata darśana*. This is an unmistakable indication, in my opinion, of the followers of the Śaiva sect not being the supporters of the doctrines of Lakulîśa. Again, in the Karhâḍ copper-plate charter of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Kṛishṇa III.,<sup>2</sup> the grantee Gaganaśiva is represented as having mastered *sakala-Śiva-siddhânta*. This probably shows that Gaganaśiva was of the Śaiva sect and the adherents of this sect had a *siddhânta* of their own called *Śiva-siddhânta* corresponding to the *Lākula-siddhânta* upheld by the Kâlâmukhas.

In South India the followers of Lakulîśa appear to have been split up into two classes, (1) old and (2) new. An inscription found at Goṇakere in the Tiptur *tâluk*, Mysore and dated in A. D. 1285 speaks of the donors as supporters of the new *La(Lâ)kula samaya*.<sup>3</sup> This cannot mean, as Mr. Rice has correctly pointed out,<sup>4</sup> that the Lākula system was then new, for, as we have seen, the incarnation of Śiva as Lakulî dates as far back as the first century A. D., but that probably

<sup>1</sup> See note 2 above.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV., p. 286.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XII., p. 45 (translation).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 10.

of the Lakulîśa-Pâśupata sect ; and I have remarked at the outset that no scholar has yet been able to adduce any information from the Sanskrit literature about the antiquity and history of the sect. There is, however, a certain passage in the Vâyu and Liṅga Purâṇas which throws a flood of light on this matter, and it is very strange that no scholar ever noticed it. The passage is composed of verses 217—225, Chapter XXIII. entitled *Mâhêśvar-âvatâra-yôga* of the Vâyu, and verses 124—133, Chapter XXIV. of the Liṅga, Purâṇa. The text of the published editions of the Vâyu Purâṇa<sup>1</sup> is somewhat corrupt, but that of the Liṅga Purâṇa is remarkably free from this defect. I, therefore, cite the verses in question from the Liṅga Purâṇa, which are as follows :

अष्टाविंशे पुनः प्राप्ते परिवर्त्ते क्रमागते ॥ १२४ ॥  
 पराशरसुतः श्रीमान्विष्णुर्लोकपितामहः ।  
 यदा भविष्यति व्यासो नाम्ना द्वैपायनः प्रभुः ॥ १२५ ॥  
 तदा षष्ठेन चांशेन कृष्णः पुरुषसत्तमः ।  
 वसुदेवाद्यदुश्रेष्ठो वासुदेवो भविष्यति ॥ १२६ ॥  
 तदाप्यहं भविष्यामि योगात्मा योगमायया ।  
 लोकविस्मयनार्थाय ब्रह्मचारिशरीरकः ॥ १२७ ॥  
 स्मशाने मृतमुत्सृष्टं दृष्ट्वा कायमनाथकम् ।  
 ब्राह्मणानां हितार्थाय प्रविष्टो योगमायया ॥ १२८ ॥  
 दिव्यां मेरुगुहां पुण्यां त्वया सार्धं च विष्णुना ।  
 भविष्यामि तदा ब्रह्मन् लकुली<sup>२</sup> नाम नामतः ॥ १२९ ॥  
 कायावतार ( कायारोहण Vāyu ) इत्येवं सिद्धक्षेत्रं च वै तदा ।  
 भविष्यति सुविख्यातं यावद्भूमिर्धरिष्यति ॥ १३० ॥  
 तत्रापि मम ते पुत्रा भविष्यन्ति तपस्विनः ।  
 कुशिकश्चैव गर्गश्च मित्रः कौरुष्य एव च ॥ १३१ ॥  
 योगात्मानो महात्मानो ब्राह्मणा वेदपारगाः ।  
 प्राप्य माहेश्वरं योगं विमला ह्यूर्ध्वरेतसः ॥ १३२ ॥  
 रुद्रलोकं गमिष्यन्ति पुनरावृत्तिदुर्लभम् ।  
 एते पाशुपताः सिद्धा भस्मेऽद्भुतविग्रहाः ॥ १३३ ॥

The substance of the verses is briefly this : in the twenty-eighth *yôga* when Viṣṇu, son of Parâśara, will incarnate himself as Dvaipāyana-

<sup>1</sup> I am aware of only two editions of the Vâyu Purâṇa, one published in the Bibliotheca Indica, and the other in the Ânandâśrama Sanskrit Series.

<sup>2</sup> Although in the text of the Vâyu Purâṇa of the Ânandâśrama Series the reading *Nakulî* is adopted, the footnote . shows that *Lakulî* is the reading of three MSS.

Vyâsa, Kṛishṇa will become incarnate as Vâsudêva. At that time I (*i.e.* Śiva) shall as *brahmachârî* enter a dead body thrown in a cemetery without anybody to guard it, by means of *yôga* powers, and shall bear the name Lakulî. At that time, Kâyârôhaṇa (according to the Vâyû), or Kâyâvatâra (according to the Liṅga Purâṇa), will become famous as a sacred place and remain so till the earth endures. And there will be born the ascetic-pupils Kuśika, Garga, Mitra, and Kaurushya, and these Pâśupatas will repair to the Rudra *lôka* from where they will not return.

It is thus evident that Lakulî, according to the Purâṇas, was the twenty-eighth, *i.e.* the last, incarnation of Mahêśvara (Śiva). It is also clear that this account completely agrees with that of the inscriptions excepting in one minor point. This point of difference arises only with regard to the cause and manner in which Śiva became incarnate as Lakulî. But here not only do the Purâṇas differ from our inscription and the Cintra *praśasti*, but the latter also differ from each other. The Purâṇas say that Śiva entered the dead body of a *brahmachârî* lying in a cemetery without anybody to protect it and thus became incarnate as Lakulî. Our inscription, on the other hand, informs us that Bhṛigu, to undo the effects of a curse pronounced on him by Viṣṇu (Murabhid) under which he was smarting, propitiated Śiva who assumed a bodily form in the presence of that sage. But from the Cintra *praśasti*, we simply learn that Śiva became incarnate in the form of Lakulîśa in order to favour the offspring of Ulûka who were without sons in consequence of his curse. The three accounts are thus different from one another, only so far as the origin of the Lakulîśa incarnation of Śiva goes. But they all perfectly agree as regards the principal points, *viz.* that (1) Lakulî was an incarnation of Mahêśvara, that (2) this incarnation took place at Kâyâvarôhaṇa, and that (3) there were four ascetic-pupils of Lakulî, whose names mentioned in the Purâṇas, are identical with those given in the Cintra *praśasti*.

The verses quoted above are from the Liṅga Purâṇa, but I have stated before that they occur also in the Vâyû Purâṇa. When the same verses are contained in two or more Purâṇas, they are supposed to have been copied from the earliest of these or from an old original Purâṇa whose existence is attested by the numerous allusions to it in the ancient Sanskrit literature. But, taking the most unfavourable view into consideration and consequently waiving the last supposition, we shall say that the verses occurring in both the Purâṇas were borrowed by one from the other. There is a consensus of opinion that Vâyû is the earliest of the Purâṇas. The Vâyû is, therefore, earlier than the Liṅga Purâṇa. Now, there cannot be the slightest

doubt that the Vāyu Purāṇa is anterior to the time when the poet Bāṇa flourished, as the latter refers to it twice in his works. Thus in the Harshacharita we have the following passage: विनीतमार्थं च वेषं दधानः पुस्तकवाचकः सुदृष्टिराजगाम । नातिदूरवर्तिन्यां चासन्ध्या निषसाद । \* \* \* \* गमकैर्मधुरैराक्षिपन्मनासि श्रोतॄणां गीत्या पवमानप्रोक्तं पुराणं पपाठ ।<sup>1</sup> Here then we have an allusion to the recitation of a Purāṇa, which is *Pavamāna-prōkta*, i.e. uttered by Pavamāna. This is the reading of the Bombay and Kāshmīr editions; in the Jeypore edition we have *pavana-prōkta* instead of *pavamāna-prōkta*.<sup>2</sup> Both mean the same thing, as Pavana and Pavamāna are both names of Vāyu. The commentator also takes *Pavamāna-prōkta* in the sense of *Vāyu-prōkta*. No reasonable doubt can thus be entertained as to the Vāyu Purāṇa being referred to in the passage from the Harshacharita quoted above. Again, while describing in the Kādambarī the hermitage to which the parrot Vaiśampāyana, thrown down from the nest of his parent bird, was carried by a sage, Bāṇa uses the following words: यत्र च महाभारते शकुनिवधः पुराणे वायुप्रलपितं \* \* \* \* ।<sup>3</sup> Here also there cannot be even the shadow of a doubt as to the Vāyu Purāṇa being alluded to in the words *Purāṇē Vāyu-pralapitam*, according to one of the two senses obviously intended. The Vāyu Purāṇa was, therefore, composed before the first half of the seventh century when Bāṇa lived, and as it was the custom in his time to recite this Purāṇa, as appears from the passage from the Harshacharita cited above, the Vāyu Purāṇa must have been compiled at least two centuries prior to his time. Again, in the Vāyu Purāṇa itself occurs, in the account of the royal dynasties which enjoyed the sovereignty of the earth, the following verse :

अनुगङ्गं प्रयागं च साकेतं मगधास्तथा । एताञ्जनपदान्सर्वान्भोक्ष्यन्ते गुप्तवंशजाः<sup>4</sup> ॥

In this verse the Guptas are spoken of as the princes who, according to the usual prophetic tone of the Purāṇas, will hold Prayāga, Sākēta, and the Magadha country along the Ganges. This is doubtless a description of the Guptas before they became paramount sovereigns. From the Allāhābād and Éraṇ inscriptions, we conclude that the dominions of Samudragupta had spread as far as the United and the Central Provinces in the west and the south respectively. The description in the Vāyu Purāṇa can thus hardly refer to this wide extent of his dominions. We must, therefore, suppose that the Vāyu Purāṇa was put together shortly before the time of Samudragupta.

<sup>1</sup> Vide the Nirṇayasāgara edition, pp. 35-6.

<sup>2</sup> Kādambarī by Peterson (10. Sk. Series), Intro. p. 54, footnote 5.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. text p. 41.

<sup>4</sup> Anand. Sk. Series, Cap. 99, vs. 382-3.

<sup>5</sup> This line of argument was first pointed out by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar (see above, Vol. XX., pp. 403-4).

A reference to the Vâyu Purâṇa is, no doubt, also to be found in verse 16, chapter 191, Vanaparvan, Mahâbhârata, but as the episode, wherein the reference is contained, is supposed to be an interpolation,<sup>1</sup> we can at the most say that there was a Purâṇa of that name not before the beginning, but before the end, of the Mahâbhârata. The reference is, therefore, of no use to us in fixing the date of the Vâyu Purâṇa, and the commencement of the fourth century, therefore, remains the earliest period, to which we can assign the compilation of that Purâṇa. Now, to revert to the main point, if the Vâyu Purâṇa was put together in the beginning of the fourth century, the incarnation of Śiva as Lakulî, to become a general belief and come to be spoken about in this Purâṇa, must be placed as early as the first century A. D. at the latest. Here then we find that the Purâṇas not only confirm in every important respect the account of the epigraphic records regarding Lakulîśa, but also lead us to infer that the belief in the Lakulîśa incarnation is of great antiquity.

The Vâyu and Liṅga, however, are not the only Purâṇas in which the incarnations of Śiva are mentioned. Chapter LIII. of the Kûrma-purâṇa also gives the *avatâras* of Mahâdêva, their names, and those of their pupils. The last of these incarnations has been therein named Na(La)kulîśvara, and the names of his pupils are cited in the line : कुणिकभैव गर्गश्च मित्रको रुहरेव (v.l. रुष्य एव ) च । There can hardly be a doubt that this verse is corrupt and requires to be corrected into कुशिकभैव गर्गश्च मित्रः कौरुष्य एव च । As the Kûrma Purâṇa is a later work and does nothing more than give a mere list of the *avatâras*, it does not add to our knowledge.

The information we so long had about Lakulîśa was derived from epigraphic sources only, and it was supposed that no confirmation of it was forthcoming from the Sanskrit literature ; but now we see that the account of the inscriptions is, in all important respects, corroborated by the Purâṇas and that for Lakulîśa is to be assigned a much earlier date than we had obtained from inscriptions. Nay, even a minor point connected with our inscription is elucidated by the Vâyu Purâṇa. The inscription, as I have said above, speaks of the ancient ascetics Kuśika and others (the pupils of Lakulî) as conversant with the Pâśupata *yôga*, and the inscription to my mind leads us to surmise that there was such a thing as Pâśupata *yôga* which was an important feature of Śaivism. As no description of it is given in the inscription, it remains only a surmise. But this surmise becomes an indubitable fact when we find that the Vâyu Purâṇa

<sup>1</sup> *The Great Epic of India* by Hopkins, p. 48 ff. My attention to this was first drawn by Mr. Hari Narayan Apte.

mentions the Pâsupata *yôga* by this very name and devotes no less than three chapters to the elucidation of it.

The next point that we have to consider is the signification of the name Lakulî. With respect to it our inscription tells us that when Śiva made himself incarnate, he was *lakul-ôpalakshita-kara*, i.e. with his hand characterised by a *lakula*, i.e. apparently *lakuṭa*, a club. And here Hindu iconography comes to our help. During my archæological tour in Râjputânâ last year, I discovered many old temples, above the doorways of whose shrines or halls was carved a singular figure of Śiva. It is a figure with two hands with curly hair, long ear-lobes, a peculiar *âsana* or sitting posture, and in one instance, even a gem on his breast, thus closely resembling a Buddha or a Jaina *tîrthamkara*. But one of his hands invariably holds a club, and the other often a cocoa-nut.<sup>1</sup> This distinguishes it from the images of Buddhas and *tîrthamkaras*. Further, it is to be noted that this figure is to be seen in temples, about whose dedication to Śiva there is not the slightest doubt. In some instances it occupies the dedicatory block and in others the centre of the frieze above the lintel flanked, on one side, by Brahmâ, and, on the other, by Vishṇu. And it is a fundamental principle of monumental iconography to carve, on the dedicatory block or on the centre of the frieze above, either the divinity to whom the temple is dedicated as is frequently the case, or some sectarial emblem, such as Lakshmî in Vaishṇava temples. No doubt can possibly be entertained as to the figure being of Śiva under the Lakulîśa form. The figure above the door of the *sabhâ-maṇḍapa* of the temple of Nâtha where our inscription was found is unfortunately a little defaced, but, on closely inspecting it, I found it similar to those I have described. The same figure is found above the shrine door of the celebrated temple of Śitalêśvara-Mahâ-dêva at Jhâlrapâṭan.<sup>2</sup> That Lakulîśa was known and worshipped at this place is clear from the following inscription incised on the pedestal of an image of Varâha in a *chhatrî* not far from the temple :

-ष्ठजातकतिलको धार्मिकव्रतभूषणः । ईशानजमु-

-ख्यातो लकुलीश इवाभवत् । तस्य कर्मकरो भृत्यः सूक्त-

धारोत्त सी[ह]टः । एभि - - - तसा (?) नं - - - मुनिशिल्पिने ॥

Here the mason who sculptured the image of Varâha is called a servant of Îśānajamu—, who is praised for his piety and is compared to Lakulîśa. I have little doubt that he was a devotee of Lakulîśa

<sup>1</sup> *Prog. Rep. Archæol. Surv. Ind.* for the year ending 30th June 1905, p. 48, para. 17 ; p. 52, para. 35 ; p. 54, para. 44 ; p. 55, paras. 50 and 51 ; pp. 56-57, paras. 58 and 60 ; and so forth.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 31, para. 90.

and the head *pūjārī* of the temple of Śītalêśvara-Mahādêva, the shrine door of which, as just mentioned, has a figure of Lakulî on the dedicatory block. The temple has been assigned to the seventh century by Fergusson,<sup>1</sup> and so here we have the earliest instance of a temple dedicated to Lakulîśa, the twenty-eighth *avatâra* of Paśupati.

In North India outside Rājputânâ I know of only one instance of a temple in which the image of Lakulîśa is sculptured. At Māndhâtâ a sacred place in the Narmadâ, Lakulîśa figures on the projecting block on the lintel of the shrine doorframe of the temple of Siduhêśvara on the top of the hill. But I am aware of no certain instance of the image of Lakulîśa occurring anywhere in the South, though I can point to two or three instances of figures which are, in all likelihood, of Lakulîśa. In the work entitled "Cave-Temples of India," Dr. Burgess, while describing the Dumâr *leṇa*, says: "In the north verandah is Śiva as Mahâyôgî, seated on a lotus, with a club in his left hand."<sup>2</sup> Of the same figure he elsewhere says: "In the east end of it is Śiva as a yogi or ascetic, with a club in his left hand, and seated on a lotus upheld by Nāga figures, with two females worshipping behind each—an evident copy from the figures of Buddha."<sup>3</sup> This description makes it all but certain that the image is of Śiva as Lakulîśa. Again, the same learned antiquarian, in describing certain figures in the celebrated Kailâsa temple at Elurâ, speaks of a certain image as one of Śiva as "Mahâyogi, the great ascetic" and as closely resembling a Buddha.<sup>4</sup> But unfortunately we are not informed whether the image had a club in one of its hands, so that we cannot say with any high degree of probability that it was a figure of Lakulîśa. Mr. Rice, the late Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore, has informed me that at Baḷagâmi there was a curious figure with two hands, one wielding a club. As Baḷagâmi was a great centre of Lakulîśa worship, as we shall see further on, it is not unsafe to conclude that this was an image of Lakulîśa. But though no certain instances of Lakulîśa sculptures are forthcoming, there cannot be the slightest doubt that the worship of Lakulîśa was vigorously prevalent in the South. I have already referred to the Hêmâvatî inscription in which it is said that Lakulîśa for fear that his name and doctrines might be forgotten incarnated himself as the *muninâtha* Chilluka. This indicates not only that Lakulîśa was known in the South, but also that Chilluka was a worshipper of Lakulîśa and a Śaiva teacher of importance belonging to that sect. An inscription found at Halkûr in the Arsikere *tâluk*, Mysore,

<sup>1</sup> *His. Ind. East. Architec.*, p. 449.

<sup>2</sup> P. 448.

<sup>3</sup> *Arch. Surv. West Ind.* Vol. V., P. 42.

<sup>4</sup> *Cave-Temples of India*, p. 453.

and dated in A.D. 1177, mentions a number of *munis*, adherents of the Kālāmukhas, as upholders of the *Lākūḷ-āgama-samaya*.<sup>1</sup> But the worship of Lakulīśa appears in Mysore to have been strongest at Baḷagāmi which is called in inscriptions Baḷligāve and Baḷipura. Here was the temple of Dakṣiṇa-Kêdârêśvara, to which was attached the Kôḍiya *maṭha*. At the head of this was a very learned and distinguished line of *gurus*, a branch of the Kālāmukhas, forming the Śaktiparishe of the Muvara-kôṇēya *santati* of the Parvvatāvali. The first one named is Kêdâraśakti, his disciple was Śrīkaṇṭha, his disciple was Sômêśvara, his disciple was Gautama, his disciple was Vâmaśakti, and his disciple was Jñânaśakti. Many inscriptions have been discovered at Baḷagāmi which describe the erudition and austerities of many of these high priests. Thus one inscription represents Sômêśvara as having caused the *Lākūḷa-siddhānta* to bloom.<sup>2</sup> In another inscription, Sômêśvara and his predecessors are called Kālāmukhas, and the same inscription, it is worthy of note, begins with an invocation to Lakulīśa.<sup>3</sup> About Vâmaśakti two inscriptions say that in grammar he was Pāṇini, in polity Śrī-Bhûshaṇāchārya, in drama and the science of music Bharatamuni, in poetry Subandhu, and in *siddhānta* Lakulīśvara.<sup>4</sup> The same Vâmaśakti is called "ornament of the Lākūḷāgama" in another inscription.<sup>5</sup> It will thus be seen that all these high priests were worshippers of Lakulīśa and that the temple of south Kêdârêśvara of which they were the *āchāryas*, was, in all probability, dedicated to Lakulīśa.<sup>6</sup>

We thus see that, according to the Purāṇas, Lakulī was the last incarnation of Śiva and synchronous with Kṛishṇa-Vāsudêva. This has the value of a tradition, though the contemporaneity of the two might well be questioned as an historical fact; and from the tradition it is not unreasonable to argue that just as Kṛishṇa-Vāsudêva was regarded as an *avatāra* of Vishṇu and was the reputed originator

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, pt. I, p. 135 (translation).

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII., pt. I., p. 64 (translation).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 65 and 67.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 60 and p. 63; at the latter place, the name Nakulīśvara instead of Lakulīśvara is given.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 95.

<sup>6</sup> It is worthy of note that, in these Baḷagāmi inscriptions, the terms *putra* and *śishya* are used synonymously. Thus while two inscriptions (Shikarpur Nos. 94 and 98) represent Śrīkaṇṭha and Sômêśvara as *śishyas* of Kêdâraśakti and Śrīkaṇṭha respectively, there is at least one inscription (Shikarpur No. 99) in which they are called *putras* of the latter. Similarly, in Shikarpur inscription No. 92 Vâmaśakti is spoken of as the disciple of Gautamadêva, whereas in No. 96 he is mentioned as the dear son of this last. In the Vāyu Purāṇa also, the *putrāḥ* mentioned of each *avatāra* of Śiva must be interpreted to mean *śishyaḥ*, and, as a matter of fact, we find the term *śishya* employed in lieu of *putra* in the description of the sixth incarnation.

of certain doctrines, so Lakulîśa was regarded as an incarnation of Śiva and was also the author of certain tenets. The Purāṇas, I believe, clearly imply that Lakulî was originally a *brahmachârî*. The very fact that he is sculptured as an ascetic like Buddhas or *Tîrtham-karas* who renounced the world confirms this implication. Further it deserves to be noticed that Lakulî is always figured, so far as my knowledge goes, with two hands, although other divinities in the same temples bear at least four hands. Nay, Śiva himself is sculptured under all other forms, with never less than four hands both in these and other temples near the bottom of the sides of the doorframe or in the principal niches on the outside walls of the temples. And, when Lakulî is carved with only two hands, it means that his human origin was prominent before the mind of his followers and that consequently he was an historical personality like Buddha or Mahāvîra. Next, there can hardly be a doubt that he was the originator of certain tenets. While setting forth the *Na(La)kulîśa-Pâśupata darśana*, Sâyaṇa at least once uses the following words: *tad-uktam bhagavatâ Na(La)kulîśēna*. The Hēmâvatî inscription says, as stated before, that Lakulîśa became incarnate in the form of Chilluka in order that his name and doctrines might not be forgotten. This also shows that there were certain doctrines of which Lakulîśa was the acknowledged teacher. But this point is placed beyond all doubt by the fact that *Lākula-siddhānta* and *Lākul-āgama* are frequently referred to in inscriptions found in Mysore. I have just now made mention of the Halkûr inscription of A.D. 1177 which speaks of certain *munis* as upholders of *Lākul-āgama-samaya*. Sômêśvara, one of the pontiffs of the temple of Dakṣiṇa-Kêdârêśvara is represented in a Baḷagâmi inscription, as we have just seen, as having caused *Lākula-siddhanta* to bloom. Many such inscriptions might be quoted in which *Lākul-āgama* and *Lākula-siddhanta* are mentioned.<sup>1</sup> There can, therefore, be no question that Lakulî was the founder of a certain system. There is still one inscription found at Baḷagâmi which deserves to be noted in this connection. Therein has been given at length a description of the Koḍiya *maṭha* attached to the temple of Dakṣiṇa-Kêdârêśvara. And in this description it is stated that the monastery was "a place for commentaries on the *Lākula-siddhanta*, the *Pâtanjala*, and other *Yôga-śâstras*."<sup>2</sup> As *Lākula-siddhanta* is here associated with *Yôga-śâstras*, there can be little doubt that it was connected with the *Yôga* system. Thus we see that not only was Lakulî the promulgator of certain doctrines, but also that these doctrines had a close affinity with *Yôga*.

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. V. Arsikere Taluq Nos. 46, 89 and 103; Vol. VII. Shikarpur Talu No. 107.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. VII., p. 73 (translation).

In the Śāntiparvan of the Mahābhārata, five systems of philosophy are mentioned, viz. (1) Sāṃkhya, (2) Yōga, (3) Pāñcharātra, (4) Vēdas (*i. e.* Āraṇyakas), and (5) Pāśupata.<sup>1</sup> We are further informed that the Pāśupata system was proclaimed by the god Śrīkaṇṭha-Śiva, husband of Umā and lord of the Bhūtas. In the same chapter, the Pāñcharātra system also is spoken of as having originated from Bhagavat or Nārāyaṇa, but in another chapter of the Śāntiparvan, Vāsudēva, the name of the probable historical founder of Pāñcharātra, is given. And it seems tempting to assert that the Pāśupata system here attributed to Śiva had also, like the Pāñcharātra, an historical founder, and that the latter was, in all likelihood, no other than Lakulīśa. We know that Mahāvīra-Varddhamaṇa was the last of the *tīrthamkaras* and was the founder of Jainism, and so Lakulīśa, being the last incarnation of Śiva, may have been the founder of the Pāśupata system. But no certitude on this point can be reached, and perhaps the Pāśupata religion was in existence at the time of Lakulīśa, who may have given only a fresh impetus to it, especially as his name is conspicuous by its absence in the Mahābhārata.

Now, in early times there appears to have been only one sect called Pāśupata amongst the worshippers of Śiva. Pāśupata, as we have seen, is mentioned in the Mahābhārata, and the name of no other Śaiva sect is to be therein met with. The Purāṇas also, as mentioned above, refer to the *yōga* practised by the devotees of Śiva as *Pāśupata yōga* and call the disciples of Lakulīśa Pāśupatas. The Chinese traveller, Yuan-chwang, also speaks of the followers of Mahēśvara either as cinder-sprinkled or *Po-shu-po-to* (Pāśupata).<sup>2</sup> In later times, however, we hear of more than one sect. Thus Rāmānuja in his work called Śrī-Bhāṣhya, while commenting on *Brahmasūtra* II. 2.36 distinguishes the worshippers of Paśupati into the four classes : (1) Kāpāla, (2) Kālāmukha, (3) Pāśupata, and (4) Śaiva. In their commentaries on Śaṅkarāchārya's *bhāṣhya* on *Brahmasūtra* II. 2. 37, Gōvindānanda and Vāchaspati mention the four sects to be (1) Śaiva, (2) Pāśupata, (3) Kāruṇikasiddhāntin, and (4) Kāpālika. Ānandagiri also gives the same names, but for Kāruṇikasiddhāntin, he has Kārukasiddhāntin. Of these Pāśupatas seem to be the old sect of that name and are consequently the earliest. The members of that sect, so far as our knowledge goes, were the followers of Lakulīśa both in the north and the south. The Cintra *prāśasti* tells us that it was for the rigid fulfil-

<sup>1</sup> Cap. 349, vs. 64 and 67 (Bombay edition); in Cap. 208, v. 95 Śiva speaks of himself as having promulgated the Pāśupata *vṛata*.

<sup>2</sup> *Buddhist Records of the Western World* by Beal, Vol. II., p. 353 see references under the word 'Pāśupata.'

ment of the Pâsupata vows that the ascetic-disciples of Lakulîśa became incarnate. Our inscription also, while describing the *avatâra* of Lakulîśa, speaks of Pâsupata *yôga*. Again, the ascetics who built the temple of Lakulîśa, as our inscription has it, were connected with the temple of Êklingjî, and one of the high priests concerned with this temple has been described in an inscription as *Śrî-Êkalinga-Harârâdhana-pâsupat-âchârya*.<sup>1</sup> The inscriptions thus show that in North India Pâsupatas were the adherents of the Lakulîśa system. In the south also the doctrines of Lakulîśa must have been followed by the Pâsupatas, as the expression *Na(La)kulîśa-Pâsupata-darśana* used by Sâyaṇa clearly indicates ; but, in Southern India, in addition to the Pâsupatas, Kâlâmukhas seem to have espoused the system of Lakulîśa. It is not necessary here to reiterate the instances given above in which certain ascetics who are called Kâlâmukhas are also represented as upholders of the *Lâkula-siddhânta*. That the Kâlâmukhas were devotees of Lakulîśa is also implied by what Râmânuja says about them. Just at the place where he specifies the four sects, Râmânuja speaks of *laguḍa-dhâraṇa* as one of the characteristic practices of the Kâlâmukhas. *Laguḍa-dhâraṇa*, by its very mention, associates itself in our mind with Lakulî, who, as we have seen, was so called because he held a *lakula*, i.e., *lakuṭa*, a club, in his hand, and it is but natural that his followers should consider it as a badge of their sect. But the other two sects, especially the sect known as Śaiva, were probably not the adherents of the Lâkula system. Sâyaṇa, in the *Sarva-darśana-saṁgraha*, contrasts the Śaiva, with the *Na(La)kulîśa-Pâsupata darśana*. This is an unmistakable indication, in my opinion, of the followers of the Śaiva sect not being the supporters of the doctrines of Lakulîśa. Again, in the Karhâḍ copper-plate charter of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Kṛishṇa III.,<sup>2</sup> the grantee Gaganaśiva is represented as having mastered *sakala-Śiva-siddhânta*. This probably shows that Gaganaśiva was of the Śaiva sect and the adherents of this sect had a *siddhânta* of their own called *Śiva-siddhânta* corresponding to the *Lâkula-siddhânta* upheld by the Kâlâmukhas.

In South India the followers of Lakulîśa appear to have been split up into two classes, (1) old and (2) new. An inscription found at Goṇakeṛe in the Tiptur *tâluk*, Mysore and dated in A. D. 1285 speaks of the donors as supporters of the new *La(Lâ)kuḷa samaya*.<sup>3</sup> This cannot mean, as Mr. Rice has correctly pointed out,<sup>4</sup> that the Lâkula system was then new, for, as we have seen, the incarnation of Śiva as Lakulî dates as far back as the first century A. D., but that probably

<sup>1</sup> See note 2 above.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV., p. 286.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XII., p. 45 (translation).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 20.

some change had been made introducing new features into it. The Hêmâvatî inscription mentions, as stated over and over again, that Lakulîśa, being afraid that his name and doctrines might be lost in oblivion, was born on earth again as Chilluka. This shows, as remarked above, that Chilluka was a Śaiva teacher of very great importance, and that he, in all likelihood, recast the doctrines of Lakulîśa into a new system. May he, therefore, not have promulgated the new *Lākula-samaya* just referred to ?

I have thus brought to a focus all the rays of information that could be gleaned from inscriptions and Sanskrit literature regarding the antiquity, origin, and dissemination of the Lakulîśa sect. As the inscriptions of Mysore which throw light on the origin and history of the sect were not published six years ago, any theory based on the materials then available must necessarily be imperfect. It is, therefore, not necessary to discuss the theory of Dr. Fleet, who considered a certain Śaiva teacher named Lakula, Lakulîśa, or Lakulîśvara who flourished in the first half of the eleventh century as the originator of the sect.<sup>1</sup> And I am certainly mistaken if the learned doctor has not already given it up, for no scholar who has read the contents of the Hêmâvatî inscription of A.D. 941 above referred to can regard Lakulîśvara *paṇḍita* as the founder of the sect. And, now that, as I have shown, Lakulîśa is to be placed as early as the first century A.D., no antiquarian will lend countenance to the view that the Śaiva teacher Lakulîśvara, who lived in the first half of the eleventh century, was the originator of the sect.

It has been stated above that mention is made of a place named Nâgahrada in verse 3 of our inscription and that the verse after the next represents the king Bappaka, the founder of the Guhila dynasty, as having reigned in this city. Again, in verse 15 the god Êkaliṅga is referred to, and we are told that the ascetics who built the temple of Lakulîśa were the worshippers of that divinity. Nâgahrada is doubtless to be identified with Nâgdâ, fourteen miles to the north of Udaipur, whose ruins stretch to the extent of a mile and a half at the foot of the hill on which the temple of Êklingjî is situated. The present Sanskrit name of the place is no doubt Nâgêndra, but in a Jaina temple called Padmâvatî amongst the ruins of Nâgdâ I found two inscriptions, in one of which the place is called Nâgahrada and in the other Nâgadaha.<sup>2</sup> No reasonable doubt need, therefore, be entertained regarding the identification. Nâgdâ or Nâgahrada thus appears to have been the old capital of the Guhila dynasty, and as the

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX., pp. 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> *Prog. Rep. Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind.* for the year ending 31st March 1906, p. 63, No. 2243.

temple of Êkalinga mentioned in the inscription is unquestionably the celebrated temple of Êklingjî close beside Nâgdâ and was in existence before A.D. 971, the date of our inscription, it shows that the old traditions about Nâgêndra and Bappa Râwal's infancy given by Tod had some historical foundation, and it is intelligible how the Râñâs of Udaipur should come to have such intimate connection with the temple as that of high priests in which capacity they still officiate.



Text.<sup>1</sup>

1. ओ<sup>2</sup> ओ नमो लकुलीशाय ॥ प्रथम [क्रम] .....  
.....रम् ॥ [१] किं तातस्वा (?) म्व (?) ह (?) भ (?) ~ ~ ~
2. लि[त]मिदं पुत्रपाथः पिवाथो देवी वान्यादिहा(?)स्या सरलकरलता लोलमालान्य  
— [1] — — — ~ कीर्णः प्रतिशतदश.....
3. ...स...जलिर्व्वः ॥ [२] समं...नद्ध.....लयं.....  
केन.....
4. नागहृद इति ॥ [३] मंदं भे(?) — ~ लककलिकां कंपयन्पक्ष्ममालामासी(?) ना—  
नयनमुकुला — ~ — — ~ — — [1] — च्छ — — कु[च] तटमधिश्रोणि-  
ि — ~ — — — — ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ — —
5. ~ मुद्यानवातः ॥ [४] अस्मिन्नभूदुहिल[गो]त्रनरेन्द्रचंद्रः श्रीवप्पकाक्षितिपतिः<sup>3</sup> [क्षि]-  
तिपीठर[त्न]म् । ज्याघातघोषक(?)रि[तु]ङ्गहिणा ~ काण्डे कोदण्डकर्म-  
[णि] स च ~ ~ — ~ — — [11] [५] — — — ~ ~
6. लो (?) मणिः [सु]विदिता दिव्या च — — ~ — सा-स्त्री शुचिरत्नसंचय~ता  
हेम्मीरसाप[त्नि]का । इत्वा — ~ ~ मुल्लसद्द्युतिसटासंनद्धदेहं च तद्यस्याद्यापि  
महाह[व]व्यवसित — — ~ — — ~ — [11] [६] —
7. — ~ — करिघटाघनक ~ — — लोटान्निशातकुलिशोपममण्डलाग्रः । दृप्तदिषामसहनो  
मृगलोचनानामिष्टोजनिष्ट नरवाहननामभूपः ॥ [७] यस्य प्र — ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ग्रे(?)स-
8. — — — लाखुरोलिखित — ~ रापरागैः । अग्रेसरक्षितिभुजा मलिनीभवन्ति  
च्छत्रध्वजांशुकशिरोमणिमण्डलानि ॥ [८] शप्तः पुरा मुरभिदा भृगुकच्छ-  
[ना]— — — ~ — ~ ~
9. वितान ~ — ~ — — [1] चक्रे भृगुः सह ग— ~ ~ सार्धिकेन तोषोन्मुखं गिरिसुता-  
पतिमप्रमेयम् ॥ [९] मज्जल्लाटवधूधनस्तनतटोत्तङ्गत्तरङ्गोत्तरा यस्मिन्मेकल-  
कण्यका<sup>4</sup> ~ ~ ~ — — — ~ — — ~ — [1]
10. — — शेषविशुद्धये किमपरं पर्यग्रहीतं मुनेः प्रत्यक्षं लकुलोपलक्षितकरः कायावतारं  
शिवः ॥ [१०] कायावरोहणमतः पुटभेदनं<sup>5</sup> तदुद्धुद्धवालवकुलावलिपुष्प — — [1] म..
11. ....कैलासवासमपि न स्मरति स्मरारिः ॥ [११] अलिकमलिक-  
पृष्ठे पत्रभंगं कपोले कुचभुवि रचयंतो दाम मुक्तामणीनाम् । अपि महति नितम्बे<sup>6</sup>  
मेखलां संदधान.....

<sup>1</sup> From the original stone.<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol.<sup>3</sup> Read °वप्पक°.<sup>4</sup> Read °कन्यका°.<sup>5</sup> Read °दुद्धुद्धवालवकुला°.<sup>6</sup> Read °नितम्बे°.

12. .... [॥][१२] — — ~ [पा]शुपतयोगभृतो यथार्थज्ञानावदात-  
वपुषः कुशिकादयोन्ये । भस्माङ्गरागतरुवल्कजटाकिरीटलक्ष्माण आविरभवन्मुनयः  
पुराणाः ॥ [१३] तेभ्यो.....
13. ....क्षो[भ]क्लेशसमुद्रतात्ममहसः ष-रदा योगिनः । शापानु-  
ग्रहभूमयो <sup>1</sup>हिमशिलाबन्धोज्ज्वलादागिरेरासेतो रघुवंशकीर्त्तिपिशुना श्रीत्रं<sup>2</sup>  
तप [स्त].....
14. श्रीमदेकालिङ्गसुरप्रभोः । <sup>3</sup>पादाम्बुजमहापूजाकर्म कुर्वन्ति संयताः ॥ [ १५ ]  
<sup>4</sup>अश्वग्रामगिरिन्द्रमौलिविलसन्माणिक्यमुत्केतनं क्षुन्नम्भोदतटित्कङ्काराशिखरश्रेणी-  
समुद्भासितं[॥]— — — ~ ~ — ~ —
15. नरजर्नातंद्रायमाणं मुहुस्तैरेतलकुलीशवेदम हिमवच्छृङ्गोपमं कारितम् ॥ [ १६ ] स्या-  
द्वादग्रहनिग्रहागदविधिर्विध्वस्तवैतंडिकच्छा सौगतगर्वपर्वतभिदावज्रप्रपातो  
घनः । .....
16. ....र्यभंगक्षमः श्रीवेदाङ्गमुनिः प्रसिद्धमहिमा यस्य प्रसादं व्यधात् ॥  
[ १७ ] तेनेयमात्रकविना गुणनिधिनादित्यनागतनयेन । सुकृता कृता प्रशस्तिः  
पदवाक्यप्र.....
17. ....विक्रमादित्यभूभृतः । अष्टविंशतिसंयुक्ते शते दशगुणे सति ॥  
[१९] नवविकचिलमालाः पाटलाः कुङ्मलिन्यः शिरासि शशिमुखीनां यत्र शोभां  
लभन्ते । अपि खलत.....
18. ....पापभाले प्रसिद्धिम् ॥ [ २० ] श्रीसुपुजितरासि कारापक प्रण-  
मति । श्रीमार्तण्डश्रीभातृपुरश्रीसद्योरासिश्रीविनिश्चितरासि । लेलको<sup>5</sup> मोहन । एव  
कारापक [ प्र ]ण म[ ति ] .

<sup>1</sup> Read °बन्धो°.

<sup>2</sup> Read °पिशुनास्तीत्रं°.

<sup>3</sup> Read °म्बुज°.

<sup>4</sup> Read °गिरीन्द्र°.

<sup>5</sup> Read °लेखको°.



### ART. XIII.—*Maratha Historical Literature.*

BY D. B. PARASNIS, ESQ.

*(Read before the History Section on 19th January 1905 in connection with the Centenary of the Society.)*

It is eminently fitting that in the celebration of the Centenary of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, a place should be found for taking stock of the work done during the century, so as to note the landmarks in the progress of Maratha Historical Literature. Research in history has been, from the outset, one of the chief aims of such Societies. When the Royal Asiatic Society of England was established, the great Oriental Scholar, Mr. H. T. Colebrooke, in his inaugural address, dwelt at great length upon the importance of research in Asiatic History, and observed : “ The inquiry extends over regions, the most anciently and the most numerously peopled on the globe. The range of research is as wide, as those regions are vast ; and as various, as the people who inhabit them are diversified. It embraces their ancient and modern history, their civil polity, their long-enduring institutions, their manners, and their customs ; their languages and their literature ; their sciences, speculative and practical ; in short, the progress of knowledge among them ; the pitch which it has attained ; and last, but most important, the means of its extension.” A similar scope of work was sketched for itself by our local Society, and several of its leading members, especially in the early thirties, put forth great efforts in the cause of elucidating ancient history. Their environments in Western India impressed them with the backwardness and obscurity of Maratha Historical Literature, and stimulated their exertions in bringing to light such materials as were available. Many of the great lights of Maratha History, such as Grant Duff, Malcolm, Briggs, and Coats, were members of this Society, and their labours shed no little reflected glory on the early history of this institution. It is well known that the Society's Library was the repository of the celebrated Grant Duff collection of Maratha MSS, which, it is to be regretted, are not now forthcoming from the shelves of the Library ; but the incident serves to show the interest the Society took in the work of historical research. This interest has been kept up to this day. Archæology, the elder sister of history, has figured somewhat more prominently in the labours of

the Society ; but history—especially Maratha History—has occupied no little attention. The transactions of the Society are replete with papers on different topics of Maratha History, and they will, I venture to think, be of invaluable help to the future historian.

The subject I have prescribed for myself is a review of the progress of Maratha Historical Literature during the century commencing with the foundation of this Society. As you are all aware, this Society was first founded in A.D. 1804 under the title of "The Literary Society of Bombay," which was afterwards changed into "The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society." It is a noteworthy fact that the year 1804 marks an epoch in Maratha History. It was about this year that the Maratha power first began to show signs of weakness and decline. It was in A.D. 1804 that the victories of General Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, caused the first beginning in the break-up of the Maratha confederacy, and laid the foundation of the British Empire in the Deccan. The century may be divided, for the purpose of noting the progress of Maratha Historical Literature, into three parts—1804 to 1830, 1830 to 1860, and 1860 to 1904. It may be mentioned here that, prior to 1804, there had been no little literary activity in regard to historical research. Numerous works of great value were written by travellers such as Tavernier, Bernier, Carré, Dellon, De Graaf, Fryer, De La Haye, Pere D'Orleans and Manouchi. These travellers visited India between 1640 to 1690, and their works supply valuable contemporary records of the rise of Maratha power. The translations of Fraser, Dow, Karr, Jonathan Scott, and others, from Persian historical works, also shed considerable light on the same period. In 1782 the first systematic effort of writing a connected historical narrative was made by Orme. His first work is the "History of Military Transactions of the British Nation in Industan," and the second is "The Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire." Scot Waring in his "History of the Marathas" refers to Orme in these terms : "Mr. Orme, our first Indian Historian, was the first also to manifest any interest in the history of the Marathas. He collected a considerable degree of information which he published under the humble title of Fragments, and though his work be not free from errors, they result from the scantiness of his materials, and not from a want of the most patient inquiry. He concentrated, in a small compass, a most valuable mass of information ; nor is it to be omitted that he has pointed out almost every European author who has written on the subject." Contemporary with Orme, Nana Phadnavis, it is interesting to note, made an effort in the Poona Durbar in 1783, to have a chronicle written dealing with the

whole Maratha period. Dalrymple's account of Marathas in the "Oriental Repertory," Tones' "Institutions of the Marathas," Moore's "Narrative of the Operations of Captain Little's Detachment and of the Maratha Army under Parashram Bhow Patwardhan against Tippoo Sultan," as well as stray fragments published in the Asiatic Annual Register and the Asiatic Researches, are some of the notable contributions made in this behalf during the early period. Tippoo Sultan's letters by Kirkpatrick and other works relating to Mysore war by Beatson, Dirom and others, form another channel of information bearing on Maratha History. These works are valuable as forming the ground-work of the still more active and brilliant work achieved in the period which marked the commencement of the century.

As I have noted above, the first period between 1804 and 1830 was marked by remarkable activity in the collection and publication of historical materials. While General Wellesley's victories made the year 1804 a conspicuous landmark in history, his brother, the Marquis of Wellesley, made it remarkable from the point of view of historical literature by his publication of "The History of Maratha War." About the same time attempts were made by Col. Mackenzie to collect the materials of the early history of Maratha Power in Southern India. Col. Mackenzie's labours in the field of historical research are made memorable by his magnificent collection of vernacular manuscripts in Southern India—a collection which numbers about 8,000 works. This collection was later on purchased by the Marquis of Hastings on behalf of the East India Company for £10,000. In 1810 appeared Scot Waring's remarkable work, History of the Marathas. This work is based on several Maratha bakhars or chronicles as well as Persian kaifiyats and tawarikhs and the writings of English authors. He mentions as his authorities 4 bakhars of Shewajee, 2 of Shahu Maharaj, 2 of the Battle of Panipat, 2 of Madhowrao, 2 of Narayan Rao Peishwa, and 1 containing the accounts of the Rajas of Berar, and the Gaikwar, Sindia and Holkar families. The author bears the following testimony to the value of the Maratha bakhars :—"Their historians write in a plain, simple, and unaffected style, content to relate passing events in apposite terms without seeking turgid imagery or inflated phraseology. Victory and defeat are briefly related. If they pass over the latter too hastily, they do not dwell upon the former with unnecessary minuteness. They do not endeavour to bias or mislead the judgment, but are certainly greatly deficient in chronology and in historical reflections." Scot Waring treats his materials with great discrimination and impartiality, and his work stands pre-eminent as the first attempt

to deal with Maratha History in a spirit of justice and fairness. Almost contemporaneous with Scot Waring's work were, it may be noted, several Maratha bakhars containing the lives of the Satara Rajas by Malhar Ramarao Chitnis, the hereditary Chitnis of the Maratha Kings of Satara. Then followed Wilke's History of Mysore, Malcolm's Central India, Blacker's Maratha War, Jenkins' Nagpore, Prinsep's Transactions of Political Events in India, Tod's Rajasthan and other works. The most notable book of this period is, however, Grant Duff's History of the Marathas. In spite of later researches Grant Duff is still the paramount authority on the subject of Maratha History. His work fully deserves all the eulogies passed upon it by successive writers. For patient research and judicious statement it stands pre-eminent among works on Maratha History. Whatever additions and improvements may be made by later writers, Grant Duff's work stands on its own pedestal, and can hardly be surpassed. It cannot be denied that want of familiarity with the Maratha language and such other causes have led to some errors and defects which later investigation may be able to correct, and such correction has been in part supplied by the work of Mr. Justice Ranade, which I shall notice later on. In connection with Grant Duff's work, it may be interesting to note, that Maharaja Pratapsing, the Raja of Satara, evinced an enlightened sense of the value of history by giving substantial help to Grant Duff in the shape of original historical records and papers which, Mr. Grant Duff acknowledges, were not confided even to the Peishwas. Maharaja Pratapsing took such keen interest in this work that he had various bakhars and narratives specially written for Grant Duff's assistance, and after the publication of the History of the Marathas by Grant Duff, he got it translated into Marathi. This translation has not yet found its way into print, but I have obtained a copy of it which I intend to present to this Society. General Briggs, who succeeded Grant Duff as Resident at Satara, in a letter dated 20th August 1827, exhorted the Raja to make the translation mentioned above. He writes: "I trust your Highness has received his (Grant Duff's) History of the Maratha Empire, which your Highness should procure to be translated by degrees into the Marathi language, after which it might be struck off on lithography (chhapp) at Bombay, which would obtain as great a name for your Highness in the East as your friend Captain Grant Duff has established for himself in Europe by compiling his excellent history." For his enlightened interest in literature the Raja was made an Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of England, an honour then highly prized and rarely bestowed on Indians. It is also interesting to note here that another Maratha Prince of the same period,

Raja Sarfoji of Tanjore in Southern India, was the happy recipient of the honourable distinction of M.R.A.S. He, too, under the guidance of the Rev. Dr. Schwartz, a famous Danish missionary worker in Southern India, had cultivated literary tastes and attained considerable eminence as a lover of books. The large collection of manuscripts made by him at Tanjore is a standing monument of his culture ; this has served as a favourite resort to learned men, like Dr. Burnell, for carrying on their researches. With reference to our present subject, his most notable act was an inscription, in the Marathi language, of the History of the Tanjore House on the walls of the famous Brihadeshwar Temple which occupies about 90 courts. It has been made accessible to scholars by the labours of Mr. Sambha Murti Rao of Tanjore.

General Briggs was another worker of the same period, quite as remarkable as Grant Duff. He translated, from the Persian, Ferishta's "Rise of the Mahomedan Power" and "Seirul Mutakharin." In the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of England, he published, in 1827, "An Autobiographical Memoir of Nana Pharnavis," and "Secret Correspondence of the Court of the Peishwa Madhoo Rao ; from the year 1761 to 1772." He collected about 9,000 original papers relating to the life of Nana Pharnavis, and having translated several of them, he lodged them all with the Royal Asiatic Society in London. He intended to write a regular treatise on the life of this great statesman, but appeared to have been prevented from doing so by the apparent want of interest shown in Indian subjects by the British public of those days. Referring to the publication of this work, Grant Duff wrote to Briggs in 1854 : "Pray, how do you mean to publish and how do you mean to make your book go down with the public ? The only advice I can offer must be in the style of that given me by the late John Murray, when I called upon him about my history of the Marathas. Can't you put something of the present days into it ? Try to connect the life of Nana Pharnavis with Golden Horn at Sophia and the Sultan, mix up the Peishwas' Durbar with a particular account of the receptions of Messrs. Pease and Sturge by the Emperor of All the Russias. As an amusement to yourself, and a pleasure to those old friends who care about the most uninteresting history in the world, it is all very well ; but I would not venture on publishing unless some booksellers would take the whole risk."

Grant Duff himself suffered terribly in the monetary way on account of the publication of his History of the Marathas. His letter to Goldsmid which has been published in the Journal of this Society, Vol. XXVIII, gives expression to his bitter disappointment. It is important here to observe that most of these writers on Maratha

History were military men in the service of the East India Company, who in the course of their official duties came in contact with men and institutions representing the last days of the Maratha power, and who, being struck by the contrast in civilization and character, were inspired with the laudable ambition of preserving their history. They were as great in letters as in arms. They were conspicuous for their sympathies with the princes and people of the day. They were also men of industry, ability, and self-sacrifice, by virtue of which they have laid us all under great obligations, though in their own country they were ill-requited for their labours,—a circumstance which might perhaps partially account for the apathy shown by English officers and writers towards Maratha History in later periods.

The next period of 1830 to 1860 is comparatively barren of actual results. The most noteworthy productions of this period are Elphinstone's History of India, Forbes Oriental Memoirs and Ras Mala, Clune's Maratha States, MacDonald's Life of Nana Pharnavis, Thornton's History of India, Sleeman's Rambles and Recollections, and a few others. Several distinguished missionary workers, such as the Rev. Dr. Wilson, the Rev. Dr. Murray Mitchell and the Rev. Dr. Stevenson, studied Maratha literature, and read valuable papers before this Society. They were struck by the richness of that literature and exhorted their contemporaries to cultivate it. In the course of their observations they referred to Marathi Historical Memoirs and advocated their publication,—a recommendation which soon bore good fruit. In spite of these contributions this period does not, as I have already remarked, compare favourably in point of actual work with its predecessor, but it is remarkable as preparing the way for yet more brilliant results in the period succeeding it. It was then that with the advocacy of Lord Macaulay, the despatch of Sir Charles Wood, and later on the establishment of Universities that English education began to be diffused among the Indian people. The rich treasures of English literature then became accessible to Indian readers. The Press, too, became an active instrument in the dissemination of knowledge. All these agencies of enlightenment brought about an awakening of Indian intellect, and raised in the succeeding period new recruits in the rank of workers in all fields of literature.

The third period, commencing from 1860 to the present, witnessed the spectacle of Indian workers labouring in the historical literature side by side with European workers superior facilities as regards information and materials, and with training in the modern principles of historical criticism, the

workers became valuable help-mates in the field of historical research, and though there were then some notable English writers like Wheeler, Taylor, Kaye, Malleson, Hunter, and Keene, the most noteworthy feature of this period was the work done by Indian scholars. English works of note were translated into the vernaculars, chief of these being Rao Saheb Mandlik's Marathi translation of Elphinstone's History of India, Vinayak Janardan Kirtane's Marathi translation of Malcolm's Central India and Rao Bahadur G. H. Deshmukh's Marathi translation of Tod's Rajasthan. There was a translation of Duff's History of the Marathas by another writer, and Rao Bahadur Nilkanth Janardan Kirtane published his "Criticism of Grant Duff's History." The last book pointed out the defects of Grant Duff's work, and led to the publication of some original bakhars and other papers relating to Maratha History. Magazines like the "Vividhadnyan Vistar" and "Dambhaharak" (विविधज्ञानविस्तार and दंभहारक) opened their columns to the publication of original papers as well as to critical contributions on historical subjects. A magazine called "Lokahitawadi" (लोकहितवादी) was started by the late R. B. Gopalrao Hari Deshmukh for the publication of historical incidents and anecdotes. Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar's Nibandh-Mala contained some stirring critical essays on the subject of the study of history in general and of Maratha history in particular. These writings aroused active interest in historical literature, and helped in rescuing many old historical records from destruction. A magazine called the "Kavyetihasa-Sangraha" (काव्येतिहास-संग्रह) by Mr. Sane and the late Mr. Janardan Balaji Modak was started with the special object of publishing bakhars and all available historical papers. A considerable body of old historical material was brought to light by this magazine. It inspired in the Maratha public a taste for reading original historical papers, which gradually led to the writing of original works of history and biography. There has thus been a large accession to Marathi literature—the lives of Nana Pharnavis, Mahadji Sindia, Malhar Rao Holkar, Shahu Maharaj, Bapu Gokhale, Rani of Jhansi, Bramhendra Swami, Parsharam Bhow Patvardhan Balaji Vishwanath and so forth. The family histories of the houses of Sindia, Holkar, Dabhade, Vinchurkar, Bhonsles and the lives of Prabhoo soldiers (प्रभूरत्नमाला) are books of more or less value. They are, moreover, very interesting as the first fruit of the leaven spread by the publication of old records and documents. The काव्येतिहास-संग्रह continued for twelve years, and it was succeeded by other magazines such as कायस्थ प्रभूच्या इतिहासाची साधने, ग्रंथमाला, एतिहासिक लेख-संग्रह, भारतवर्ष. These latter magazines have brought to light a rich treasure of historical materials. The most notable acquisition to Maratha historical literature of the present day was the "Rise of the

Maratha Power" by the late Mr. Justice Ranade. It is a work of uncommon value. It throws on Maratha history quite a new light. It is not a mere narrative of events. It puts life and soul into the dry bones of history and makes the past tell its own tale with thrilling interest. The late Mr. Ranade had planned his work and intended to publish it in several volumes. The work we have got is only the first volume of the series, and its very excellence enhances our regret that its author has not lived to finish his work.

While thus the native public evinced so much active interest in their past history, European scholars were no less active in the same cause. Sir Bartle Frere by his own example and precept gave an impetus to the study of Maratha history and the collection of historical materials. He himself collected a large number of Marathi and Persian manuscripts, relating chiefly to the Kingdom of Bijapore, and had several of the Persian manuscripts translated into Marathi. These translations are preserved in three large volumes at the India Office Library in London, and are a standing memorial of Sir Bartle Frere's interest in the cause of Indian history. A large collection of manuscripts was unhappily lost in his voyage from Calcutta to Bombay. He encouraged some of the native Chiefs and Jahagirdars of this presidency to get historical accounts of their respective houses written. He made a grant of Rs. 4,000 per year to this Society which it was at one time proposed to apply to the furtherance of Maratha history. Mr. Justice Newton and Dr. Wilson, both Presidents of this Society, made considerable efforts in the collection and publication of authentic ancient documents, elucidatory of Maratha history. There were debates and discussions in the Society in 1867, under the presidency of Mr. Justice Newton, on the possibility and importance of collecting and publishing original manuscripts which may be in the possession of old historical houses in the Deccan. Mr. Justice Newton himself made a tour in the Deccan, visiting several Sirdars and Jahagirdars and exhorting them to preserve their ancient documents and make them available to scholars. He himself was able to collect a few manuscripts which he presented to this Society.

Another conspicuous worker, though of more recent date, was Mr. Acworth, who struck a new line in the collection of historical materials. In collaboration with Mr. Shaligram he collected and published a large number of powadas or historical ballads which are sung by the gondhalis or minstrels of Maharashtra. It is worthy of note that in 1843 the Rev. Dr. Murray Mitchell, in a paper on Tukaram

read before this Society, had expressed surprise that martial songs, chronicling the gallant exploits of Maratha warriors, were not published. This want was supplied by Mr. Acworth's book. Referring to these ballads Mr. Acworth writes : " With the Marathas, as with every warlike race, the feelings of the commons have taken shape in ballads, which, however rude and inartificial in their language, their structure and rhythm, are genuine embodiment of national enthusiasm, and are dear, and deserve to be dear, to those who repeat and those who listen to them." Mr. Acworth's collection shows the necessity of further work in the same direction.

The movement for publishing old papers spread to the Government and they published many valuable historical works in the form of selections from the original records. The Government of India published the collection of treaties, engagements and sanads prepared by Mr. Aitchison. The Government of Bombay appointed a special officer, Mr. Forrest, to make selections from their own records. These selections from State papers are a valuable addition to Maratha historical literature. Mr. Douglas' Book on Bombay and Western India as well as the different gazetteers published under the auspices of Government also contain much valuable historical matter and deserve mention in this connection.

Among the books published in this period by European scholars I may specially note Colebrooke's *Life of Mountstuart Elphinstone*, Kaye's *Life of Malcolm*, Evans Bell's *Memoirs of General Briggs*, General Wellesley's *Despatches*, Mackey's *Central India*, Hope's *House of Sindia*, Gribbles' *History of the Deccan*, and many others.

Great as has been the work done in the past, the future is full of immense potentialities. The Peishwa Daftar, the Menavli collection in Nana Pharnavis's Wada and the daftars of numerous ancient houses of the Deccan will yield a rich treasure, if skilful hands attempt the work of examination, of sifting, sorting, selecting and of seeing it through the press. The movement to tap the Peishwa Daftar was first started by this Society as early as 1867. Mr. Justice Newton and Rao Saheb Mandlik were very hopeful of making the daftar available for inspection, but Col. Ethridge's somewhat pessimistic view put an extinguisher on the movement. The subject was again taken up by the late Mr. Justice Telang and the late Mr. Justice Ranade under Lord Reay's administration. Some others also made efforts in the same direction. Eventually in 1895 the requisite permission was granted and the Peishwa Daftar was

thrown open to the work of selection under the auspices of the D. V. Society of Poona. Mr. Telang wrote a paper on Gleanings from Maratha Chronicles. Mr. Ranade wrote another paper on the Peishwas' Diaries. These show what rich possibilities there are in the Daftar of unearthing buried treasures. The work of inspecting and classifying papers is proceeding apace, and by the kindness of Government there is every prospect of a vast number of papers becoming available to the student of Maratha history. Private workers like Messrs. Khare and Rajwade have likewise given to the public a considerable body of historical material. They have, moreover, in their possession, unpublished, materials which will occupy their energies for many more years. It is hoped that the public will give every encouragement to their laudable efforts, and that they will not be hampered by want of funds, which is often a stumbling block in the way of good work of this class.

The Mackenzie collection at Madras and London, the collection of General Briggs and Sir Charles Malet in the R. A. Society of London, the Jenkins' collection at the India Office, and the Tanjore Palace Library contain many Maratha manuscripts lying absolutely unused at the places where they are now kept. They are likely to prove very useful if they could be kept in Bombay, where they would be within the reach of Maratha scholars. H. E. Lord Curzon has already expressed his desire to obtain from England some historical manuscripts and documents and place them in the Victoria Memorial Hall at Calcutta. If among such manuscripts and documents there are any papers in Maratha character, they might more fitly be placed in Bombay than Calcutta. H. E. Lord Lamington has suggested the happy idea of establishing a museum in Bombay. That museum may appropriately possess a court for history, where ancient manuscripts and documents, arms and accoutrements, dresses and pictures, seals and coins, and other objects of historical interest might be collected. It will serve as a convenient resort to students of history desiring to make researches in that line. The project of a museum may, however, take a long time to accomplish. In the absence of such an institution, the rooms of this Society may well serve as a resting place for historical objects. On the heels of the collection of materials must follow the work of digesting and assimilating them. A race of scholars must rise, trained in the art of deciphering manuscripts, of weighing evidence and drawing inferences with discrimination. The ground is already prepared and there is every prospect of capable workers rising to the occasion. Mr. Karkaria, Mr. Purshotam Vishram Mawjee, Mr. Rajwade, Mr. Natu, Mr. Khare and others

may be trusted to use their opportunities to advantage. Biographies of eminent personages, monographs on subjects like the Maratha army, the navy, the revenue system, arms, dresses, and a variety of similar topics, as well as a methodical and well-ordered history of the Maratha Empire, have yet to be written. Speaking of the scope of history, Mr. Colebrooke observed : "In speaking of history, I do not refer merely to the succession of political struggles, national conflicts, and warlike achievements, but rather to less conspicuous yet more important occurrences, which directly concern the structure of society ; the civil institutions of nations ; their internal, more than their external, relations ; and the yet less prominent but more momentous events, which affect society universally, and advance it in the scale of civilized life. It is the history of the human mind, which is most diligently to be investigated ; the discoveries of the wise ; the inventions of the ingenious, and the contrivances of the skilful." These words aptly describe the nature of the work that lies before us. Such a work as this wants the genius of a Ranade or a Telang. The fragments they have left only serve to remind us of the immensity of our loss. But we must have trust in the future. There must be co-operation between Indian and European workers. By the light and guidance and the example of European workers, Indian aspirants may strive to perform their task and fulfil the duty they owe to the nation. We can never forget that the work of recasting and digesting the materials done so far is very little compared to what yet remains to be done ; and our efforts must be commensurate with the magnitude of the task. This Society showed itself alive in the sixties to its responsibility as regards historical research. Let me now appeal to it to take up the work once more, of fostering research and guiding the footsteps of such new workers as may need guidance. When in the light of the new materials discovered, history is rewritten, it may be hoped that many erroneous notions will be corrected as regards the Maratha character, the methods of their warfare as well as their civil administration, the deeds of their heroes, the degree of their refinement and their achievements in the fields of literature and art. In the words of Johnson, "there is no part of history so generally useful as that which relates to the progress of the human mind—the gradual improvement of reason, the successive advances of science, the vicissitudes of learning and ignorance, which are the light and darkness of thinking beings, the extinction and resuscitation of arts, and the revolution of the intellectual world." When Maratha history is written in the light of these principles, it will fulfil its proper function. It will give them a correct representation of the past and show wholesome lessons for the guidance of the future.

## ART. XIV.—*The Death of Akbar: A Tercentenary Study.*

BY R. P. KARKARIA, ESQ.

(*Read 29th January 1906.*)

AFTER completing a reign unexampled in the annals of India for prosperity and splendour, Akbar died in October 1605. Consequently in last October fell the Tercentenary of his death, a solemn historical occasion worthy of due celebration. But modern India was, it seems, indifferent to that great name on this occasion, and the date was allowed to pass by without even a thought being given to that great Emperor. In these days when there is so much talk amongst Indians of a united India and of national movements, it is very significant that Indians themselves should have made no movement to celebrate on such an occasion the memory of the illustrious monarch who did so much in his time to unite all Indians and ruled beneficently over all his subjects,—Hindus, Mahomedans, Sikhs, Parsis, Buddhists—and tried to bring them together. Shivaji, it would seem, appealed to some better than Akbar, and there have been celebrations in his honour, not only among the Mahrathas but also among the Bengalis. But with all due deference to the memory of Shivaji, for whom I have the greatest respect which I have shown on many occasions, I would say that after all he was but the hero of only a section of the Indians; while Akbar ought to appeal to all Indians alike, as he worked more than other rulers for the union of all the peoples under his sway.

It would have been in the fitness of things if the present rulers of India, who have succeeded in the course of events by a wise Providence to the heritage of that illustrious mediæval ruler, had celebrated the memory of their most illustrious predecessor. Surely the man was here who would have plunged with his whole heart into the work, who has given unmistakeable proofs that he possesses the historic imagination, to whom the works of Akbar and his descendants, the magnificent Mughals, have throughout his career in India appealed as they had appealed to no other English ruler, who in short was best fitted to do justice to the occasion. But somehow or other Lord Curzon missed the occasion and the Tercentenary of Akbar has been allowed to pass by unremembered, unsung, even unrecorded. People were too busy with the present to bestow thought on the past, even on such a splendid past as the times of Akbar. But that present was indeed worthy

to eclipse even so glorious a past. All India, and particularly all Bombay, was busy preparing to receive the Prince of Wales who is to be the future Akbar of this land. All thoughts and hopes were centered on this heir of the ages, and Akbar may find some consolation that he was forgotten in favour of one who may prove greater than even himself, ruling over a vaster, happier, and more powerful empire. Something also is due to the unsettled state in which Lord Curzon found himself at the end of his rule, and to the circumstances which rendered all his movements, even his departure, uncertain.

But if the State was too much preoccupied with other matters which rightly demanded its attention, at least our learned Asiatic Societies, within whose province this subject specially lies, should have, I venture to think, moved in the matter. I had looked forward to our elder sister of Bengal, the mother of Asiatic Societies in the world, taking the lead in this Tercentenary celebrations. It has indeed done as much as, and probably much more than, any learned body to preserve and illustrate Akbar's name and work in literature. By its scholarly edition in the original Persian of the *Akbar-Nama*, that great monument which Abul Fazl, his *fidus Achates*, has raised to his great patron's name and fame, more lasting than those marble mausolea and palaces by which Akbar expressly desired to commemorate his reign to posterity, and still more by its worthy translations of that great work into the language most widely spoken on this earth, it may be said to have done enough to celebrate the memory of that great monarch. The labours, still unfinished, of that ripe scholar Mr. Beveridge, a past President of that Society, on the purely historical part, and of Colonel Jarrett, and that late prince of Persian scholars, the erudite Henri Blochmann, on the what we may, for want of a better term, call the constitutional part of the singular work of Abul Fazl, have made him speak and write English much better than he writes Persian,\* and rendered his work an English classic for all those who care for his great theme, and for many more who do not, but read him for diversion and even amusement. But for some unexplained reason this Society, having its head-quarters in the capital city of India, Calcutta, has missed the occasion. Nor has our Society done anything. At one time I had hoped that we might hold a symposium in honour of the Tercentenary of Akbar, where our members could make their literary offerings in the shape of contributions, illustrative of certain aspects of his life, character, and times. But the change in our Honorary Secretaryship last October and still more the Royal visit,

\* "Abul Fazl's style seems, at least to Western eyes, to be quite detestable, being full of circumlocutions, and both turgid and obscure. He is often prolix, and often unduly concise and darkly allusive."—Beveridge, preface to *Akbar-Namah*, tr. Vol. I 1902.

forbade the fulfilment of this hope. Still it is not too late ; and we might hold one or more meetings for this object, and even devote a special number of our Journal to papers relating to Akbar.

Meanwhile I offer this paper as a slight contribution to the discussion of a subject intimately connected with Akbar, namely, his death, on which sufficient light has not yet been thrown and which remains as yet obscure and unelucidated. This would appear somewhat strange to anyone who remembers that of Akbar's reign we have more and fuller historical accounts, and those too by contemporaries, than of any other reign in Indian History. There is the great work of Abul Fazl, which, with its lavish details, lays bare before us nearly all aspects of the court and camp of Akbar, and even enlightens us with minute accuracy about his kitchen and stables. There are the elaborate histories of Nizam-ud-din and Abdul Kader Badaoni, which are so important for the different standpoints of their authors to that of Abul Fazl. Then there is the curious composite history of the millennium, the *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, in which both these authors collaborated with others to produce a record of the thousand years of the Hegira which came to a conclusion in Akbar's reign. But all these famous contemporary chronicles were written before the close of Akbar's life and reign, and therefore do not record the very close. Their authors predeceased Akbar by several years, Abul Fazl was murdered in 1602. Badaoni died in 1596 and Nizam-ud-din a year or two earlier still, *circa* 1594. (Blochmann in *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, 1869, Pt. I., p. 143). In these famous writers, therefore, there is necessarily no account of his death.

Failing, therefore, the guidance of such authors, especially the conscientious and sober Nizam-ud-din, we have to fall back upon other contemporaries of inferior worth and reliability among Akbar's countrymen and co-religionists. But we find in these a different account of his death from that given by Europeans, one of whom at least was a contemporary and in India ; and it is hard to reconcile these Persian and European accounts of his death.

I shall bring together first the accounts to be found in Persian works. At the head of these stands the elaborate story of Akbar's last days and moments which his son, the Emperor Jehangir, gives in his autobiographical memoirs which go under various names and forms such as "Wakiaat-i-Jehangiri", "Tuzakh-i-Jehangiri" and the like. The Imperial author did not necessarily write these memoirs with his own hand ; and it "seems very probable that the Emperor kept two or more memoir-writers to whom he gave directions as to the events they were to record and a general expression of his opinion

on the various subjects to be noticed" (Professor Dowson, in Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI., p. 255). In that form of these memoirs which goes under the name of "Tuzakh-i-Jehangiri", "Tarikh-i-Salim Shahi," and which was translated by Major David Price, a great Orientalist and original member of our Society at its foundation in 1804, Jehangir relates with all the details and circumstances favourable to himself the story of Akbar's end. It is very long, but it will be given here shorn of many details with which we are not here concerned. He introduces his account with these remarks which naturally put us on our guard against implicitly believing everything that he says or has bade another say in his name: "With regard to the circumstances of my father's last illness and the means by which the duplicity and hostile designs of some turbulent ameers became known to me on that occasion, I may remark that the influence of my predominant fortune was finally triumphant, and without the slightest effort of human skill God Almighty placed the Empire of Hindustan at my disposal. The story of the events of which it furnishes the recital are among the extraordinary things of the age in which we live, and the particulars may be learnt with sufficient accuracy in the following relation."

He then proceeds to the main story. "On Monday, the nineteenth of the former month of Jemady of the year 1014 (16th September 1605 A.D.), during a paroxysm of his complaint, the inmates of my father's harem proposed to him, previous to his taking a particular draught—the *Noush-i-jann* or life draught—to eat of some fruit and other delicacies presented to him. The effect of this indulgence was a violent indigestion, and as his anger was at the same to a violent degree excited against Amin-ud-din, whom reproaching in severe terms for his gambling propensities, this combined with the previous malady, produced results so unfavourable that the whole of the ensuing day was passed in complete abstinence, not a morsel passing his lips. This was on the Tuesday. On the next evening, which must have been Wednesday, they administered to him the before-mentioned draught in some broth. Another day he spoke in terms of displeasure to Hakim Ally, one of his physicians, who endeavoured to appease him by assuring him, that things done under the influence of alarm were always unavailing, and that his constant solicitude was the application of such remedies as were best calculated to relieve him. My father, however, not less for the purpose of tranquilising the alarm of his attendants than that of sustaining the remnant of life, consented to eat of some rice and vetches dressed with oil (the Indian dish called *kitchery*). But such was the debilitated state of his bowels, that what he had eaten could not be digested, and a

violent dysentery was the result. Hakim Muzafar, another of the physicians, now pronounced that his brother-physician had grossly erred in his prescriptions, particularly in allowing melon to his patient at the commencement of the attack. From a just repugnance to take away from any man his reputation, and perhaps from a disposition to forgive, I determined that Hakim Ally should not be trodden under foot, at a mere malicious suggestion or an accusation on the part of Muzafar actuated by mere jealousy.

“ ‘If,’ thought I, ‘God’s destiny and the blunders of the medical class did not sometimes concur, we should never die.’ This much on a feeling of discretion and kindness, I confessed to Hakim Ally ; but in the bottom of my heart all confidence in his skill was extinguished.

“ During the last ten days of his illness, I attended my father as usual for two or three quarters of time in the latter part of the day ; and this I continued to do until Tuesday, the 14th of the latter Jemady, when he became so greatly reduced that I remained with him from the time at which his medicine was administered in the morning for the remaining part of the day. While he was yet in a state to discriminate, he advised me on one occasion to keep away from the palace ; at all events never to enter unattended by my own guards and retainers : and it now occurred to me that it would be prudent not to neglect such advice ; that at such a crisis it behoved me in my intercourse with the palace to employ the most guarded circumspection. One day I entered the citadel accordingly attended by my own retinue. The very next day, without consulting their sovereign, they dared to close the gates of the citadel against me, and actually brought forward the ordnance on the towers. On Thursday, the 16th, perceiving the pretence of alarm under which these men were screening themselves, I discontinued my visit to the palace altogether ; and I then received by Mokurret Khan a note from Man Singh expressing on his part the expectation that I would concur in their views. How deeply my feelings were agonised at the thought of being excluded from the sight of my father ; during the period in which I thus abstained from entering the castle of Agra, I for some time withheld myself from communicating to any man, resigning myself entirely to the will of God. Having with the advice of my truest friends discontinued my visits to the castle, I sent my son, Parviz, with an apology to my father, stating that I was prevented from attending that day by a severe pain in my head. My father, lifting up his hands in prayer for my health, sent Khwaja Weissy to entreat that if possible I would come to his presence, for that he had no longer any hope of life, particularly under the violent paroxysms of his complaint. ‘Alas !’

said he, ' what a time is this that thou hast chosen to be absent from my person, when thou knowest that, on my demise, the succession to the crown is without dispute ! ' "

Jehangir then describes the intrigues that were going on round the death-bed of Akbar for bringing about the succession of his grandson, his own son, Prince Khosro, to the exclusion of himself. Raja Man Singh, the brother-in-law of Jehangir and maternal uncle of Khosro, and Mirza Azaz Khoka, were the principal persons in these intrigues. The latter asked the sick monarch his wishes about Khosro. To this he replied : " The decree is God's decree and of him alone is the sovereignty. For my part with one mind I retain a thousand hopes. Surely, in giving a loose to such language in my presence you have abandoned me to the jaws of death. Nevertheless it may happen that I have still some portion left in this life. If however the awful crisis be at hand—if the hour of departure be arrived—can I have forgotten the military promptitude, political sagacity and other qualities indispensable to the successful exercise of sovereign power, which at Allahabad I witnessed in Selim Shah ? Neither do I find that the love and affection which I have ever borne him has for a moment been diminished. What if, through the misguidings of the Evil One, he should, for an instant, have been led astray from his filial duty, is he not my eldest born, and as such the heir to my throne : to that throne which by the institutes of my race belongs to the eldest son and never descends to him who is in years younger ? But the six months, wide territory of Bengal I bestow upon Khosro. Having received these assurances from my father's lip," continues the Royal author, " the specious hypocrites repaired in numerous groups to my presence, in such throngs indeed that people had scarcely room to breathe. The chief intriguers seemed penitent of the part they had taken, and acknowledging their folly cordially resolved on yielding to me, without further opposition, every proof of submission and allegiance. . . . My father sent me one of his dresses, with the turban taken from his own brows, and a message, importing that if I were reconciled to live without beholding the countenance of my father, that father, when I was absent, enjoyed neither peace nor repose. The moment I received the message, I clothed myself in the dress and in humble duty proceeded into the castle. On Tuesday, the 8th of the month, my father drew his breath with great difficulty, and his dissolution being evidently at hand he desired that I would despatch someone to summon every ameer, without exception, to his presence ' for I cannot endure,' said he, ' that any misunderstanding should subsist between you and those who, for so many years, have shared in my toil and been the associates of my glory.

Anxious to comply with his desire, I directed Khwaja Weissy to bring the whole of them to the dying monarch's sick chamber. My father, after wistfully regarding them all around, entreated that they would bury in oblivion all the errors of which he could be justly accused, and proceeded to address them in the following terms, arranged in couplets :—

' Remember the repose and safety which blessed my reign,  
The splendour and order which adorned my court, O remember,  
Remember the crisis of my repentance, of my oft revolving beads,  
The canopy which I prepared for the sanctuary of the Kaabah  
Let the tear of affection shed rubies over my dust,  
In your morning orisons turn your thoughts to my soul ;  
Let your evening invocations irradiate the gloom of night,  
Do not forget the anguish of the tear-flowing eye,  
When the chill winds shall visit your courts like the autumnal blast,  
Think on that cold hand which has so often scattered gold among  
you.'

" He added the following stanza of four lines :

' Did thou see how the sky shed around its flower-like fascinations ?  
My soul is on the wing to escape this rage of darkness,  
That bosom, which the world was too narrow to contain,  
Has scarcely space enough to inspire but half a breath.'

" Here I perceived that it might indeed be this mighty monarch's latest breath and that the moment was arrived for discharging the last mournful duties of a son. In tears of anguish I approached his couch, and sobbing aloud I placed my head at my father's feet. After I had then passed in solemn sorrow thrice round him, the dying monarch, as a sign auspicious to my fortune, beckoned to me to take his favourite scimitar, Futteh-ul-Mulk (the conquest of empires), and in his presence to gird it round my waist. Having so done and again prostrated myself at his feet, I renewed my protestations of duty. So nearly was I indeed exhausted in these paroxysms of sorrow, that I found at last the utmost difficulty in drawing breath. On the evening of Wednesday, when one watch and four sections of the night were expired, my father's soul took flight to the realms above. He had however previously desired me to send for Miran Sadrjehan, in order to repeat with him the Kalma Shahdat (the Mahomedan formula of faith : there is no God but God, etc.) which he said was his wish to the last moment, still cherishing the hope that the Almighty disposer of life might yet bestow some prolongation. On his arrival I placed Sadrjehan on both knees by my father's side, and he commenced reciting the creed of the faithful. At this crisis my father desiring

me to draw near threw his arms about my neck and addressed me in the following terms :—

“ ‘ My dear boy (*baba*) take this my last farewell, for here we never meet again. Beware that thou dost not withdraw thy protecting regards from the secluded in my harem—that thou continue the same allowance for subsistence as was allotted by myself. Although my departure must cast a heavy burden upon thy mind, let not the words that are past be at once forgotten. Many a vow and many a covenant have been exchanged between us—break not the pledge which thou hast given me—forget it not. Beware ! Many are the claims which have upon the soul. Be they great or be they small, do not forget them. Call to thy remembrance my deeds of martial glory. Forget not the exertions of that bounty which distributed so many a jewel. My servants and dependants, when I am gone, do not thou forget, nor the afflicted in the hour of need. Ponder word for word on all that I have said—do thou bear all in mind, and again forget me not ! ’ ”

“ After expressing himself as above he directed Sadrjehan once more to repeat the Kalma, and he recited the solemn text himself with a voice equally loud and distinct. He then desired the Sadr to continue repeating by his pillow the Surah Neish and another chapter of the Koran, together with the Adilah prayer, in order that he might be enabled to render up his soul with as little struggle as possible. Accordingly Sadrjehan had finished the Surah Neish, and had the last words of the prayer on his lips, when with no other symptom than a tear drop in the corner of his eye, my noble father resigned his soul into the hands of his Creator. The venerated remains of my father were now laid on those boards equally allotted to the prince and the pauper ; whence after being bathed in every description of perfume, camphor, musk, and roses, a shroud for his vestment, a coffin for his chamber, they were conveyed to their last repose. One foot of the bier was supported on my own shoulder, the three others by my three sons, until we passed the gate of the castle. Hence my sons and the principal officers of my household, alternately bearing the coffin on their shoulders, proceeded all the way to Secundra where all that was mortal of the renowned Akbar was consigned to the care of heaven’s treasury. Thus it was, and thus it will be, while this lower world continues to exist.”

(*Autobiographical Memoirs of the Emperor Jehangir*, Tr. D. Price, 4 to 1 pp. 70-78, London, Oriental Translation. Fund, 1829).

There is another contemporary account of the death of Akbar, which is also pretty minute and confirms the account given by Jehangir. This was written by one who was in the service of Abul Fazl and

later an official of Akbar's Court, a sort of Lord Almoner, Asad Beg, and occurs in his history of the times, "Wakiat Asad Beg." He was dismissed from his service at Court by Jehangir on his accession, but was afterwards favoured by him and honoured with the title of Peshran Khan. He died in 1861. (Elliot and Dowson, *Historians of India*, Vol. VI, p. 150.) Asad was not present during the last illness of Akbar.

"As I, Asad, wandering in the wood of evil destiny had started for the second time as envoy to the four southern provinces, Bijapur, Golconda, Bidar, and the Carnatic, I was not present when that peerless sovereign departed this life. When the question of my embassy was in agitation, the Emperor was also projecting a combat between the elephants Chanchal and Giranbar. His Majesty now at rest ordered me not to depart till I had seen the elephant fight; but Fate had ordained otherwise and I was not sorry for it, for as I shall relate, His Majesty had cause for severe anger at that elephant fight which came off after my departure. A few days after I had left Agra, His Majesty had been taken somewhat ill, and in a short time was very much broken down. While he was in this condition the combat of the elephant Chanchal with the elephant Giranbar, belonging to the Royal Prince, came off. While the fight was going on, an angry dispute arose between the servants of Prince Selim and Sultan Khusru and both overstepped the bounds of courtesy. When His Majesty heard of it, he became exceedingly angry, vexed, and enraged, and this so much increased his illness, that the chief physician, one of the most skilful of his time in the healing art, could do nothing more. During the Emperor's illness the weight of affairs fell upon the Khan-i-Azam, and when it became evident that the life of that illustrious sovereign was drawing to a close, he consulted with Raja Man Singh, one of the principle nobles, and they agreed to make Sultan Khusru Emperor.

"They were both versed in business and possessed of great power, and determined to seize the Prince (Selim) when he came, according to his daily custom, to pay his respects at Court, thus displaying the nature of their mind, little considering that the sun cannot be smeared with mud, nor the marks of the pen of destiny be erased by the penknife of treachery. He whom the hand of the power of Allah upholds, though he be helpless in himself, is safe from all evil. The next day that chosen one of Allah, not dreaming of the treachery of his foes, went, as was his wont, to pay his respects at Court, and entered a boat with several of his attendants. They had reached the foot of the tower and were about to disembark, when Mir Zian-ul-

Mulk of Kazwin arrived in great agitation and jumped into the boat. He brought word of the hopeless state of the Emperor, and of the treachery and perfidy of those evil men. The boat returned, and His Royal Highness with weeping eyes and a sore heart, re-entered his private palace, so that through the endeavours of that faithful friend and sincere well-wisher the arrow of those perfidious enemies missed its mark. When the raw attempt of those wretches had thus been brought to light, and the lofty-flying Phoenix had escaped their treacherous snare, and the curtain which concealed their intentions had been torn, they were obliged to throw off all dissimulation.

“At this time the breath was still in the Emperor’s body, and all his servants and officers were assembled in the audience-room in great distress and agitation. The Khan-i-Azam and Raja Man Singh sat down, and calling all the nobles together, began to consult with them and went so far as to say, ‘The character of the mighty Prince Sultan Salim is well known, and the Emperor’s feelings towards him are notorious, for he by no means wishes him to be his successor. We must all agree to place Sultan Khusru upon the throne.’ When this was said, Sayyad Khan, who was one of the great nobles and connected with the Royal house, and descended from an ancient and illustrious Mughal family, cried out, ‘Of what do you speak, that in the existence of a Prince like Salim Shah, we should place his son upon the throne! This is contrary to the laws and customs of the Chagatai Tatars and shall never be.’ He and Malik Khan, who was also a great chief and well-skilled in business with others of their opinion, rose and left the assembly.”

After describing how these machinations were foiled and the accession of Prince Salim was settled, Asad proceeds: “As soon as the Prince was relieved from all anxiety as to the course affairs were taking, he went with the great nobles and Mir Murtaza Khan at their head, without fear, to the fort, and approached the dying Emperor. He was still breathing, as if he had only waited to see that illustrious one. As soon as that most fortunate Prince entered, he bowed himself at the feet of His Majesty. He saw that he was in his last agonies. The Emperor once more opened his eyes and signed to them to invest him with the turban and robes which had been prepared for him, and to gird him with his own dagger. The attendants prostrated themselves and did homage; at the same moment that sovereign, whose sins are forgiven, bowed himself also, and closed his life. A loud lamentation arose on all sides, and groans and cries ascended from the world and race of men, and the voices of the angelic cherubims were heard

saying, 'God created him and to God he has returned.' When the Emperor Akbar died, groans arose from earth to heaven.

"After that sad occurrence the gracious Emperor Jehangir had all his confidential servants and faithful friends perform the obsequies of the deceased sovereign, with all the ceremonies due to his rank. When they had gone through the funeral rites prescribed by religion and tradition, and had arranged the royal corpse in all state, the Emperor, in great pomp with weeping eyes and a sad heart, took the foot of the bier of the deceased king upon his shoulder, and carried it as far as the door of the public reception room; from thence the great nobles, each anxious for the honour, relieving one another in quick succession, carried His Majesty as far as the gate of the fort. Thence the nobles and ministers, and courtiers, and imams and all his servants and troops, followed the bier with heads and feet uncovered."

From this account it seems that Asad Beg must have seen Jehangir's narrative which it follows closely. Jehangir circulated his memoirs among his friends and courtiers, and it is likely that Asad Beg also was among these. He was at first in disgrace with the new monarch, but in the end succeeded in pleasing him so far that a title was conferred on him. In his chronicle he shows that he was anxious to please Jehangir, and it may very likely have been one of the means by which he regained favour. We might, therefore, safely dismiss this account as being merely an echo of the "Wakiat-i-Jehangiri."

There is a third and a short account of Akbar's death in the "Takhmila-i-Akbarnama." This work is, as its name implies, a continuation of the great work of Abul Fazl, who had recorded the history of forty-six years of Akbar's reign when he was murdered. Inayatulla, at the Emperor's command, wrote the account of the last four years, and this is usually found bound up with manuscripts of the Akbarnama of Abu Fazl. (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VI., p. 103.) In this work Inayatulla says: "On Monday, the 12th Aban, corresponding with the 20th Jumada awwal 1014 Hijra (September 1605), an illness insinuated itself into the frame of the Emperor and he became indisposed. Hakim Ali, who was the most skilful of physicians, was summoned to attend. After considering the symptoms, he refrained for eight days from administering medicine, in the hope that His Majesty's vigour of constitution would overcome the disease. On the ninth day, the debility and symptoms appeared to be aggravated, so the physician resorted to the remedies of his art; but they produced no good effect for ten days. The complaint in the bowels increased, and the limbs lost their power. It then became evident

that recovery was hopeless, and that the collar of the world was in the clutches of the Fates. On the 9th Azar, when the age of His Majesty had reached the period of 65 lunar years, he bade adieu to life in the capital of Agra, and took his departure to the paradise of love. On the following day his sacred remains were borne by men of all ranks in stately and becoming pomp to the grave and were entered in the garden of Bihishtabad." (*Takhmilai-Akbarnama*, apud Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VI., p. 115.)

The great and famous historical work of Ferishta, who was also a contemporary of Akbar, beyond whose reign it does not go very far, as it stops at 1612, touches slightly on this subject and says that the death of Akbar was due to his grief at the death of his favourite son, Prince Daniel. "On the 1st of Zehuj (8th April) Prince Daniel died in the city of Burhampore owing to excess of drinking. His death, and the circumstances connected with it, so much affected the King, who was in a declining state of health, that he every day became worse, till on the 13th of Jemadi Sani, in the year 1014, he died after a reign of 51 years and some months." (fr. Briggs, Vol. II., p. 280.)

These are all the contemporary Mahomedan accounts of Akbar's death that are to be found now. In fact they reduce themselves to one account, namely, that of Jehangir. Now Jehangir in spite of his prolixity of detail and of circumstance, does not mention exactly what disease it was precisely that attacked Akbar. He says that indigestion was the complaint, but that could not have lasted so long, and besides it ought to have been amenable to the skill of the court physicians. And here is another difficulty. Hakim Ali, the physician, seems to have grossly blundered, or worse. And stranger still, Jehangir says he took no notice of it. Here is a royal physician who, when his imperial master is seriously ill, refrains for full eight days from giving him any medicine! And the Emperor's son takes no notice of his incompetence or criminal folly. And the reason Jehangir gives shows that he carried his good nature to excess. "If thought I," says he, "God's destiny and the blunders of the medical class did not sometimes concur we should never die." He actually said so to the physician and pardoned him! There are here many grounds for suspicion. Jehangir evidently was very complacent to the man who nearly killed his father! Mr. Talboys Wheeler indeed suggests that Jehangir actually employed Hakim Ali, the court physician, to poison Akbar, and says that he was capable of such a crime. (History of India, Vol. IV., Pt. I., p. 188 n.). This is too much. Jehangir was an indolent voluptuary, but he was not a determined murderer. He needlessly opposed his father, but it was not in him to go to the length

of murder. Had he the strength of character and determined will of his grandson, Aurangzib, he would have been a parricide like him. But his weak good nature is clearly portrayed in all his actions, and was such as to keep him from so foul a crime.

Moreover, there was no motive for such an unnatural crime on the part of the pleasure-seeking Prince. During his father's last illness there was a formidable intrigue going on for passing him over in the line of succession and putting his son, Khosro, on the throne after Akbar's expected death. Akbar was old, nearing seventy, and in uncertain health after the death of Prince Daniel, Jehangir's brother and rival. Jehangir, if he would have his way to the throne made smooth and clear, would have removed not the dying monarch, whose end was but the question of months, but his own son whom Akbar was known to prefer to him as his successor. At least he would have been more likely to benefit by the death of his son than of his father. But such determined villainy, we think, lay not in him. What he says about his own disposition to forgive his son Khosro seems quite true, and is in conformity with his general character. This son's conduct at a later time during his own reign reminds him of his conduct during his father's illness, and he says: "He refrained through folly and a false sense of shame from recurring to the only remedy by which he could have been saved from ruin. For, as I stand in the presence of God, had the unhappy Khosro at this moment of returning shame and remorse presented himself before me, not only would his offence have been overlooked, but his place in my esteem would have been higher than anything he had previously enjoyed. Of this he had already experienced the strongest proof, when after his implied conduct during the illness of my father, which I must have suspected to have risen from hostile views and motives of the most dangerous nature, yet on his bare expression of repentance and a returning sense of duty I freely banished from my mind every unfavourable impression.' (*Wakiat*, p. 70.) This is true; he forgave the intrigue in favour of Khosro's accession, and not only Khosro but the other intriguers also. Such a man could not have been an accessory to his own father's murder.

What then was Akbar's illness, the course of which his son describes minutely without alluding to the cause? The Mahomedan accounts we have seen throw no light on it. But there are two European accounts which clear up the mystery. Unfortunately of Akbar's court and times we have no contemporary account by any European travellers who have left a full narrative behind them. The full and interesting European accounts of the Mughal Court begin some years

after Akbar's death, with Sir Thomas Roe's narrative of his Embassy to Jehangir's Court. Had we possessed a narrative like Bernier's and Tavernier's, or even like Mandelslo's or Thevenot's for Akbar's reign, we would have a good criterion for judging the Persian historians of that reign, as we possess in these travellers' accounts a criterion for the reigns of the son, grandson and great-grandson of Akbar,—Jehangir, Shah Jehan and Aurangzib. The Catholic priests who were invited by Akbar to his court from time to time had nearly all left before his death, and can therefore tell us nothing about it.

But there is an European account of Akbar's death which was written only a few years after and published in 1631, and which may be said to be almost a contemporary narrative. It was written by Peter van den Broecke, the first President of the Dutch Factory at Surat who came to India ten years after Akbar's death. He became Director of the Dutch trade in the East in 1620 and was an important personage (cf. Foster, *Embassy of Roe*, Vol. II., p. 408). He very likely visited the Mughal court to obtain privileges for his nation when Sir Thomas Roe was there. (Anderson "English in Western India," 1854, p. 19.) He wrote, with the other Dutch factors at Surat, an account of Mughal history from Humayun down to 1628. For the later years this account has the value of a contemporary authority, as the authors were at the time in India. Probably some of the information was supplied by the Mughal's Viceroy at Surat and other high officials with whom the Dutch came into contact. This chronicle was published by the famous Dutch author Johannes De Laët in his Latin work on India called "*De Imperio Magni Mogolis Sive India Vera; commentarius e variis auctoribus congestus*:" published at Leyden in 1631 by the famous printers, the Elzevirs. This dainty volume is excessively rare and therefore not much consulted by modern writers, who have, however, much to glean from it. Sir Roper Lethbridge wrote several years ago about a copy which he had used in these terms: "The fact that it does not appear to have been consulted by any of the modern writers on Indian subjects is to be explained by the difficulty of procuring a copy of the book. The most careful enquiry in England and India has failed to discover a second copy, either in the market or in a library, and consequently I am justified in assuming that the copy used by me is at present practically unique."

I was long hunting for this work of De Laët, and but lately succeeded in procuring a copy of this very scarce book. Probably only a very few copies were printed by the Elzevirs, and this accounts for the great difficulty in procuring one. The copy in my possession is one of the two copies that are said to exist in India. On communication

with Sir Roper Lethbridge, he has kindly requested me to collaborate with him in publishing a translation for the Hakluyt Society. This work deserves to be known for the excellent topographical account that it contains of the Moghal Empire when it was at its zenith. On account of the great rarity of the work, and also on account of the fact that it is in Latin, it is almost unknown.

The fragment of Mughal History occupies the tenth and last section of the book and forms a large part of the whole. De Laët thus speaks of its authorship: "*nostratum observationes, et imprimis insigne illud Historiæ Indicæ fragmentum humaniter nobis communicavit insignis vir Petrus van den Broecke, qui aliquot annis Surattæ hæsit et negotia Societatis Indicæ Orientalis cum fide administravit.*" "The observations of my countrymen and especially the fragment of the history of India, have been communicated to us by the well-known Peter van den Broecke, who was for several years a resident at Surat, and conducted the affairs of our East India Company." This he says in his preface to the very kind reader—*præfatio ad humanissimum lectorem*. The fragment was originally written in Dutch from which de Laët translated it into Latin. As he says in the separate preface to this section: "*Fragmentum nos e Belgico, quod è genuino illis Regni Chronico expressum credimus libere vertisse servata ubique Historiæ fide.*" "We have translated freely—though everywhere we have preserved faithfulness to historical truth—from the Dutch this fragment which we believe is based on a genuine chronicle of that kingdom." From this we think it very probable that Van den Broecke had access to the original chronicle in Chagatai and Persian which was kept by the Great Mughals of their doings. Manucci, the court physician of Aurangzib, as we shall see presently, had also access to it and embodies information obtained from it in his memoirs in Portuguese. The Persian courtly chroniclers, from whom chiefly our account of Akbar times and those of his immediate successors are derived, suppressed whatever they liked, especially whatever they thought was not flattering to the sovereign. The "*Akbar Nama*" of Abul Fazl is an illustration of this, who suppresses unscrupulously and without hesitation everything that does not tend to the credit of his patron, and consequently his work is a picture in which there is all light and no shade, and therefore not a trustworthy history. His work, however valuable from other points of view, has not much value for a just estimate of Akbar's reign and character. His object was to present to posterity the most favourable portrait of his imperial patron to whom he owed everything.

But European observers had and could have no motive in suppressing all adverse information. Hence we find them copying from the genuine chronicle everything they found important without regard to its bearing on the King's character. Hence we find in van den Broecke the following account of his death, which is very likely taken from the court chronicle—*e genuino illud Regni Chronico*, as de Laët calls it :—

“ Tandem Rex (Akbar) Myrzæ Ghazæ Zianii filio qui Sindæ et Tattæ imperaverat, ob arrogans verbum quod ipse, forte exciderat, iratus, cum veneno e medio tollere decrevit : et in eum finem medico suo mandavit, ut binas ejusdem formæ et molis pillulas pararet et earum alteram veneno infceret : hanc Gaziæ dare proposuerat, medicam ipse sumere ; sed insigni errore res in contrarium vertit, nam Rex quum pillulas manu aliquamdiu versasset, Ghaziæ quidem innoxiam pillulam dedit, venenatam vero ipsemet sumsit : Seriusque errore animadverso, quum iam veneni vis venas pervassisset, antidota frustra adhibita fuerunt ; itaque Rex salute nondum desperata, Xa-Selim, invisi tultantum quidem suum imposuit, cinxitque illum gladio patris sui Humayonis, sed extra palatium operiri iussit, neque ad se ingredi antequam convaluisset. Obiit autem Rex duodecimo post die anno Mahometano 1014 postquam annos 60 felicissime imperasset.” “ At length, the king being angry with Mirza Ghazi, the son of Ziani (Jani) who had been Governor of Sind and Tatta, on account of some overbearing words he had accidentally let fall, determined to get him out of the way by poison : and he ordered his physician with this object to have ready two pills of the same shade and size, into one of which poison should be put. He had intended to give this to Ghazi, and to take the harmless pill himself ; but by an extraordinary error things turned out quite in the contrary way, for the King mixed up the two after he had kept them for a time in his hands, gave the harmless pill to the Ghazi, and himself took the poisoned one. Afterwards when the error was found out when already the poison had begun to act on his blood, antidotes were administered but to no purpose. The King, therefore, before all hopes of his recovery were given up, put his own tultant (turban) on the head of Sha Selim and girded him with the sword of his father Humayun, but he ordered him to be shut out of the palace and not to come near him till he should recover. The King, however, died on the twelfth day after this in the Mahomedan year 1014 (A.H.), having ruled most prosperously for 60 years.”

There is evidently a misprint here in de Laët's excellently printed volume : 60 should be 50. Akbar's reign fell short by a few months

of a half century ; though according to the Mahomedan reckoning, which is lunar, a reign for nearly 52 years. Akbar himself had adopted the solar reckoning with the ancient Parsi Calendar in his reign.\*

This account of van den Broecke as given by de Laët is not generally known, and it is certainly startling. It upsets the common notion that Akbar was a good ruler scorning everything base. That he was such for the greater part of his rule no one who knows his history will question. But those who have fully studied history know, what is not generally known, that in the latter part of his reign Akbar degenerated, and during his last years he was hardly the good and great monarch of his best days. But this is a subject on which we should not like to dwell, especially on the occasion of his Tercentenary. His degeneration is very pathetic and shows that however great as he was, he did not escape for very long the defects of his age and environment. That may be treated on another occasion. As for historical truth it is very necessary that we should know Akbar as he really was at all times and periods, in his zenith as well as nadir. Let it suffice here to say that van den Broecke's account appears to me to be probable, and it is only of probabilities that we can speak ; certainty is out of the question. The Dutch writer was mostly copying from the court chronicle, and he had no reason to invent the story if he did not find it there. He had nothing to do with the politics of the Mughal court and had no side to take, either Jehangir's, or Khosro's; or anybody else's. Moreover, he did not write for the Indian or indeed any public at all. His historical fragment was written for the private information of his employers at home in Holland, and when he came to know that de Laët was writing a description of real India as he called it—" *Descriptio Indiæ Veræ* " he called his work—he communicated it to him for publication. If he was misled in his account, he was misled in good faith. If the account is invented, it is certainly not by him. How could he have invented such a circumstantial story as this? He must have found it in India. Now there is no Persian source from which he could have taken it, except the court chronicle which he professes to have used, for no Persian history that is known to us contains such an account. The account bears *primâ facie* signs of being true.

That the Mughal court chronicle is the source of Broecke's information, receives confirmation from the fact that Manucci, who had undoubted access to it, has the same story to account for the death of Akbar. Manucci was for forty-eight years at the Mughal court of Shah Jehan and Aurangzib, under the latter of whom he was court

\* See my article in the *Calcutta Review*, January 1897: "Akbar and the Parsis" pp 103-106.

physician. He wrote his memoirs in Portuguese, and on these manuscript memoirs Catrou has based his history of the Mughals so important for a right understanding of that period as the only trustworthy European account. For the reign of Akbar it is particularly valuable, as Catrou uses also the accounts written by the Jesuit priests at Akbar's court. Manucci's memoirs are hitherto known only through Catrou's work. But recently Mr. Irvine, late of the Indian Civil Service, has discovered the greater part of these memoirs in the original in two or three libraries in Venice and Paris : and is at present, I learn, engaged in editing them in four volumes for the Indian Government (Buckland, *Dict., Indian Biography*, ). He has given a brief account of his interesting discovery before the Royal Asiatic Society in 1903.

Catrou thus gives Manucci's account : " One day when the Mughal was hunting in the environs of Agra, he lost sight of his attendants, and being much fatigued sat himself down at the foot of a tree which afforded a welcome shade. Whilst he was trying to compose himself to sleep, he saw approaching him one of those long caterpillars, of a flame colour, which are to be found only in the Indies. He pierced it through with an arrow, which he drew from his quiver. A little time afterwards, an antelope made its appearance, within bow shot. The Emperor took aim at it, with the same arrow with which he had pierced the caterpillar. Notwithstanding the antelope received the shaft in a part of its body, which was not susceptible of a mortal wound, the animal instantaneously expired. The hunters of the prince, who opened the beast, found the flesh black and corrupted, and all the dogs who ate of it died immediately. The Emperor knew from this circumstance, the extreme venom of the poison of the caterpillar. He commanded one of the officers of his suite to get it conveyed to his palace. It was on this occasion, that the Emperor created the office of poisoner, an office till then unknown to the Mughal Government. By the instrumentality of this new officer, Akbar quietly disposed of the nobles and the Rajas whom he believed to be concerned in the conspiracy of Mustapha. Poisoned pills were compounded for him, which he obliged them to take in his presence. The poison was slow in its operation, but no remedies could obviate its mortal effects. This pernicious invention proved fatal to its author. Akbar carried always about him a gold box, which was divided into three compartments. In one was his betel, in another the cordial pills, which he used after a repast, and in the third were the poisoned pills. One day it happened that he took inadvertently one of the poisoned pills and became himself a victim to its fatal power. He immediately felt himself struck

with death. He, in vain, made trial of all the remedies prescribed for him by the Portuguese physicians. His illness was a lingering one, and he died in the year 1605." (*History of Mughal Dynasty*, pp. 133-4, ed. 1826.)

It is evident that Catrou, who wrote his history in 1715, did not copy from de Laët this account ; but that both took from a common source, the one which they avow, the Mughal court chronicle. Their accounts of Akbar's death supplement each other. Catrou knew of de Laët's work, which he thus mentions in connection with the very source we are discussing : "I had no reason to doubt the existence in the archives of the Mughal Empire, of an exact chronicle, in which the principal events were narrated at length. It is from memoirs drawn from the chronicle, that Jean Laët has composed his notice of the Mughal States. He speaks of it in the following terms : Nos fragmentum e Belgico quod genuino illius Regni Chronico expressum credimus libere vertimus. I had, moreover, the most convincing evidence attainable in such matters, of the veracity of the Mughal chronicle, of which I possessed a translation in the Portuguese tongue. M. Manucci assures us that he has caused it to be translated with great care from the original lodged in the palace written in the Persian language. The Venetian does not appear to have been sparing of expense that he might be enabled to transmit to Europe exact documents of the Empire in which he resided. He has procured portraits to be painted at a great charge, by the artists of the harem, of the Emperors and the eminent men of the Mughal Empire." It is interesting to note that these paintings have been discovered in the Library of St. Mark, at Venice, by Mr. Irvine.

So much, therefore, about the authenticity of the accounts of de Laët and of Manucci as given by Catrou. No reasonable doubt can be thrown on it and on the fact that they are based in the chronicle of the Mughals themselves. The Persian writers have suppressed its narrative of Akbar's death, as they justly thought it to be very damaging to the memory of that great monarch. But historical truth demands that we should know it, however much we may regret the necessity of bringing it into notice. All the accounts of Akbar's death, as Sir R. Lethbridge says, have been derived either from the narrative of Jehangir himself, or from other sources almost equally interested in maintaining the good reputation of the Imperial family. (*Calcutta Review*, Vol. LVII, p. 200.) Nearly all modern accounts, (Elphinstone's, p. 531), Mr. Keene's (*History of Hindustan*, p. 59, 1885), Malleson's (*Akbar*, pp. 41-4, 1890), Count de Noer's (Vol. II, p. 425), follow Jehangir's or Asad Beg's story we have given at the

beginning. Only Mr. Talboys Wheeler rejects it and follows Catrou. But not having seen de Laët's account he makes the mistake of supposing that Jehangir caused him to be poisoned. Count de Noer says in a note (Vol. II, p. 425) that Mr. Wheeler should not have given credence to the poison story. But beyond saying that it is "palpably correct," which it certainly is not, he advances no ground for disbelieving it. He, indeed, says "it deserves no refutation." It stands, indeed, in great need of refutation if it can be refuted. But de Noer was a very enthusiastic admirer of Akbar, and he naturally refuses to believe anything derogatory to the consistently high character which he has imagined for his hero. Moreover, the second volume of his work was published posthumously from his papers by his Secretary, Dr. Gustav von Buchwald, and we must make allowance for this, while finding fault with his beautiful panegyric rather than history. An instance of the want of care in this part of the work is afforded by the fact that Mr. Wheeler's authority for his statement is not Tod, as is said in de Noer's work, but Catrou. Mr. Wheeler refers to Catrou in the passage referred to in the second volume of de Noer.

A third European account of Akbar's death is that by the celebrated English traveller, Sir Thomas Herbert, who came to India and was at Agra in 1628-29. He wrote at almost the same time as van den Broecke, with whose account his very closely agrees.

"Ecbar taking distaste," says Herbert, "against Mirza Ghashaw (the Viceroy of Tutta's son, and formerly high in his favour) for speaking one word which Ecbar ill interpreted, no submission will serve his turn, no less than his life must pay for it. To which end the King's physician was directed to prepare two pills of like shape, but contrary operation; Ghashaw must be trusted with them, and bring them to Ecbar; who (imagining by a private mark he knew the right) bids Ghashaw swallow the other. Ghashaw ignorant of the deceit, by chance light upon the best, so as Ecbar by mistake was poysoned. Too soon the miserable Mogol perceives his error, and too late repents his choler; but (for shame concealing the cause) after fourteen days' torment and successful trial to expel the poyson yields up the ghost, in the 73rd year of his age, and 52 of his reign; and with all possible solemnity in Tzekander (three course from Agray) in a monument which he had prepared, that great Monarch was buried." (Herbert, *Travels into Africa and Asia the Great*, p. 75, ed. 1665.)

The Mughal court chronicle's account of Akbar's death, as given by de Laët, Mannuci, Catrou and Herbert receives confirmation from another and an independent source. In the chronicles of Rajputs it is stated that Akbar died of poison. Akbar came into great and constant con-

tact with the Rajputs with whose great ruling families he allied himself by marriage. They certainly ought to know the truth about his death. Tod thus relates the story in his chronicles of the Rajputs of Mewar : " If the annalist of the Boondi State can be relied upon, the very act which caused Akbar's death will make us pause ere we subscribe to these testimonies of the worth of departed greatness ; and disregarding the adage of only speaking good of the dead, compel us to institute, in imitation of the ancient Egyptians, a posthumous inquest on the character of the monarch of the Mughals. The Boondi records are well worthy of belief, as diaries of events were kept by her princes, who were of the first importance in this and the succeeding reigns ; and they may be more likely to throw a light upon points of character of a tendency to disgrace the Mughal king than the historians of his court, who had every reason to withhold such. A desire to be rid of the great Raja Man of Amber, to whom he was so much indebted, made the Emperor descend to act the part of the assassin. He prepared a *majoom*, or confection, a part of which contained poison ; but caught in his own snare, he presented the innoxious portion to the Rajput and ate that drugged with death himself. We have a sufficient clue to the motives which influenced Akbar to a deed so unworthy of him, and which was more fully developed in the reign of his successor ; namely, a design on the part of Raja Man to alter the succession, and that Khosro, his nephew, should succeed instead of Selim. With such a motive, the aged Emperor might have admitted with less scruple the advice which prompted an act he dared not openly undertake, without exposing the throne in his latter days to the dangers of civil contention, as Raja Man was too powerful to be openly assaulted." (*Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 351—2 ed. 1829.)

This account agrees in the main point with the other accounts ; but differs in the details as to the person who was to be poisoned and why. These were not matters of fact but of opinion, and opinions may vary. But whether Akbar intended to poison Raja Man Singh, his Rajput wife's brother, or any other noble, it is pretty clear that he unwittingly poisoned himself. This, let it be repeated once again, is a very melancholy conclusion to which to come to, and I wish I could avoid coming to it. But I think it cannot be helped. It is melancholy to reflect that Akbar after all did not escape the dangers of his high and irresponsible position as an unconstitutional autocrat.

About the exact date of Akbar's death there is not much doubt. All who chronicle it have given dates which, *inter se*, agree except Jehangir, who puts it ten days later ; but he is evidently mistaken, and his dates throughout are somewhat confused. Inayatulla, in the work

above quoted, "Takmila-i-Akbar Nama," gives the date as 12th of Jemada-i-Akhir or the latter Jemada of 1014 of the Hijra era. Ferishta has the 13th of the same month. This difference of a day does not matter much. Muhamad Amin in his "Anfan-i-Akbar" gives the 12th (Elliot, VI, 248) and agrees with these. Abdul Baki says that Akbar died on 23rd Jemada-i-Auwal or the first Jemada. Here "Auwal" is evidently a mistake for "Akhir." The year 1014 commenced on 9th May 1605 (Sewell and Dikhshit, Indian Calendar, p. CXXXIV, Table XVI), from which the 12th Jemada-i-Akhir would be 12th and 13th October 1605, as the Musalman day commenced at sunset.

The duration of Akbar's reign was from Rabi-ul-Akhir, 963, to Jemad-i-Akhir 1014, that is, 51 years and 2 months. These are lunar years, which are equal to 49 solar years and 7 months. According to English reckoning he reigned from March 1556 to October 1605. (Cf. Table of Akbar's regnal years in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. V, p. 246; Sewell and Dikhshit, op. cit. p. CXXXIII.) Akbar, therefore, missed his Jubilee of half a century by only 5 months. But he might have celebrated his Jubilee according to the original Jewish or Biblical reckoning, and I believe French reckoning too—at the commencement of his fiftieth year, *i.e.*, when he had completed his seven weeks of years,  $7 \times 7 = 49$ . (Leviticus, XXV. 8.)

Akbar is buried at Secundra, a village five miles from Agra the capital that he had built and so lavishly decorated, in one of the most splendid buildings in which such a soul could love to linger amid the stately piles that he had erected. This mausoleum, this "sculptured sorrow" as Ruskin well called such structures, was designed and partly built by Akbar himself. But it was left incomplete at his death and never finished according to his design. Beautiful as it is, it strikes the practised eye as imperfect and incomplete. And we may fancy, it is better so. It symbolises in a striking manner the incompleteness of his work for India. He was a man of vast designs and noble visions. Many of these he lived to see realised. But many, too, remained mere designs. They were never carried out by him in his later years, and in his successors' times his noble visions were chased away. Well has the great poet of England represented this monarch as dreaming and having a presentiment that his noble work was incomplete and would be rendered still more so by his sons and successors :

" I dream'd  
That stone by stone I rear'd a sacred fane,  
A temple, neither Pagod, Mosque, nor Church,  
But loftier, simpler, always open door'd

To every breath from heaven, and Truth and Peace,  
 And Love and Justice came and dwelt therein ;  
 But while we stood rejoicing, I and thou,  
 I heard a mocking laugh, ' the new Koran ! '  
 And on the sudden, and with a cry ' Saleem '  
 Thou, thou, I saw thee falling before me, and then  
 Me too the black-winged Azrael overcame.  
 But Death had ears and eyes ; I watch'd my son,  
 And those that follow'd, loosen stone from stone,  
 All my fair work."

His son tampered with the design of this mausoleum as he tampered with so many of his father's designs. In another way the last resting place of this great monarch is symbolical of him and his work. Its design is Hindu, rather Buddhistic, and not Mahomedan. He seems to have purposely done this to mark his predilection for by far the larger proportion of his subjects. Everything Hindu had a great attraction for him ; he allied himself with Hindu princely families by marrying Rajput wives and encouraged his nobles to do likewise ; he adopted many of the Hindu customs, and almost totally abstained from the flesh of the cow and other such animals ; he borrowed also much from their religion in his new " Ileshi Faith." In fact, he was more a Hindu than a Mahomedan. The Hindus believe Akbar to have been in a former birth a Brahman saint. (*Vide* Sir M. Monier Williams' *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, p. 318, ed. 1891.) It was therefore in the fitness of things that his mortal remains should rest (on this earth) in a building designed after the old Hindu model, more like one of those Buddhist *viharas* than any Mahomedan mausoleum. Then also in death, as in life, he showed his disregard for the precepts of the faith of his fathers, and ordered his body to be buried with his face turned towards the rising sun, which he adored in life, following the Hindus and Parsis in this respect, and turned away from Mecca,—a position contrary to that of all Mahomedans.

The historian of Indian architecture, Fergusson, has well described this noble building in a way to give us an idea of its excellence as well as defects :—

" Perhaps the most characteristic of Akbar's buildings is the tomb he commenced to erect for himself at Secundra, near Agra, which is quite unlike any other tomb built in India either before or since, and of a design borrowed, as I believe, from a Hindu or, more correctly, Buddhist model. It stands in an extensive garden, still kept up, approached by one noble gateway. In the centre of this garden, on a raised platform, stands the tomb itself, of a pyramidal form. The lower storey measures 320 ft. each way, exclusive of the angle towers.

It is 30 ft. in height, and pierced by ten great arches on each face, and with a larger entrance adorned with a mosaic of marble in the centre.

“ On this terrace stands another far more ornate, measuring 186 ft. on each side, and 14 ft. 9 in. in height. A third and a fourth of a similar design, and respectively 15 ft. 2 in. and 14 ft. 6 in. high, stand on this, all these being of red sandstone. Within and above the last is a white marble enclosure 157 ft. each way, or externally just half the length of the lowest terrace, its outer wall entirely composed of marble trellis-work of the most beautiful pattern. Inside it is surrounded by a colonnade or cloister of the same material, in the centre of which, on a raised platform, is the tombstone of the founder, a splendid piece of the most beautiful arabesque tracery. This, however, is not the true burial-place ; but the mortal remains of this great king repose under a far plainer tombstone in a vaulted chamber in the basement 35 ft. square, exactly under the simulated tomb that adorns the summit of the mausoleum.

“ At first sight it might appear that the design of this curious and exceptional tomb was either a caprice of the monarch who built it, or an importation from abroad. My impression, on the contrary, is that it is a direct imitation of some such building as the old Buddhist *viharas* which may have existed, applied to other purposes in Akbar's time. Turning to the representations of the great *rath* at Mahavellipore, it will be seen that the number and proportion of the storeys is the same. The pavilions that adorn the upper storeys of Akbar's tomb appear distinct reminiscences of the cells that stand on the edge of each of the rock-cut example. If the tomb had been crowned by a domical chamber over the tombstone, the likeness would have been so great that no one could mistake it, and my conviction is, that such a chamber was part of the original design. No such royal tomb remains open exposed to the air in any Indian mausoleum ; and the raised platform in the centre of the upper cloister, 38 ft. square, looks so like its foundation that I cannot help believing it was intended for that purpose. As the monument now stands, the pyramid has a truncated and unmeaning aspect. The total height of the building now is a little more than 100 ft. to the top of the angle pavilions ; and a central dome 30 or 40 ft. higher, which is the proportion that the base gives, seems just what is wanted to make this tomb as beautiful in outline and in proportion as it is in detail. Had it been so completed, it certainly would have ranked next the Taj among Indian mausolea.)”

(Fergusson, *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, pp. 583—5, ed. 1816.)

To support his theory that this noble structure is unfinished and that it lacks the central dome, which must have been a feature of the original design, Fergusson quotes from the English traveller Finch, whose journal, as given by Purchas in his famous collection, he says he saw after he had formed his theory. Finch resided for several years in Agra at the beginning of Jehangir's reign and saw the mausoleum while it was building, about 1609. "At my last sight thereof there was only overhead a rich tent with a semiane over the tomb. But it is to be *inarched* over with the most curious white and speckled marble and to be seeled all within with pure sheet gold richly inwrought." (Purchas, his Pilgrims, Vol. I, p. 400, ed. 1626.) There is another account contemporary with the above, and written also by an English traveller who saw this mausoleum in course of erection, which Fergusson might have quoted, as it is also given in Purchas' collection.

Fergusson might have quoted the testimony of another traveller who was in India at the end of Jehangir's and the beginning of Shah Jehan's reign, 1627—28, Sir Thomas Herbert, who, too, says that the mausoleum was not completed even more than twenty years after Akbar's death. "At Secundra, three course (or five miles) from Agra, as we go to Lahor, is the mausoleum or burial place of the Great Moguls, the foundation of which was begun by Ecbar, the superstructure continued by Jangheer, his son, and is yet scarce finished, albeit they have already consumed 14 millions of roopees in that Wonder of India."—Travels into Africa and Asia the Great, p. 67, ed. 1665).

Herbert continues his account as follows :—"It well merits a little more in that description. It is called Scander, *i.e.*, Alexander, a place where the greatest of Grecian Kings made his *ne plus* when he made his utmost progress or march into India; which place Ecbar, the most magnifique Prince of Tamerlane's race, selected as the noblest place of burial. 'Tis a mausoleum of four large squares, each side has about three hundred paces; the material is free-stone well polished; at each angle is raised a small tower of party-coloured or chequered marble: ten foot higher than that is another tower, on every side beautified with three towers; the third gallery has two on each side; the fourth, one; the fifth, half; and a small square gallery or tarrass about mounting in the whole to a royal Pyree, resembling not a little that famous *Septizonium Severi Imper* in ancient Rome which you have represented in sculpture by Laurus, or (but in far less proportion) that famous tower which Semiramis built in Babylon, and dedicated to the memory of Jupiter Belus, her husband's great Ancestor. In this at the very top within is the mummy of Ecbar, bedded in a coffin of gold. The whole structure is built in the midst of a spacious garden, which is surrounded with a wall of red-coloured stone. and in that is a rail mounted by six stairs, which discovers a little garden, but exquisitely beautiful and delightful; so that of this noble fabric I may say,

*Ædes est, qualis toto Sol aureus Orbe Vix videt—*

Such a monument,

The Sun through all the world sees none more gent,"

(Herbert, Travels, p. 67, ed. 1665.) The name Secundra is derived not, as here fancifully suggested, from Secunder or Alexander the Great, but from Secunder Lodi, the great Afghan ruler of India from 1489—1517.

Captain William Hawkins also saw the tomb of Akbar before completion, while he was at Agra in 1611. His journey thither and residence at the court of Jehangir may be looked upon, says Sir Clement Markham, as the opening scene in the history of the English in India. (Hawkins' Voyages, p. xlv, Hakluyt Soc. Edition). Hawkins, it may be added, was induced by Jehangir to marry the daughter of Mabarik Khan, an Armenian who went to England and died on his voyage home at the Cape in 1613. His description, given by Purchas in 1626 in his "Pilgrims," is as follows:—"After I had written this, there came into my memory another Feast, solemnized at his Father's Funerall, which is kept at his Sepulchre, where likewise himselfe with all his posterity, meane to be buried. Upon this day there is great store of victualls dressed, and much money given to the poore. This Sepulchre may be counted one of the rarest Monuments of the world. It hath beene this fourteene yeares a building, and it is thought it will not be finished these seven yeares more, in ending gates and walls, and other needfull things for the beautifying and setting of it forth. The least that worke there daily, are three thousand people; but thus much I will say, that one of our workmen will dispatch more than three of them. The Sepulchre is some  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile about, made square; it hath seven heights built, every height narrower than the other, till you come to the top where his Herse is. At the outermost gate before you come to the Sepulchre, there is a most stately Palace building: the compasse of the wall to this gate of the Sepulchre and garding, being within, may be at least three miles. This Sepulchre is some foure miles distant from the citee of Agra." (*Apud* Hawkins' Voyages (Hakluyt Society's ed., 1878, p. 442.)

In this extract from William Hawkins given by Purchas there is also just a reference to Akbar's death without any details. "This Selim Padasha being in rebellion, his father dispossessed him, and proclaimed haire apparent his eldest Sonne Cossaro (Khosru), being eldest Sonne to Schinsha, for his owne Sonnes, younger Brothers to Selim, were all dead in Decan and Guzerat; yet shortly after his Father dyed, who in his death-bed had mercy on Selim, possessing him againe." (*Ibid*, p. 428.) Another European traveller who was in India within three years after Akbar's death, in 1608, at the same time as William Hawkins, to whom he refers, Pyrard de Leval, also slightly alludes to the death in the following passage in his book of travels: "When this prince Achebar died all India was in disquietude and alarm, for the war that was feared would ensue in those parts; for that king was greatly dreaded and feared of all the other Indian kings. And it can be said with assurance that he is lord of the fairest and best countries and of the most valiant people in the world as the Tartars are. Many of his people, too, are exceedingly rich and cultivated. None speak of the Turk in all the Indies, but only of the great Achebar; and when his subject-kings themselves speak of him, they bow their heads in token of respect." (Voyage of Pyrard de Leval, Vol. II., pt. I., pp. 252-3, Hakluyt Soc. ed.)

Shortly after William Hawkins and Finch had written their accounts, Edward Terry, who came as a chaplain in Sir Thomas Roe's train to

the Moghul Court, thus described the tomb. Though published in 1655, his account was written somewhat earlier :

“ Amongst many very fair piles there dedicated to the remembrance of their dead, the most famous one is at Secundra, a village three miles from Agra ; it was begun by Achabar-sha, the late Mogul’s father (who there lies buried), and finished by his son, who since was laid up beside him. The materials of that most stately sepulchre are marble of divers colours, the stones so closely cemented together that it appears to be but one continued stone, built high like a pyramid, with many curiosities about it, and a fair mosque by it ; the garden wherein it stands is very large (as before) and compassed about with a wall of marble. This most sumptuous pile of all the structures that vast monarchy affords, is most admired by strangers. Tom Cōryct had a most exact view thereof, and so have many Englishmen ; other Englishmen had ; all which have spoken very great things of it.” (*A Voyage to the East Indies*, p. 291-2, ed. 1777.)

The following passage in Jehangir’s Autobiographical Memoirs alludes to the fact that the builders had altered the original design. Writing about the events of the third year of his reign (1608) he says : “ When I had obtained the good fortune of visiting the tomb, and had examined the building which was erected over it, I did not find it to my liking. My intention was that it should be so exquisite that the travellers of the world could not say they had seen one like it in any part of the inhabited earth. While the work was in progress, in consequence of the rebellious conduct of the unfortunate Khosru, I was obliged to march towards Lahore. The builders had built it according to their own taste, and had altered the original design at their discretion. The whole money had been thus expended, and the work had occupied three or four years. I ordered that clever architects, acting in concert with some intelligent persons, should pull down the objectionable parts which I pointed out. By degrees a very large and magnificent building was raised, with a nice garden round it, entered by a lofty gate, consisting of minarets made of white stone. The total expense of this large building was reported to amount to 50,000 *tomans* of Irak and forty-five *lacs* of *khanis* of Turan.” (*Wakiyat-i-Jehangiri*, *apud* Elliot and Douson, Vol. VI., pp. 319-20.)

Later in these Memoirs he again mentions the tomb in the following words :—“ I considered it a sacred duty to visit the tomb of my father at Secundra, over which the buildings I had long since ordered had been now completed, and, in truth, it exhibited to the view in all its parts an object of infinite gratification and delight. In the first place, it

was surrounded by an enclosure or colonnade, which afforded standing for 8,000 elephants and a proportion of horses, the whole being built on arches, and divided into chambers. The principal gate by which you enter is thirty cubits wide, by as many in height, with a tower erected on four lofty arches, terminating in a circular dome ; the whole one hundred and twenty cubits high, divided into six storeys, and decorated and inlaid with gold and lapis lazuli from roof to basement. This superb portico, as it may be called, has also on each of its four sides (angles, properly) a minaret of hewn stone three storeys or stages in height. From the entrance to the building in which reposes all that is earthly of my royal father, is a distance of nearly a quarter of a *parsany*, the approach being under a colonnade floored with red stone finely polished, five cubits wide. On each side of the colonnade in a garden planted with cypresses, are wild pine, plane and *supary* trees (the betel-nut tree or arek) in great number ; and in the gardens on each side, and at the distance of a bow shot from each other, are reservoirs of water, from each of which issues a fountain or *jet d'eau*, rising to the height of ten cubits, so that from the grand entrance to within a short distance of the shrine we pass between twenty of these fountains. Above the tomb itself is erected a pavilion of seven storeys, gradually lessening to the top, and the seventh terminating in a dome or cupola, which, together with the other buildings connected with it in every part of the enclosure, is all of polished marble throughout ; and all completed, from first to last, at the expense of 180 lakhs of rupees. In addition to this I have provided that a supply of two hundred measures or services of food and two hundred of confectionery should be daily distributed to the poor from the sacred edifice, and that no strangers should ever be required to dress their own meals, though their number should amount to a thousand horse. When I entered on this occasion the fabric which enclosed my father's remains, such were my impressions that I could have affirmed the departed monarch was still alive, and seated on his throne, and that I was come to offer my usual salutation of homage and filial duty. I prostrated myself, however, at the foot of the tomb, and bathed it with the tears of regret and sincerity. On leaving the venerated spot, and in propitiation of the pure spirit which reposed there, I distributed the sum of 50,000 rupees among the resident poor." (*Wakiyat-i-Jehangiri*, pp. 119-20.)

The final passage militates against Mr. Wheeler's theory that Jehangir had his father poisoned by the physician Hakin Ali. For if he had really been instrumental in bringing about his father's death, he would assuredly not have written thus. Elsewhere, too, he writes with profound reverence for his deceased father. At the commence-

ment of the account of the third year of his reign he says : " As the magnificent sepulchre of my father was on the road, I thought that if I now went to see it, ignorant people would consider that I went to visit it only because it was on my road. I, therefore, determined that I should proceed direct to the city (Agra), and then as my father, in accordance with his vow respecting my birth, had gone on foot from Agra to Ajmir, in the same manner I would also walk from the city to his splendid sepulchre, a distance of two and-a-half *kos*. Would that I could have gone this distance upon my head ! . . . On Thursday, the 17th, I went on foot to see the resplendent sepulchre of my father. If I could I would travel this distance upon my eyelashes or my head. My father, when he made a vow respecting my birth, had gone on foot from Fathpur to Ajmir on a pilgrimage to the shrine of the great Khwaja Murim Din Chisti, a space of 120 *kos*, and it would, therefore, be nothing very great if I were to go this short distance upon my head or eyes" (*apud* Elliot and Deuson, Vol. VI., pp. 316—319). Jehangir, if he were really a parricide, must have been dowered with incredible hypocrisy to write in this Pecksniffian vein. Many faults and even crimes must, doubtless, be laid to his charge ; but we cannot add this the most repulsive of offences to the catalogue.

Bishop Heber's description of this mausoleum, based upon a visit which he paid to it during his tour in " Upper India " as he calls it, in 1826, is often quoted, and is given here in a note. But, in truth, to describe this as well as other monuments of the magnificent Moghuls at Delhi and Agra, Fathpur, Sikhri and Secundra, worthily, would tax the genius of a master of language as well as of architecture, of a prose poet like Ruskin. I often wonder, indeed, that that great man never came to India considering that his earliest inspiration was drawn from this country and the ancient monuments which are in our close vicinity, as witnessed by his youthful poem on the Elephanta Caves. Had he come here, he would have found in these Moghul buildings materials for a work on, say, the " Stones of Agra," in every way as interesting and abounding in word-pictures as his " Stones of Venice."

Heber writes under date January 11, 1825: " This morning we arrived at Secundra, a ruinous village without a bazaar, but remarkable for the magnificent tomb of Akbar, the most splendid building in its way which I had yet seen in India. It stands in a square area of about forty English acres, enclosed by an embattled wall, with octagonal towers at the angles surmounted by open pavilions and four very noble gateways of red granite, the principal of which is inlaid with white marble, and has four high marble minarets. The space within is planted with trees and divided into green alleys, leading to the central building, which is a sort of solid pyramid surrounded externally with cloisters, galleries, and domes, diminishing gradually on ascending it, till it ends in a square platform of white marble, surrounded by

most elaborate lattice-work of the same material, in the centre of which is a small altar tomb, also of white marble, carved with a delicacy and beauty which do full justice to the material and to the graceful forms of Arabic characters which form its chief ornament. At the bottom of the building, in a small but very lofty vault, is the real tomb of this great monarch, plain and unadorned, but also of white marble. There are many other ruins in the vicinity, some of them apparently handsome, but Akbar's tomb leaves a stranger little time or inclination to look at anything else. Government have granted money for the repair of the tomb, and an officer of engineers is employed on it. A serjeant of artillery is kept in the place, who lives in one of the gateways ; his business is to superintend a plantation of sissoo trees made by Dr. Wallich."—Heber, *Narrative*, Vol. I., pp. 585-6, 4th ed., 1828.

Elphinstone has noted that this splendid pile served as quarters for an European regiment of dragoons for a year or two after the first conquest of that territory by the British (*History of India*, p. 531, &c.) in 1803. It lay neglected for a long time, the only attention it received being the white-washing of its marble walls ! (Howell, *Agra and the Taj*, 1904, p. 96.) But Lord Curzon's recent orders are applicable to this in common with other Moghul buildings, and sincerely do we hope that better care will be taken in future of this the last resting place of the Greatest Moghul.



ART. XV. *The first Englishman in India and his Works, especially his Christian Puran.*

BY J. A. SALDANHA, B.A., LL.B.

*Read 1st October 1906.*

The earliest record we have of an Englishman having visited India is contained in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (a), and the next in William of Malmesbury's Latin Works *De Gestis Regum Anglorum* (b) and *De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum* (b), according to which it appears that Sighelmus, Bishop of Sherborne, being sent by King Alfred in 883 A.D. with presents to the Pope, proceeded thence to the East Indies to visit with alms the tomb of St. Thomas, the Apostle. Although after reading the recent erudite work (c) of Bishop Medlycott on the question of location of the tomb of St. Thomas, one could see little ground for doubting the ancient tradition locating it at Meliapur near Madras, we cannot, in the face of some strong arguments adduced to prove the contrary by a few distinguished writers (d), go so far as to maintain as a fact beyond doubt that the tomb of St. Thomas was as early as 883 A.D. known in Europe to be located within what is known at present as India, and that therefore Sighelmus, King Alfred's messenger, ever visited India.

The first Englishman then that we can with certainty assert to have come to India was Thomas Stephens, a priest of the Society of Jesus. He was discovered in Goa in 1583 by the first batch of English commercial adventurers that travelled to India—John Newbery, Ralph Fitch, William Bets and James Story, who were thrown into prison by the Portuguese in that year and were released after a few days, a favour which Newbery and Fitch in the accounts (e) of their adventures attribute in grateful terms to the intervention of two good

(a) *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle according to several Original Authorities*, edited with a translation by Benjamin Thorpe. (See Vol. II., p. 56).

(b) Hakluyt's *Collection of Early Voyages, &c.*, (1810), Vol. II., p. 38.

(c) *India and the Apostle Thomas* by A. E. Medlycott.

(d) *The Syrian Church in India* by George Milne Rae (1892).

(e) Hakluyt's *Collection of Early Voyages, &c.* (1810), Vol. II., pp. 376, 380, 381, 384.

fathers, Thomas Stephens, whom they describe to be an Englishman and a Jesuit born in Wiltshire, and a Fleming priest called Mark.

Of the several letters written by Stephens from Goa only two are preserved and give us some glimpse into his life after he had left Europe : one written to his father on 10th November 1579 after his arrival in Goa, the original of which is preserved in the National Library at Brussels and is printed in the Hakluyt's *Collection of the Early Voyages, &c.*, (f) and the second one dated at Goa 24th October 1583 addressed to his brother in Paris, a translation of which is printed in the *Mangalore Magazine* (g). The letters which Stephens wrote to his father, apparently then a leading merchant in London, are said to have roused considerable enthusiasm (h) in England about the prospects of trade with the East Indies, and thus was laid the foundation of those ambitious projects of trade with India which bore their fruit in the formation of the East India Company. Stephens may therefore be said to be not only the first Englishman that came to India, but the pioneer of the British Indian Empire; though it must be noted that the links of connection between England and India forged by this first Englishman that set his foot in this country were not commercial, or material, but were of a spiritual and literary nature.

The life story (i) of Thomas Stephens is briefly told : so little is known of it, a privilege which he shares with his great contemporary Shakespeare. Born in Wiltshire about the year 1549 and educated at New College, Oxford, he narrowly escaped being sent to a life-long prison or put to death, as were many of his companions during the religious persecution of the Catholics. He soon found his way to Rome, where he entered the Society of Jesus. His zeal for the conversion of India was rewarded by his selection as a missionary to proceed to Goa. He left Lisbon in April 1579 and arrived at Goa in October of the same year. He laboured for 40 long years in the peninsula of Salsette and consolidated Christianity among its new converts from the Brahman and other castes. He made himself quite at home amidst the charming cocoanut groves and among the intelligent and zealous converts, obtained a complete mastery over their classical langu-

(f) *Ibid.* p. 581.

(g) *Mangalore Magazine*, Vol. I., p. 225.

(h) *Report on the Old Records of the India Office*, by Sir George Birdwood (1891), p. 19. See also *Encyclopædia Britannica* (9th edition), Vol. XII, p. 98.

(i) Hakluyt's *Collection of Voyages, &c.*, (810), Vol. II., p. 380 (marginal note). Dodds' *Church History*, Vol. II., p. 133. Sir Monier Monier-Williams's article "Facts of Indian Progress" in *Contemporary Review* (Vol.     ). *Mangalore Magazine*, Vol. I., pp. 70, 166, 192 and 224.

age Sanskrit and their vernaculars, and composed several works in the vernaculars and in Portuguese for the benefit of the Indian Christians and missionaries. He died at a ripe old age at Rachol in Goa honoured by all as a saint, a poet and a great pandit. No monument marks his grave. The careful researches and enquiries made by myself and my friends have not succeeded in tracing even the place of his burial. But the enduring monuments of his literary genius he has left are destined to make his name famous over the British Empire.

Of his compositions there remain to us only his *Christian Doctrine*, a catechism in Konkani (or Bramana-Canarin as he calls it) ; *Arte de Lingua Canarin* (j) (Grammar of the Konkani Language) in Portuguese, the first grammar of the kind of any vernacular in India ; and the *Puran*.

The last one is a remarkable poem in what may be called the old Marathi-Konkani poetical language and in Ovi metre. It consists of 11,018 slokas or strophes divided into two parts, the 1st part called the *Paillea Puranna*, corresponding to the Old Testament of the Bible, and the 2nd part, *Dussrea Puranna*, corresponding to the New Testament, and contains a narration, written in lofty style and charming language, of all the various and complex events as detailed in the Holy Scriptures, or handed down by tradition, that led to the birth of the Christian religion ; in other words, an account of the *Paradise-Lost and Regained* based on a historical sequence of events from the time of the creation of Heaven and Earth to the closing scenes of the Gospel narratives, focussing round the death and resurrection of Jesus, the hero of the poem, with a lucid and exhaustive exposition of His sublime doctrines. In brief, it may be described as an impressive, vivid, and attractive metrical narrative of the birth of Christianity.

The language of the book takes after that of his great predecessors Dnyaneshwar and Namdeo, with a fair sprinkling of the local Konkani or the Bramana-Kanarin language : hence I have spoken of this language as partaking of the old Marathi-Konkani poetry, a view which is supported by the acknowledgments of the poet himself of his indebtedness to both.

The poet sings (k)—

Parama xastra zagui praghattaueya  
Bāhutā zanā phalla sidhy houaueya  
Bhassa bandoni Maratthiya  
Catha niropily

(j) Republished in Nova Goa in 1857 as "*Grammatica da Lingua Concani*."

(k) Part I, Canto I, Stanzas 120—123.

*Zaissy harallā mazi ratnaquilla*  
*Qui ratnā mazi hira nilla*  
*Taissy bhassā mazi choqhalla*  
*Bhassa Maratthy*

*Zaissy puspā mazi puspa mogary*  
*Qui parimallā mazi casturi*  
*Taissy bhassā mazi saziry*  
*Maratthiya*

*Paqhiā madhē maioru*  
*Vruqhiā madhē calpataru*  
*Bhassā madhē manu thoru*  
*Maratthiyessi*

In his Introduction (*l*) to the poem, Stephens writes :—

“ Hē sarua Maratthiye bhassena lihilē ahe. Hea dessincheā bhassā bhitura hy bhassa Paramesuarachea vastu niropunssi yogue aissy dissali mhan-naunu panna sudha Maratthy madhima locassi nacalle deqhunu, hea purannacha phallu bahutā zananssi suphallu hounssi, cae quelē, maguileā cauesuaranchī bahutequē auaghaddē utarē sand-dunu sampucheyā cauesuaranchiye ritu pramannē anniyequē sompī Bramhannanche bhassechī utarē tthaī tthaī missarita carunu caitua sompē quelē ; ya pary Paramesuarache crupestāua udandda locachē arata purna hoila, anny ze cauanna yecade vellā puruileā caituancha srungaru va barauy bhassa adeapī atthauatati te hē caitua vachunu santossu manity anny phauē to phailu bhoguity : cā maguileā caituanchea sthanī anniyecca .caitua dentō teyā hounu phallasta suphalla.”

The Brahmana Bhassa is evidently the Brahmana Kanarin, of which he wrote his grammar. It is what is called Konkani now-a-days. By the designation Konkani is not meant, as Dr. Wilson (*m*) writes, “ the very slight dialectic difference which exists between the Marathi of the British Dekkhan and the corresponding country running between the slopes of the Ghauts and the Indian Ocean, forming the British Konkani, but the language of the country commencing with the Goa territory and extending considerably to the south of Karwar and even Honawar. It is manifestly in the main

(*l*) Printed in *Mangalore Magazine*, Vol. III., p. 277.

(*m*) See his Chapter on “ Tribes and Languages ” in the *General Report on the Administration of the Bombay Presidency*, 1872-73.

formed on the basis of Sanskrit." Konkani discloses peculiarities that are very striking, as will appear from the following comparative table (π) :—

KONKANI.	SANSKRIT.	MARATHI.	GUJERATI.
avuñ	aham	mi	huñ
asañ	aseñ (Prak)	astoñ	chuñ
maka	mahyam	mala	mane
udak	udaka	pani	pani
khaiñ	kva	khute	khyañ
(h) anga	iha	yetheñ	hyañ
dóvór	dhor	tev	darav
apai	avha	bulav	bolav
luvñ	lu	kap	lañ
vómp	vapá	per	vav
lagiñ	samipa	zaval	najik
bhitor	abhyantar	ant	andarnu
chedo	batu	pór	chokro

We also notice a very curious permutation of vowels under certain combinations which are peculiar to Konkani ; we find, for instance (o), that (i) words beginning with *ká* in Konkani change into *ka* (à pronounced as in the English word *but*) in Marathi ; (ii) the syllable *vo* in Konkani changes into *o* or *ho* in Marathi, and (iii) nouns ending in *o* in Konkani end in *á* in Marathi. There are of course exceptions. The following are a few interesting examples :—

KONKANI.	MARATHI.	KONKANI.	MARATHI.
kántalo. (disgust)	kantala	vánto (share)	vantá
kápur (camphor)	kapur	dago (deceit)	dagó
kámp (tremor)	kamp	dáryo (sea)	daryá
vojeñ (burden)	ozen	godo (horse)	godá
vónk (vomit)	ónk	ukod (boil)	ukal
vólók (recognition)	ólók	lailáuñ (auction)	lilauñ
vói (yes)	hoi	lip (hide)	lap
vónt (lip)	hónt	fol (fruit)	fal

(π) See my brochure on *Konkani or Goan Castes*, p. 36.

(o) *Ibid*, p. 26.

These striking features Konkani borrows from Sanskrit or Prakrit or from sources other than any known variety of Marathi. The only inference that can be drawn from these facts is that Konkani is not a dialect derived from what is commonly known as Marathi, but that both Konkani and Marathi are sister languages that have grown out side by side from the same stem.

What is to be noted in connection with the point raised as to the exact dialect in which the Puran is written, is that the striking peculiarities of the Konkani at present spoken are noted by Thomas Stephens in his Grammar of the Konkani or Brahmane-Kanarin as he calls it, while these peculiarities are missing in the language of the Puran and make place for the Marathi peculiarities. At the same time it must be admitted that there is in the language of the book a fair sprinkling of the popular Konkani used in Goa, a fact which the author himself admits.

The author also borrows largely, like Dnyaneshwar, from the inexhaustible sources of Sanskrit, which lends itself readily to give correct shape and form to all possible and subtle ideas and shades of ideas of the profound Christian theology and mysticism and the lofty Christian ethics. The language simple, majestic and homely and frequently embellished with Indian imagery and metaphor, always throbbing with life and energy and refreshing, is calculated to appeal to the Indian mind and heart with a force which few Marathi poems can. Each sloka consists of four lines, the first three of which usually of four feet rhyme with one another, and the last one from two to three feet does not rhyme with the other three lines. This metre with the rhythm and euphony of the supremely happy combination of sounds employed by the poet has a magical effect upon the ear, which combined with the charms of language, clothing in an Indian garb the lofty Christian spiritualism and ethics, makes the verses a continuous feast of which one never tires.

Thomas Stephens employed Roman characters for writing his Indian poem, fixing their pronunciation according to the Continental way of pronouncing Latin, except using the italic "α" for the sound अ as in "but", the single d, t, l and n for the dentals, and double dd, tt, ll, and nn for their linguals, and the accented vowels for their nasals. The Roman system of transliterating the vernacular sounds instead of the Devanagari had to be used probably because the cultivation of the o'd Hindu literature was discouraged by the Portuguese polity and thus the use of the Devanagari had been given up in Goa at the time of Stephens. Bearing, however, in mind the

simple method adopted by Stephens in his system of transliteration, the reading of the verses becomes after a slight exertion an easy matter.

The Puran was first printed (p) at Rachol in 1616 after receiving the *imprimatur* of the Inquisition, the Archbishop of Goa and the Provincial of the Society of Jesus, a second time in 1649, and the third time in 1654. Yet no printed copy has been traced anywhere, and the only ones available are a few carefully written manuscript copies.

The poem begins with an address to the Almighty God in which the theology of the Nicene Creed about the God-head and the Trinity is explained with the precision and fullness of a theologian and wealth of language which only Sanskrit or Sanskritized Marathi could lend (q). We shall quote here the first few strophes :—

Vo namo visuabharita  
 Deua Bapa sarua samaratha  
 Paramesvara sateuanta.  
 Suarga prathuichea rachannara  
 Tū ridhy sidhicha dataru  
 Crupanidhy carunnacaru  
 Tū sarua suqhacha sagharu  
 Adi antu natodde  
 Tū paramanandu sarua suarupu  
 Visuaueapacu gneana dipu  
 Tu sarua gunnī nirlepu  
 Nirmallu niruicaru suamiya  
 Tū adrusttu tu auctu  
 Sama dayallu sarua praptu  
 Sarua gncanu sarua nitiuantu  
 Yecuchi Deuo tū  
 Tū saqheata Paramesvaru  
 Anadassidhu aparamparu  
 Adi anadi auinassu amaru  
 Tuzē stauana triloqui  
 Suargu srustti tuuā hella matrē  
 Quela chandru suryu naqhetrē  
 Tuzeni yeque sabdē pauitrē  
 Quely sarua rachana

(p) *Bibliotheca Lusitana. Ensaio Historico da Lingua Concani* by J. H. Da Cunha Riviera (1857).

(q) *Part I, Canto I, Stanzas 1-14.*

Tū anny tuza yecuchi sutu  
 Anny Spiritu Sanctu  
 Tegai zanna yecuchi sateuantu  
 Deuo zannaua

Teya tuzeya dayalla cumara  
 Crupanidhy amruta saghara  
 Suarga srusttichea suastacara  
 Namana mazē

Namo visuachiye dipty  
 Namu vaintunttha sabheche canty  
 Deua Bapacha daqhinna hasti  
 Sihassanna tuzē

Zari tū amā manī righaua carissy  
 Tari agneana pattalla pheddissy  
 Amruta sariqhy ghoddiua dauissy  
 Premabharita caroni

Tū yecuchi sutu Paramesuaracha  
 Tū sabdu ga Bapacha  
 Bapa Spirita sauē saruacha  
 Rachannaru tū

Namo Spirita pauitra pauana  
 Trindadichea tissarea zanna  
 Tū apuleya seuacachea mana  
 Pracassu cari

Tū ziuana zharichē pannī  
 Tū agni moho anny  
 Ziuichē prema antacaranni  
 Addaleya sarathy

Tū sapta diuedanacha dataru  
 Tū Deuachy angustty sacharu  
 Duqhiyancha buzauannaru  
 Anathanathu

The underlying idea of the poem is the same as that of Milton's *Paradise Lost* combined with the *Paradise Regained*; but unlike Milton, who takes up only the episodes of the first man's fall and Christ's victory over Satan's temptations in the *Paradise Lost* and *Regained*, Stephens weaves together all the principal characters and episodes of the Old with those of the New Testament as contained in the Bible or handed down by history round the hero of the poem, Jesus Christ, in one harmonious whole. All principal and complex events of the Old Testament as narrated in the Holy Scriptures or

handed down by tradition, in connection with the creation of the angels,—the rebellion of their prince Satan and his party, their expulsion from Heaven, the creation of the first man and woman, their fall, the career of mankind until the Deluge, the survival of Noe and his family, the election of Abraham and his progeny, the Israelites, to preserve the primitive revelation and worship of the one Almighty Creator and Preserver of the Universe and their successful struggle for centuries to justify their election amidst the deluge of pantheism, polytheism and idolatry which was spread among the nations around them—are all carefully linked together with the events of the New Testament, the birth of the blessed Virgin Mary and St. John Baptist, the Incarnation of the Second Person of the Holy Trinity, the birth, life, the sacred ministry, death and resurrection of Jesus, into one grand sublime action under one single idea—namely, the redemption of mankind from the thralldom of Satan and the establishment of the kingdom of heaven by the atonement offered by the “Word made Flesh.” Milton utilizes the episode of the victory of Christ over Satan’s wiles as the event which led to the re-establishment of the kingdom of Heaven. Stephens takes up the crowning event of Jesus’ earthly life and His passion and death followed by His resurrection as marking His final and most decisive victory. For then Satan gathered all the forces at his disposal—the hatred of the Jewish nation, the infidelity of King Herod, the craven cowardliness of the Roman Governor and the weakness of the Apostles—to crush our Lord. In this final campaign Satan apparently wins. But it was this very passion and death of Jesus, “the precious blood of Christ as of a Lamb unspotted and undefiled” shed for man crowned by this glorious resurrection, that saves mankind from the thralldom of Satan and wins them back the supernatural privileges lost by the disobedience of the first man.

The highest efforts of the poet’s genius are concentrated in his most touching description of the passion and death of Jesus Christ and in bringing home to his readers the sublime lessons of self-sacrifice, love and forgiveness taught us by Christ at and after His Last Supper and on the Cross (r); and when after the death of Jesus His body is lowered from the Cross, His blessed mother—her heart pierced with a sword as prophesied before—gives vent to her grief in a lamentation which is most heart-rending and must touch the hardest heart:—

Catta catta mazea cumara  
Mea tuza sarupa didhala nara  
Tehi maza auasara  
Paratila carupu.

Mea zivantu didhala teassi  
 Yeri mrutiu vopila mazassi.  
 Mea didhala teya bhuzauyassi.  
 Niuaranu vigne.

Panna tehi maza quela ghatu  
 Maze vari rachila acantu.  
 Tuza maruni caddila samastu.  
 Anandu maza.

“ We shall forbear quoting more of this lamentation and leave it to be read in order to realize how the depth of the grief of the wounded heart of the mother proves the unfathomable love which led her beloved Son (s) to sacrifice Himself for His flock.”

This is the plot of the birth of Christianity laid out in the Puran with a dramatic fullness, vividness and artistic skill which no poet or historian has ever succeeded in doing. The characters are delineated in all the realities of flesh and blood and soul. The sublimity of Christ's divinity and the reality of His humanity, His joys and sorrows, His likes and dislikes, His gentleness and tenderness of heart, His self-sacrificing love for man, His purity of life and the universality of His personality are brought out with a power and force which no painter, sculptor or poet has ever surpassed. The narrative of events and description of characters are interspersed at appropriate occasions with clear and well-reasoned disquisitions on Christian mysteries, truths and ethics. Further, the poet's simple and natural description of nature and surroundings provide a background to the characters and events which help to make the drama charmingly attractive and forcibly real.

In illustration of my remarks let me quote the stanzas (t) about the Supper at Bethany rendered into English verse, in which the character of Mary Magdalen is so forcibly brought out :—


(*From Father Stephens' Puranna, Part II, Canto 2, Stanzas 79—108.*)

1. Wherefore to Simon's house I'll fleet  
 And lay my head at Jesus' feet :  
 But— will the guests met there at meat  
 Deride me in their scorn ?
2. Yet I, alas ! all shame put by,  
 Not fearing, and in Heaven's own eye,  
 And in the sight of Saints on high,  
 Sinned greatly night and morn.

(s) *Vide* my essay printed as appendix II to my *Goan or Konkani Castes*.”

(t) Part II, Canto 29, Stanzas 79—108, translated by Mr. Joseph Saldanha, who is editing the Puran, and published in the *Mangalore Magazine*, Vol. III, p. 193.

3. Why should, then, shame's false blush be mine,  
When 'tis but men will see me pine  
For sins, so I obtain a sign,  
That Jesus hath forgiv'n ?
4. Alack ! a very flood, as 'twere,  
Of evil done ne'er brought despair  
To me : why, then, will I not bear  
Shame's drizzle, to be shriv'n ?
5. Jesus have I contemplated ;  
To this resolve my heart is wed :  
If He to spurn my prayer be led,  
In death I'll still my grief.
6. With mind bent firm on this intent,  
At Jesus' feet will I repent ;  
Tho' loathed, I'll cling till He relent  
And grant my soul relief.
7. I'll urge His own disciples do  
The pleading, ay, and Simon, too,—  
The Pharisee—till what I woo  
Is won for sinful me.
8. Then come what may ; my heart is sore  
With longing, Jesus to implore ;  
If once He pardon, never more  
Shall sin my pleasure be.
9. Thus thinking, and in tears that rained  
Their flood on face and bosom stained,  
Rose Mary, as she slowly gained  
Fresh courage in her plight.
10. Then, furnished with an offering meet  
Of ointment precious deemed and sweet,  
She, with a heart that eager beat,  
To Simon's house went right.
11. As flies a stricken deer to find  
What salve she can to heal or bind,  
E'en so, to rid her pained mind  
Of sin's shaft, Mary hied.
12. The mansion gained, in entered she ;  
Then fixed her gaze on Jesus ; He  
Beheld her while the company  
His glance intently eyed.

13. But ere grief's storm scarce seemed to rise,  
There burst a tear flood from her eyes,  
While at his feet in rev'rent wise  
She fell with streaming hair.
14. Then, moving backward from the place,  
She locked them in a fast embrace,  
The waters from her eyes apace  
Washing those feet so fair.
15. Next with her hair she wiped them dry,  
Then kissed them ere she did apply  
The spikenard to them tenderly,  
As best became a maid.
16. The hall and mansion soon were filled  
With fragrance of that balm distilled  
From rarest herb ; the sweetness thrilled  
The sense nor seemed to fade.
17. But Simon seeing all, began  
To argue with himself : " This man  
No prophet is ; else He could scan  
This woman's sinful heart ;
18. " And, therefore, would He bid her quit  
His feet, and in an instant flit  
From off His presence bearing it—  
The balm—nor play this part."
19. Thus wrongly thought the Pharisee,  
Unweeting all her misery—  
" Sinner she was, and sinner she  
Must be, and nothing more."
20. Of her repentance still no sign  
Was clear to him : how she did pine  
Within her heart, and thus incline  
To good undreamt before.
21. But He, the all-wise Son, begot  
Of God, through whom is wisdom sought,  
Knew, in His heart, the secret thought  
That sprung in Simon's mind.
22. And calling to the Pharisee,  
He saith, " I'll tell a thing to thee,  
Which hearken, thou, attentively,  
And judge as thou mayst find.
- 

23. "Two men unto a lord became  
Debtors : from one the lord could claim  
Fifty and 'gainst the other name  
Five hundred pence as due.
24. "But neither could his sum afford :  
So for remission both implored,  
And straight, to mercy moved, the lord  
Gave what they came to sue.
25. "Now speak thou, Simon, tell me, pray,  
Of those whose debt was scored away,  
Which one would grateful love more sway  
To him such love did show."
26. Quoth Simon, "Sire, meseems it fair,  
He whom the lord was kind to spare  
For larger dues, a larger share  
Of love and thanks should owe."
27. Then Jesus : "Ay, thou speakest true."  
And glancing from the maiden who  
Stood there to Simon, "Note thou, do,  
This woman's deeds so fair :
28. "As guest I came with thee to eat ;  
Thou gav'st no water for my feet,  
Yet she with tears hath washed complete,  
And wiped them with her hair ;
29. "No oil thou broughtest for my head,  
But she with costly balm that spread  
All round its odour, hath, instead,  
Anointed, here, my feet.
30. "Therefore I say this unto thee,  
That she hath shown such love to Me,  
Her many sins to her must be  
Forgiv'n in measure meet."

The whole poem if rendered in English verse will by itself be an unique treasure in English literature. To every one acquainted with Marathi or Konkani the Puran is certain to be a work of profound interest ; to Britishers all the world over, the noblest poem written by an Englishman in an Asiatic language will appeal with special force ; while to Christians in India the publication of what may be called the national Christian Puran will be a fruitful source of edification and piety. (v)

(\*) Thomas Stephens' Puran is already printed in the Jesuit Press (Cadialbail Press), Mangalore, South Kanara, and will be brought out shortly with suitable introduction and glossary.











**ART. XVI.—*The Nāsik (Joghaltembhi) Hoard of Nahapāna's Coins.***

**By REV. H. R. SCOTT, M.A.**

**(Communicated.)**

The announcement in the *Times of India* of the 31st May last of the discovery in the Nāsik District of an immense hoard of Nahapāna's coins came as a very welcome piece of news to all who are interested in the ancient coinage of India. The hoard was at first reported to contain about 10,000 coins, and the great significance of this fact will appear when it is remembered that there were probably not a dozen specimens of Nahapāna's coins known to numismatists before this hoard came to light, and those few known specimens were in one very important respect all very imperfect.

I cannot better introduce what I have to say about the coins than by quoting a part of the account of the discovery of the hoard written by the Secretary of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and published in the *Times of India* of May 31st.

“ The village of Jogaltembhi lies close to the junction of the rivers Godavary and Darna, which uniting into a single stream of narrow compass in the fair season form the boundary between the Niphad and Sinnar talukas; and just outside the village site stands a small hill, more aptly described perhaps as a grassy barrow, around which the children of the village are wont to play. Here indeed they were engaged some few weeks ago in playing an indigenous game, known as Godhe-Kathi, which consists in an attempt to transfix one's adversary's stick, as it lies on the ground, with one's own weapon, each stick being sharpened to a fine point. At the moment when the coins were first discovered, one boy's stick lay just at the foot of the grassy hillock, and his playmate hurled his weapon at it with all the force of his small arm. The stick missed its goal, but impinging squarely on the soil uprooted a small handful of earth and grass, and disclosed something which glittered in the morning sun. Money! Forgotten are the sticks, forgotten the game, when the great fact dawned upon their childish minds. Mother Earth is a hard task mistress to the Deccan ryot; but she has her moments of compassion, and surely this was one.

“ The report of her bounty spread through the village; the elders came to the spot, and decided to dig deeper . . . . Further excavation disclosed an earthen pot, firmly embedded in

the hill side, and filled to overflowing with silver coins, much of which the villagers proceeded in the true commercial spirit to melt down. But the story of the find spread further than the limits of Jogaltembhi, and within a short time the balance of the treasure, about 10,000 coins, found a resting place in the local treasury under the Treasure Trove Act. . . . .

“The fact that several of the coins are bored near the edges and that their resting place is near the confluence of two rivers, seems to justify the supposition that they once formed part of the treasure buried beneath a Hindu temple. The temple has vanished, nor does local legend preserve the smallest memory of it, but its treasure, veiled for nearly 1,800 years, has at last become articulate and bears its message across the gulf of dead centuries to those who rule the Deccan to-day, and who are themselves foreigners like Nahapāna the Kṣaharāta.”

The total number of coins sent to me amounted to about 13,250 and as it is said that a good many were melted down by the villagers who discovered the hoard, it is quite possible that there may have been 14,000 or even 15,000 altogether.

The coins are in an excellent state of preservation, hardly more than a dozen of them being illegible through a deposit of verdigris. Considering the fact that the hoard must have lain very near the surface of the ground for almost 1,800 years, the bright fresh appearance of the coins is very remarkable.

Of the coins that came into my hands about 9,270 are coins of Nahapāna the Kṣaharāta, counter-marked by his conqueror Gotami-putra Śrī Sātakarṇi. The remainder, nearly 4,000 coins, are coins of Nahapāna which have not been so counter-stamped. Over 2,000 of the coins are roughly perforated, about two-thirds of the perforated coins being Sātakarṇi's. The perforation was probably made in order to attach the coins to a belt or to the clothes of the owner, or perhaps to make coin necklaces. These coins would not be likely to go into circulation again, and their presence in the hoard lends support to the theory that we have here probably the treasure of a temple, the pierced coins having been torn off the belts and offered on the occasion of the dedication of the temple.

Seven or eight years ago the writer of this paper had the honour of bringing to the notice of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society an extremely interesting find of about 1,200 (twelve hundred)

Kṣatrapa coins which were discovered in the floor of a cave near the Uparkot of Junāgadh. Up to that time no such extensive find of coins of that series had been made, and it was a delightful task to go through the hoard and to discover how rich it was in excellent specimens of the coins of no less than thirteen of the Kṣatrapa rulers, many of them clearly dated, the dates being in several instances new to us. But there was one disappointment in connection with the Uparkot hoard. Although it contained specimens of so many different kings, there was not a single coin there belonging to any king earlier than Rudrasena I, the eighth of the line, whose reign extended from 200 to 220 A.D. This was all the more disappointing from the fact that so few specimens were known of the coins of the Kṣatrapas and Mahākṣatrapas who preceded Rudrasena. The succession as generally received runs thus :—

- (1) Nahapāna the Kṣaharāta, 120 A.D.
- (2) Caṣṭana, son of Ghsamotika.
- (3) Jayadāman, son of Caṣṭana.
- (4) Rudradāman, son of Jayadāman.
- (5) Dāmajada, son of Rudradāman.
- (6) Rudrasimha, „ „
- (7) Jivadāman, son of Dāmajada.
- (8) Rudrasena, son of Rudrasimha, etc.

Whilst a fair number of coins of the last five have been discovered, very few were known of any of the first three, until the finding of the present hoard. From coins and inscriptions it has been inferred that Nahapāna was the first of the line of Kṣatrapa and Mahākṣatrapa rulers, but no positive evidence has yet appeared to connect him with Caṣṭana. All we know is that he ruled over territory which afterwards formed part of the Kṣatrapa kingdom, that he was a foreigner who won a kingdom for himself at the expense of the Andhras, that “ he is styled Kṣatrapa in an inscription dated 42 (*i.e.*, A.D. 120), . . . . and appears as Mahākṣatrapa Svāmi in an inscription of his minister Ayama, dated in the year 46.” On the other side it is to be remembered that his conqueror the king Sātakarṇi declares in the Nāsik Cave inscription that he had “rooted out the dynasty of Khakharāta,” and now we have the pictorial evidence of these coins to show how Sātakarṇi did his best to obliterate the features of Nahapāna from his coins. And we learn from these coins that while Nahapāna's coins bore the symbols of the thunderbolt and arrow, the king Sātakarṇi used as his symbols the well known “ Ujjain mark ” and the *chaitya*. And it is to be remembered that the *chaitya* is the symbol of the Kṣatrapas

These facts should lead us to suspend our judgment until further light is obtained, and such a discovery as that of the present immense hoard encourages us to hope that there are yet great discoveries to be made in this field. Whether we suppose that this hoard was the treasure of a temple buried at the time of dedication, or a private hoard put away in some time of panic and distress, there is every reason to believe that similar treasure must be waiting in many other places to be unearthed.

With regard to the coins contained in this hoard I shall arrange my observations under the following six heads :—

- (1) The Greek inscription on the obverse.
- (2) The Kharoṣṭhi inscription on the reverse.
- (3) The Brāhmi inscription on the reverse.
- (4) The head of the king as represented on the coins.
- (5) The counter-struck inscription of Sātakaṛṇi.
- (6) The symbols used by the two kings.

#### I.—THE GREEK INSCRIPTION ON THE OBVERSE.

It is interesting to remember that the signification of the Greek letters found on these coins has furnished a problem with which Indian numismatists have wrestled for more than half a century. The first coin of Nahapāna's to be discovered in our time was obtained more than 50 years ago from Kāthiāwār by Mr. Justice Newton, and its Greek inscription is thus described by him :—" Sufficient remains to show that the letters were purely Greek, although in consequence of original indistinctness, wear or corrosion, not more than a single character here and there can be made out, and these hardly justify me in hazarding a conjecture as to the filling in." . . . . .

In July, 1890, the J.R.A.S. contained an article on the Western Kṣatrapas by Paṇḍit Bhagwānlāl Indrāji, containing his latest views "after a careful and continuous study, extending over 26 years, of the Kṣatrapa coins and inscriptions." In that article all that the learned paṇḍit could say with regard to the Greek inscription on these coins was that "the Greek letters on the obverse can never be read with certainty." . . . . .

In a note to the Paṇḍit's essay Professor Rapson dissents from the Paṇḍit's opinion that there are traces to be found of the name Liaka Kusula, and gives his own opinion that "the arrangement of the Greek letters seems to be quite fantastic" . . . He says "the letters **ΛΑΚΟ** seen on some specimens cannot represent the name Liaka unless we suppose these legends to consist partly of Greek

and partly of Roman characters." Now it is a very curious fact, which we owe to the discovery of the present hoard that while Professor Rapson was perfectly right in maintaining that the name Liaka is not represented on the coins, the reason which he advances in support of that opinion is incorrect, for as a matter of fact we find on these coins beyond all possibility of doubt that very mixture of the Greek and Roman characters which he thought impossible. . . . In the same paper Professor Rapson says that "Roman denarii rather than Greek hemidrachms seem to have served as the models from which the Kṣatrapa coinage was copied," a remark which may go some length towards explaining the use of the Roman characters alongside the Greek.

In his later paper on "The coinage of the Mahākṣatrapas and Kṣatrapas of Surāṣṭra and Mālava (Western Kṣatrapas) published in the J. R. A. S. April, 1899, Professor Rapson has a very full discussion of the Greek inscriptions found on these coins. He there points out that the letters are clearest during the period when the workmanship was at its best, *i.e.*, approximately from the reign of Dāmajadaśri, son of Rudradāman, to that of Vijayasena, son of Dāmasena, and that in consequence, the coins of that period received most attention. He comes to the conclusion, however, that "at this time (roughly about 90 to 170 of the Kṣatrapa era, *i.e.*, A.D. 168 to 248) this Greek inscription had lost all meaning, and continued to be reproduced mechanically and unintelligently as a sort of ornamental border." He adds that "the best hope of recovering the lost meaning lay evidently in a study of the earliest coins of the class, those of Nahapāna and Caṣṭana, which belonged to a period when these Greek inscriptions possibly still had some significance, but unfortunately all the known specimens of Nahapāna and Caṣṭana were lamentably deficient and fragmentary in this respect."

Professor Rapson goes on to tell how the discovery of a coin of Caṣṭana at last supplied the long missing clue. Its Greek inscription was indeed very incomplete, but what was left contained the word **ΑΚΤΑΝΑ** and it was concluded that the Greek letters must be "either translations or transliterations of the Indian inscriptions on the reverse." As there were no traces found of the word **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ** there seemed good reason to conclude that they were transliterations, and this conclusion was confirmed by the discovery of a coin of Nahapāna on which it seemed possible to make out the word **ΠΑΝΝΙΩ**. One further step was taken, with some hesitation, for the evidence was by no means clear. There were, however,

very probable indications that the third word of the Greek inscription must be a transliteration of the word Nahapānasa. The word appeared to be **ΝΑΑ..Α..ΝΑCC**.

This then was all that could be deduced from the data available. An attempt was made to read the second word of the inscription, but the conclusion reached was that "after all allowance for blundering has been made, the letters **ΙΑΤΛΔCC** can scarcely be intended for a transliteration of Kṣaharātaśa or Chaharātaśa." Professor Rapson was inclined to think that the word might be intended for **ΙΑΤΛΑCC** = kṣatrapasa.

This was the state of the problem when the present hoard of Nahapāna's coins came to light. At one stroke the whole difficulty was removed, and the puzzle of fifty years solved.

In this hoard we have many hundreds of good specimens of the original Greek inscription, from which it can be readily seen that the transliteration was wonderfully accurate, and that not only is the first word **ΠΑΝΝΙΩ** and the third word **ΝΑΗΑΠΑΝΑC**, but the second word, which had not been made out before, is what might have been expected, **ΙΑΗΑΠΑΤΑC**. The full Greek inscription on the best specimens is **ΠΑΝΝΙΩ ΙΑΗΑΠΑΤΑC ΝΑΗΑΠΑΝΑC**.

But this hoard not only supplies us with hundreds of specimens of the correct Greek transliteration, but, what is of scarcely less interest, it furnishes thousands of examples of the gradual corruption of the inscription, till apparently in Nahapāna's own time and on his own coins the inscription has changed so much as to be almost unintelligible. Little wonder therefore that the efforts of numismatists to make sense of the inscriptions on the coins of the later reigns proved so entirely fruitless.

A table of actual readings from various specimens arranged in order of faithfulness to the original Greek transliteration will make the matter clear :

**ΠΑΝΝΙΩ ΙΑΗΑΠΑΤΑC ΝΑΗΑΠΑΝΑC.**

**ΠΑΝΝΙΩ ΙΑΗΑΠΑΤΑC ΝΑΗΑΠΑΝΑ.**

**ΠΑΝΝΙΩ ΙΑΗΑΠΑΤΑC ΝΑΗΑΠ.**

PAHNIW IAHAPATAC NAHA.

PAHNIW IAHAPATC NAHA.

... .. ATAGNAHANC.

PAHNIW ZAHAP...

PAHNIW IABAA... NA...NAC.

PAHNIW IABAAACCCIKLLPNA...

PAHNIW IB·A·A·A·C·~·~·IAAPNA...

PAHNIW IAIABAAC.....

PAHNIW IAIABAA·CCCKAAPNAACCE.

PAHNIW EAIABA...

PAHNIW EIAIABA...

PAHNIW SAIB....

PAHNIW SI·AABA...

PAHNIW SAII---

PHIL....

... IWSABAAA...

- - - - WILBAALCCCL·APNA---

PHAAIW---

PAHNIW SAIIAA....

An examination of these various readings of the Greek legend yields the following results :—

(1) The Greek inscription was originally a correct transliteration of the Brāhmi inscription on the reverse.\*

(2) In the best examples the inscription runs thus :

**ΠΑΝΝΙΩ ΙΑΗΑΡΑΤΑΓ ΝΑΗΑΤΑΝΑΣ.**

*N.B.*—There is no instance of **A** being found after the **G** in the two genitive forms as one might naturally expect.

(3) The use of the Roman letter **N** twice in the inscription is remarkable, and as far as I know, these coins supply the only instance of such a combination of the Greek and Roman characters.

(4) The other letters of the inscription in the best examples are correctly shaped Greek (uncial) letters, generally very well formed, the letter **Ξ** being represented by **I**.

(5) Changes gradually take place in the inscription which can only be accounted for on the supposition that the later dies were prepared by persons ignorant of the Greek alphabet. In those degenerate instances the letter **N** is almost invariably written as **Π**; the letter **I** has various shapes : **Σ**, **Ξ**, **Ϟ**, **ϙ**, **Ζ**; the letter **Π** seems to have been early changed to **B**; and perhaps the most curious change of all is the change of **Τ** into **P**. This seems to indicate a knowledge of the Roman alphabet, and ignorance of the Greek, but on the other hand there is the fact that the Roman **R** is never found in the place of the Greek **P** in the first word of the inscription.

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\* On other grounds it has been conjectured that Caṣṭana and Nahapāna were contemporaries. The evidence of the Greek inscription on the coins points to the same conclusion. Although we have not yet discovered a coin of Caṣṭana's with the Greek inscription perfect, enough is known to show that it was probably an accurate transliteration, in which case it is reasonable to infer that it was contemporaneous with Nahapāna's early coins, before the degeneration had set in. On no coin later than Caṣṭana's can any sense be made of the Greek inscription.

**A very large proportion of the coins in the hoard have the inscription in the following form :—**

РАИИΩΙΑИΒΑΑСССИААРНАССЕ.

A very curious thing about these latter coins is that though the Greek is so corrupt the Kharoṣṭhi inscription on these specimens is perfect, whereas the coins which have the purest form of the Greek transliteration have as a rule the worst executed Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions.

## II.--THE KHAROSTHI INSCRIPTION.

Next in interest to the Greek inscription on these coins are the inscriptions on the reverse in the two oldest known alphabets of India, the Kharoṣṭhi and the Brāhmi. Let us consider the Kharoṣṭhi first.

It is hardly necessary for me to explain that the Kharoṣṭhi alphabet is written from right to left ; that it is believed to have reached India *via* Afghānistān some three or four centuries before the beginning of the Christian era ; that it is clearly derived from the Aramaic alphabet, having been taken over by the Persian kings along with the office establishments of their predecessors, and then carried by them to the confines of their world empire, till the character which was used by the Samaritans in their letter to Artaxerxes as described in the book of Ezra (4 ; 7) came to be used in the cutcherries of India ; that there are rock inscriptions in this character in various parts of India and in Eastern Afghānistān and Central Asia, and also on the coins of the Greek and Scythic invaders of India ; and lastly, that the recent explorations in Central Asia have brought to light many records written in this character on strips and wedges of wood.

**The Kharoṣṭhi inscription on these coins runs thus :—**

**𑀭𑁆𑀢𑀺𑀓𑀾𑀲𑀸𑀧𑀻𑀮𑀽𑀳𑀼𑀫𑀯𑀶𑀹** = Rāña Chaharatasa Nahapanasa, i.e.,  
of (belonging to) the king Nahapāna the Chaharāta.

Apart from certain variations in the shapes of the letters, which I shall discuss presently, it may be said that almost all the coins, the latest as well as the earliest, contain this inscription in the above form. There are however some of the coins in which the Kharoṣṭhi inscription is found in a degenerate form, somewhat analogous to the degeneration which we have noticed in the Greek inscription, so that

the conclusion is forced on us that the Kharoṣṭhi characters were not as well known as the Brāhmi to those who made those dies. And I have already referred to the curious and decidedly puzzling fact that the worst specimens of the Kharoṣṭhi are found on the coins that have the most perfect Greek, and *vice versa*.

When comparing the letters found on these coins with the Table of the Kharoṣṭhi alphabet given in Bühler's Indische Palæographie, I was at once struck by the superior finish, if I may so express it, of the letters on the coins. There is a shakiness and irregularity in the letters of the Table which we do not find here. This may be due to the fact that Bühler got most of his types from rock inscriptions or much worn coins. On the rock inscriptions the letters would be large and uneven to begin with, and would be worn and rendered more or less indistinct by long exposure to the weather. Whether this conjecture be well founded or not, the letters on these coins are certainly neater looking than the same letters in the Table, and beautifully clear specimens are abundant. Take for instance the letters 𑀓 and 𑀔 which always appear on the coins with sharp angles and simple firm lines, and observe the contrast in the Table.

Bühler gives two forms (right-handed and left-handed) of the letter *ṇa* in his Table, 𑀦 and 𑀧, and we find many examples of both on the coins. But in the case of several other letters, of which Bühler gives only single forms, right-handed or left-handed as the case may be, we find two forms on the coins. Thus Bühler gives only one form, right-handed, of the letter *pa* whereas we find two forms (𑀕, 𑀖) on the coins of this hoard. The latter form is found for the most part on coins which have the purest Greek inscription, and is also generally associated with the left-handed form of *ṇa*.

The Kharoṣṭhi legend is frequently abbreviated on the coins for want of space in the circle, and I have noted the following :—

Rano Chaharatasa Nahapana.  
 Rano Chaharatasa Nahapa.  
 Rano Chaharatasa Naha.  
 Rano Chaharatasa Na.  
 Rano Chaharatasa.

These abbreviations are found only on coins that preserve the most correct form of the Greek legend. The Brāhmi inscription, as far as I have seen, is never abbreviated.

I give below a table showing the varieties in the shape of the Kharoṣṭhi letters which are found on the coins, along with the same letters as figured in Bühler's Table :—

Kharoṣṭhi letters from Bühler's Tables.	The same letters as found on the coins of this hoard.
Ra = 𑀲, 𑀳.	𑀲, 𑀳, 𑀴, 𑀵, 𑀶, 𑀷, 𑀸, 𑀹
na = 𑀺, 𑀻.	𑀺, 𑀻, 𑀼, 𑀽, 𑀾, 𑀿, 𑁀, 𑁁, 𑁂, 𑁃, 𑁄, 𑁅, 𑁆, 𑁇, 𑁈, 𑁉, 𑁊, 𑁋, 𑁌, 𑁍, 𑁎, 𑁏, 𑁐, 𑁑, 𑁒, 𑁓, 𑁔, 𑁕, 𑁖, 𑁗, 𑁘, 𑁙, 𑁚, 𑁛, 𑁜, 𑁝, 𑁞, 𑁟, 𑁠, 𑁡, 𑁢, 𑁣, 𑁤, 𑁥, 𑁦, 𑁧, 𑁨, 𑁩, 𑁪, 𑁫, 𑁬, 𑁭, 𑁮, 𑁯, 𑁰, 𑁱, 𑁲, 𑁳, 𑁴, 𑁵, 𑁶, 𑁷, 𑁸, 𑁹, 𑁺, 𑁻, 𑁼, 𑁽, 𑁾, 𑁿, 𑂀, 𑂁, 𑂂, 𑂃, 𑂄, 𑂅, 𑂆, 𑂇, 𑂈, 𑂉, 𑂊, 𑂋, 𑂌, 𑂍, 𑂎, 𑂏, 𑂐, 𑂑, 𑂒, 𑂓, 𑂔, 𑂕, 𑂖, 𑂗, 𑂘, 𑂙, 𑂚, 𑂛, 𑂜, 𑂝, 𑂞, 𑂟, 𑂠, 𑂡, 𑂢, 𑂣, 𑂤, 𑂥, 𑂦, 𑂧, 𑂨, 𑂩, 𑂪, 𑂫, 𑂬, 𑂭, 𑂮, 𑂯, 𑂰, 𑂱, 𑂲, 𑂳, 𑂴, 𑂵, 𑂶, 𑂷, 𑂸, 𑂹, 𑂺, 𑂻, 𑂼, 𑂽, 𑂾, 𑂿, 𑃀, 𑃁, 𑃂, 𑃃, 𑃄, 𑃅, 𑃆, 𑃇, 𑃈, 𑃉, 𑃊, 𑃋, 𑃌, 𑃍, 𑃎, 𑃏, 𑃐, 𑃑, 𑃒, 𑃓, 𑃔, 𑃕, 𑃖, 𑃗, 𑃘, 𑃙, 𑃚, 𑃛, 𑃜, 𑃝, 𑃞, 𑃟, 𑃠, 𑃡, 𑃢, 𑃣, 𑃤, 𑃥, 𑃦, 𑃧, 𑃨, 𑃩, 𑃪, 𑃫, 𑃬, 𑃭, 𑃮, 𑃯, 𑃰, 𑃱, 𑃲, 𑃳, 𑃴, 𑃵, 𑃶, 𑃷, 𑃸, 𑃹, 𑃺, 𑃻, 𑃼, 𑃽, 𑃾, 𑃿, 𑄀, 𑄁, 𑄂, 𑄃, 𑄄, 𑄅, 𑄆, 𑄇, 𑄈, 𑄉, 𑄊, 𑄋, 𑄌, 𑄍, 𑄎, 𑄏, 𑄐, 𑄑, 𑄒, 𑄓, 𑄔, 𑄕, 𑄖, 𑄗, 𑄘, 𑄙, 𑄚, 𑄛, 𑄜, 𑄝, 𑄞, 𑄟, 𑄠, 𑄡, 𑄢, 𑄣, 𑄤, 𑄥, 𑄦, 𑄧, 𑄨, 𑄩, 𑄪, 𑄫, 𑄬, 𑄭, 𑄮, 𑄯, 𑄰, 𑄱, 𑄲, 𑄳, 𑄴, 𑄵, 𑄶, 𑄷, 𑄸, 𑄹, 𑄺, 𑄻, 𑄼, 𑄽, 𑄾, 𑄿, 𑅀, 𑅁, 𑅂, 𑅃, 𑅄, 𑅅, 𑅆, 𑅇, 𑅈, 𑅉, 𑅊, 𑅋, 𑅌, 𑅍, 𑅎, 𑅏, 𑅐, 𑅑, 𑅒, 𑅓, 𑅔, 𑅕, 𑅖, 𑅗, 𑅘, 𑅙, 𑅚, 𑅛, 𑅜, 𑅝, 𑅞, 𑅟, 𑅠, 𑅡, 𑅢, 𑅣, 𑅤, 𑅥, 𑅦, 𑅧, 𑅨, 𑅩, 𑅪, 𑅫, 𑅬, 𑅭, 𑅮, 𑅯, 𑅰, 𑅱, 𑅲, 𑅳, 𑅴, 𑅵, 𑅶, 𑅷, 𑅸, 𑅹, 𑅺, 𑅻, 𑅼, 𑅽, 𑅾, 𑅿, 𑆀, 𑆁, 𑆂, 𑆃, 𑆄, 𑆅, 𑆆, 𑆇, 𑆈, 𑆉, 𑆊, 𑆋, 𑆌, 𑆍, 𑆎, 𑆏, 𑆐, 𑆑, 𑆒, 𑆓, 𑆔, 𑆕, 𑆖, 𑆗, 𑆘, 𑆙, 𑆚, 𑆛, 𑆜, 𑆝, 𑆞, 𑆟, 𑆠, 𑆡, 𑆢, 𑆣, 𑆤, 𑆥, 𑆦, 𑆧, 𑆨, 𑆩, 𑆪, 𑆫, 𑆬, 𑆭, 𑆮, 𑆯, 𑆰, 𑆱, 𑆲, 𑆳, 𑆴, 𑆵, 𑆶, 𑆷, 𑆸, 𑆹, 𑆺, 𑆻, 𑆼, 𑆽, 𑆾, 𑆿, 𑇀, 𑇁, 𑇂, 𑇃, 𑇄, 𑇅, 𑇆, 𑇇, 𑇈, 𑇉, 𑇊, 𑇋, 𑇌, 𑇍, 𑇎, 𑇏, 𑇐, 𑇑, 𑇒, 𑇓, 𑇔, 𑇕, 𑇖, 𑇗, 𑇘, 𑇙, 𑇚, 𑇛, 𑇜, 𑇝, 𑇞, 𑇟, 𑇠, 𑇡, 𑇢, 𑇣, 𑇤, 𑇥, 𑇦, 𑇧, 𑇨, 𑇩, 𑇪, 𑇫, 𑇬, 𑇭, 𑇮, 𑇯, 𑇰, 𑇱, 𑇲, 𑇳, 𑇴, 𑇵, 𑇶, 𑇷, 𑇸, 𑇹, 𑇺, 𑇻, 𑇼, 𑇽, 𑇾, 𑇿, 𑈀, 𑈁, 𑈂, 𑈃, 𑈄, 𑈅, 𑈆, 𑈇, 𑈈, 𑈉, 𑈊, 𑈋, 𑈌, 𑈍, 𑈎, 𑈏, 𑈐, 𑈑, 𑈒, 𑈓, 𑈔, 𑈕, 𑈖, 𑈗, 𑈘, 𑈙, 𑈚, 𑈛, 𑈜, 𑈝, 𑈞, 𑈟, 𑈠, 𑈡, 𑈢, 𑈣, 𑈤, 𑈥, 𑈦, 𑈧, 𑈨, 𑈩, 𑈪, 𑈫, 𑈬, 𑈭, 𑈮, 𑈯, 𑈰, 𑈱, 𑈲, 𑈳, 𑈴, 𑈵, 𑈶, 𑈷, 𑈸, 𑈹, 𑈺, 𑈻, 𑈼, 𑈽, 𑈾, 𑈿, 𑉀, 𑉁, 𑉂, 𑉃, 𑉄, 𑉅, 𑉆, 𑉇, 𑉈, 𑉉, 𑉊, 𑉋, 𑉌, 𑉍, 𑉎, 𑉏, 𑉐, 𑉑, 𑉒, 𑉓, 𑉔, 𑉕, 𑉖, 𑉗, 𑉘, 𑉙, 𑉚, 𑉛, 𑉜, 𑉝, 𑉞, 𑉟, 𑉠, 𑉡, 𑉢, 𑉣, 𑉤, 𑉥, 𑉦, 𑉧, 𑉨, 𑉩, 𑉪, 𑉫, 𑉬, 𑉭, 𑉮, 𑉯, 𑉰, 𑉱, 𑉲, 𑉳, 𑉴, 𑉵, 𑉶, 𑉷, 𑉸, 𑉹, 𑉺, 𑉻, 𑉼, 𑉽, 𑉾, 𑉿, 𑊀, 𑊁, 𑊂, 𑊃, 𑊄, 𑊅, 𑊆, 𑊇, 𑊈, 𑊉, 𑊊, 𑊋, 𑊌, 𑊍, 𑊎, 𑊏, 𑊐, 𑊑, 𑊒, 𑊓, 𑊔, 𑊕, 𑊖, 𑊗, 𑊘, 𑊙, 𑊚, 𑊛, 𑊜, 𑊝, 𑊞, 𑊟, 𑊠, 𑊡, 𑊢, 𑊣, 𑊤, 𑊥, 𑊦, 𑊧, 𑊨, 𑊩, 𑊪, 𑊫, 𑊬, 𑊭, 𑊮, 𑊯, 𑊰, 𑊱, 𑊲, 𑊳, 𑊴, 𑊵, 𑊶, 𑊷, 𑊸, 𑊹, 𑊺, 𑊻, 𑊼, 𑊽, 𑊾, 𑊿, 𑋀, 𑋁, 𑋂, 𑋃, 𑋄, 𑋅, 𑋆, 𑋇, 𑋈, 𑋉, 𑋊, 𑋋, 𑋌, 𑋍, 𑋎, 𑋏, 𑋐, 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𑠅, 𑠆, 𑠇, 𑠈, 𑠉,

(2) The coins supply a number of varieties in the shapes of the letters which are not found in Bühler's Table.

(3) There are also various attempts to express the vowels which appear to be new ; at least I do not find them in Bühler.

(4) The coins with the most correct form of the Greek inscription have frequently the Kharoṣṭhi legend imperfectly and very badly executed, whilst the best form of the Kharoṣṭhi is found along with a very degenerate form of the Greek.

### III.—THE BRĀHMI INSCRIPTION.

With reference to the Brāhmi character it may suffice to say that it is the oldest known Indian alphabet, and the parent of not only the modern Sanscrit character, but of most of the alphabets now in use in India. It is the character used by Asoka in the famous rock-inscriptions which he caused to be engraved over the length and breadth of India more than 250 years before the birth of Christ : it is the character used in the inscriptions found on the caves of Nāsik some centuries later, and it is the same character which is found on the Kṣatrapa coins during the three centuries that that dynasty lasted.

Bühler's Tables give specimens of Brāhmi ranging from 350 B.C. to 350 A.D. The characters on our coins belong to near the middle of that period.

**The Brāhmī inscription runs from left to right, and is as follows :—**

[illegible]

The coins, though not all equally well executed, furnish no notable variety in the shapes of the Brāhmi letters, nor do we ever find the Brāhmi inscription in either an incorrect or an abbreviated form, from which we may conclude that the characters were well known to the many various workmen who prepared the dies, and made such numerous variations in both the Greek transliteration and the Kharoṣṭhi inscription.

The letters on these coins are distinctly of an earlier and purer form than those found on the Kṣātrapā coins of two hundred years later, and it is interesting to compare a good specimen of Nahapāna's inscription with one of Viradāman.

## IV.—THE BUST OF NAHAPĀNA.

I have now reached what I cannot help regarding as the most perplexing and difficult part of my task, the representation of the king's head on the coins.

When Paṇḍit Bhagwānlāl Indrāji wrote his final paper on the Kṣatrapa coins he had only four specimens of Nahapāna's coins in his collection—now in the British Museum,—and I do not think he had ever seen any other specimens than those four. From these coins he was able, as we have seen, to read the Kharoṣṭhi and Brāhmī inscriptions, but quite unable to do more than make a mistaken guess as to the Greek inscription. With regard to the bust of the king he wrote, “The face on the obverse of all my coins was so well executed as to fairly indicate the age of the king at the time of striking. The face on one coin seemed to be that of a man about thirty years old. Another specimen . . . has a somewhat older head, perhaps about 45. A third coin . . . has a wrinkled face, with a long wrinkled neck, indicating an age of about 60; while the last specimen . . . bears a still older type of face with wrinkled cheeks and toothless mouth, and represents the king at about the age of seventy.” Ever since I first read the Paṇḍit's paper I have been filled with admiration at the marvellous skill possessed by the mint masters of those early days,—a skill which, as far as I am aware, is never emulated in any country, civilised or otherwise, in our time,—and with wonder at the remarkable fact that while only four coins of Nahapāna were preserved over the lapse of nearly 1800 years, those four should be found to be so well distributed over the whole length of his long reign. It will be readily understood how eager an interest I took in comparing the busts of the king given on the 13,000 coins of this hoard.

The first impression that one receives from the coins is that the head of the king is very well executed, the face is possessed of distinction and character and has no appearance of being conventional. The workmanship is far from being equally good on all the coins, but this matter of character and type is evident in all the coins. They give one the impression of being good likenesses. They also undoubtedly represent the king as of various ages, some of the faces being young enough to be twenty years of age, and others old enough looking to be that of a man of seventy.

Was the Paṇḍit then right in his theory? In other words, do the coins really represent the king at all ages from twenty or thirty seventy, and was the likeness varied from year to year?

With this question in my mind I have made a careful study of the coins, and have turned them all over again and again, but whilst I feel the utmost reluctance in disagreeing with so high an authority, and whilst I admit that there is much to be said in support of his view, yet on the whole I do not think that it is possible to establish the Paṇḍit's conclusion. I should say that a certain proportion of the coins, perhaps one-third, might be regarded as witnesses in favour of the Paṇḍit's theory. If these coins were set apart, and if we had no other specimens of Nahapāna's coins, we should have no hesitation in believing that the king was really represented on the coins in all the various stages of his long life. But against this theory we must set the evidence of two-thirds of the coins of the hoard, on which we have indeed faces varying greatly in age, and not in age only, but in every feature. This is the surprise and the mystery of the hoard. If we grant that the die casters of those days were sufficiently skilled in their work to produce portraits of the king at various ages, and I am quite prepared to grant that, then I think we are forced to the conclusion that it is not one face that is represented on these coins but many. I hope that the coins shown on the Plates will make this clear.

We are thus face to face with a very curious problem. The inscriptions are all the inscriptions of Nahapāna, whose are the faces? If they were really intended to represent one person, then we must not only accept the Paṇḍit's theory as to the different ages, but we must conclude that the striking differences shown on the coins are due to the great variety of artists employed, and to their very varied powers of portraiture. If on the other hand we feel constrained to conclude that all these various types,—short-necked and long-necked, straight-nosed and hook-nosed, low forehead and high forehead, stern visaged and pleasant faced, lean face and fat face,—cannot possibly represent the same person, then whom do they represent? Before giving my own opinion on this matter I wish to draw attention to some points which I have noticed in examining the coins. In the first place I have noticed that only a comparatively small proportion of the coins of this hoard have the Greek letters in their most correct form and the transliteration in its incorrupt reading. One would naturally expect to find on these coins a youthful representation of the king. But this is not the case. I might almost say that the very opposite is the case, but as a matter of fact there are a very few coins with perfect Greek which show a youthful face. The great majority, however, of the coins with the best Greek have a very old type of face. Again, it seems to me that even among the coins with the Greek legend pure there are sufficiently dis-

tinct types of face to render it extremely doubtful that they could stand for one and the same person. Further, a very large number of coins in the hoard which have the Greek legend in a corrupt form, have quite a youthful representation of the king. And lastly, it seems to me that the differences are so pronounced that we are forced to seek some other explanation than that of Paṇḍit Bhagwānlāl Indrāji, and to consider the possibility at least of there being here the faces of different persons.

But for one significant fact, I should have been inclined to suggest that we may have here the coins not of a single king, but of a series of kings, sons and grandsons perhaps of Nahapāna, who retained on their coins the name of their great ancestor as a title of honour, and for some strange reason caused their features to be portrayed on their coins, whilst refusing to record their personal names. I should also have been inclined to believe that the coins in this hoard might well cover a period of a century or two. But right in the way of any such theory lies the stubborn fact that almost if not quite all of the various types of Nahapāna's coins are found among the coins which were counter stamped by Nahapāna's conqueror, Sātakaṛṇi. One of the types I have not been able to trace, a youthful face with the Greek legend in correct form, and another type of youthful face with a very corrupt form of the legend in very small letters is extremely rare. But I have not been able to make an exhaustive search for these types, and the fact is unquestionable that among the coins stamped by Sātakaṛṇi are specimens of practically all the various types found among the coins that are not counter stamped.

It seems to me that a possible solution of the problem may be found in the expression used by Sātakaṛṇi in his Nāsik cave inscription, where he claims to have "rooted out the dynasty of the Khakharāta." This may be taken to mean either a line of Kṣaharātas or a number of members of the Kṣaharāta family, ruling over various parts of the country at the same time. If we suppose that such was the case, then it may be possible that various members of the family caused their own likenesses to be engraved on the coins, whilst keeping the inscription of Nahapāna unchanged as he was the founder of the dynasty. The explanation is, I admit, a somewhat far fetched one, but I give it for what it is worth, and it may be allowed to stand till some further evidence is available.

Before leaving this part of the subject I want to point out that the shape of the hat worn by the king, and the style in which the hair is represented are both characteristic, and appear the same on all the

different types of coins. This is the more important as the busts of the Kṣatrapas all differ from Nahapāna's in these particulars.

Nahapāna's head dress is a kind of square flat cap, without a brim, intersected by a number of upright strokes giving the appearance of a crown in some cases, and having a sort of little knot projecting behind. The Kṣatrapa's head dress on the other hand is round and smooth as if it were of metal, always shows a distinct brim, has no lines or marks of any kind, or any knot behind.

The style in which the hair is dressed is equally characteristic. Nahapāna's hair is gathered up in a kind of bobwig style close under the hat, and extending only to the ear ; whilst all the Kṣatrapas wore the hair long, extending down far behind the ear, and showing voluminous curls on the neck.

Another point on which all Nahapāna's coins agree is in showing the king without a moustache, whereas the Kṣatrapa kings invariably have moustaches.

#### V.—THE COUNTER-STRUCK INSCRIPTION OF SĀTAKARṆI I.

As I have stated in the early part of my paper more than two-thirds of the coins of this hoard have been counter-struck by Nahapāna's conqueror, the king Gotamiputra Śrī Sātakarṇi.

In very many cases the counterstamp is such as to completely obliterate the inscriptions and symbols of Nahapāna. In other cases not much damage has been done and there is no difficulty in reading the original legends. My first idea was that the die used for the purpose of counter stamping the coins was brought to a white heat and then used until too cool to make an impression. The first coins stamped would therefore have their original inscriptions completely effaced, and the later ones would be scarcely affected. It has, however, been explained to me by my friend H. Cousens, Esq., of the Archæological Survey that such a thing as using a hot die is unknown, and that the true explanation of the varying effect of the blow given to the counterstamped coin lies in the workman and not in the tool. A strong sledge hammer blow would efface the original stamp, but as the workman grew tired and struck less vigorously the effect would be less.

In Bhāṇḍārkar's History of the Deccan (p. 167) there is a reference to a counterstamped coin. "One of the Kolhāpur coins figured by Pandit Bhagwānlāl Indrāji bears the names of both Gotamiputra and Madhariputra, showing that the piece originally bearing

the name of one of them was restamped with the name of the other. Mr. Thomas thinks it was originally Madhariputra's coin. I think it was Gotamiputra's ; for if we see the other figured coins we shall find that they are so stamped as to leave some space between the rim and the legend. This in the present case is utilized, and the name of Madhariputra stamped close to the rim, which shows that the thing was done later. Madhariputra Sakasena, therefore, must have been a successor of Gotamiputra Yajna Śri Sātakarṇi."

It is noteworthy that there is not a single coin in the whole collection which was not originally Nahapāna's. This raises the question whether Sātakarṇi I. ever issued coins of his own, and the testimony of the coins of this hoard points to the conclusion that he probably did not.

As far as I know the coins of this hoard are the first of Sātakarṇi's coins to be brought to light, and so they are of very special interest.

Much has been learnt about this king Sātakarṇi I. from the cave inscriptions at Nāsik. The most important of the many inscriptions found in the caves is that of Queen Gautami Bālās'ri, in which the merits of her son, the illustrious Sātakarṇi Gautamiputra, are very fully described. If this account is to be relied on he must have been a very mighty king indeed. He is called "King of kings", and the list is given of the countries over which he ruled, showing that his kingdom stretched from Mālwa in the north to Malabar in the south, and apparently embraced all Rajputānā, Gujarāt, Kāthiāwār, and the Deccan. He "humbled the conceit and vanity of the Kṣatriyas ;" "destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas and Palhavas," i.e., the Scythians, Greeks and Persians,—all northern invaders ;—"fostered the Brahmins ;" "established the glory of the Satavahana family ;" "stopped the admixture of the four castes ;" was a great warrior, ever victorious, a descendant of illustrious kings ; and, what is of chief interest to us just now, "rooted out the dynasty of the Khakharāta." The name of Nahapāna does not occur in the inscription, but there seems no doubt that the description of Sātakarṇi as the conqueror of Nahapāna is correct.

It is curious and interesting to find that the famous Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman in his inscription at Gīrnār claims to be just such another king as Sātakarṇi is here described, and to have ruled over practically the same immense district. Rudradāman also claims to have twice conquered Sātakarṇi, the lord of the Deccan, and to have refrained from destroying him only on account of his being a near

and arrow, their symbols being the *chaitya* with sun and moon, and on their copper coinage an elephant or an Indian bull.

That all the symbols used had a religious signification is, I think, very probable, but there was so much eclecticism at that period of Indian history that it is impossible to draw hard and fast lines. I would merely suggest that the thunderbolt and arrow may be emblems of Vishṇu, the wielder of lightning and thunder, and therefore, these symbols may be connected with Hinduism proper, whilst the *chaitya* and the "Ujjain symbol" may be connected with Buddhism.

(b) Sātakarṇi's symbols are, as we have seen, the *chaitya* and the "Ujjain mark." They were not new to Indian coinage as they are both found on some of the very earliest of the Indian coins, e.g., the *chaitya* on the Taxila coins of about 200 B.C., and the "Ujjain mark" on coins of a similar early date.

The Kṣatrapa king Caṣṭana was probably a contemporary of Nahapāna, and he used the *chaitya* with sun and moon, as his symbol and that became the recognised symbol of the whole Kṣatrapa line during the three or four centuries that they continued to rule. None of the Kṣatrapas, however, appears to have ever used the "Ujjain symbol." Both the *chaitya* and the "Ujjain mark" are found, not on different sides of the coin, but close together, on the reverse of a coin of Sātakarṇi II. We should probably not be wrong in regarding these two as combining to form the Andhra symbol. Then we find that the Kṣatrapas used the *chaitya* without the "Ujjain mark," and it is interesting to remember that the Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman claimed kinship with Sātakarṇi, and gave that as a reason for sparing him. The common use of the *chaitya* as a symbol may well be connected with that fact of relationship, a sort of heraldic quartering of their royal coats of arms.

I have only in conclusion to refer my readers to the excellent series of plates which have been very kindly prepared by Henry Cousens, Esq., from which the many points of interest to which I have drawn attention in my paper will be easily understood, and in the case of the diverse representations of the personal appearance of king Nahapāna, will be better realised than from any verbal description.

## NAHAPĀNA'S COINS.

*Obverse* : Head of king facing to right : inscription in Greek and Roman characters : **PANNIW. IAHAPATAC NAHATANAC** . No date.

*Reverse* : Thunderbolt and arrow : *Rajño Kṣaharatasa Nahapanasa* in Brāhmi characters ; *Raño Chaharatasa Nahapanasa* in Kharoshthi characters.

Æ. Weight 29 to 32 grains.

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SĀTAKARNI'S COINS.

*Obverse* : *Rāño Gotamiputasa Siri Satakanisa* in Brāhmi characters : *chaitya* : no date.

*Reverse*.—Ujjain symbol.

Counterstruck on Nahapāna's coins.

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATES.

*Plate I.*—First Row : Coins showing Greek transliteration in its correct form.

Second Row : Coins showing Brāhmi inscription.

Third Row : Coins showing Kharoṣṭhi inscription.

Fourth Row : Coins showing Greek transliteration in degenerate forms.

Fifty Row : Coins showing Kharoṣṭhi inscription in degenerate forms.

Sixty Row : Coins of Satakarni I, with his inscription complete.

*Plate II.*—Greek legend in pure form, varieties of bust.

*Plate III.*—Greek legend in degenerate form, varieties of bust.

*Plate IV.*—Specimens of counterstruck coins.















and arrow, their symbols being the *chaitya* with sun and moon, and on their copper coinage an elephant or an Indian bull.

That all the symbols used had a religious signification is, I think, very probable, but there was so much eclecticism at that period of Indian history that it is impossible to draw hard and fast lines. I would merely suggest that the thunderbolt and arrow may be emblems of Vishṇu, the wielder of lightning and thunder, and therefore, these symbols may be connected with Hinduism proper, whilst the *chaitya* and the "Ujjain symbol" may be connected with Buddhism.

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**NAHAITANAC .** No date.

*Reverse* : Thunderbolt and arrow : *Rajño Kṣaharatasa Nahapanasa* in Brāhmi characters ; *Raño Chaharatasa Nahapanasa* in Kharoshthi characters.

*Æ.* Weight 29 to 32 grains.

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Counterstruck on Nahapāna's coins.

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*Plate II.*—Greek legend in pure form, varieties of bust.

*Plate III.*—Greek legend in degenerate form, varieties of bust.

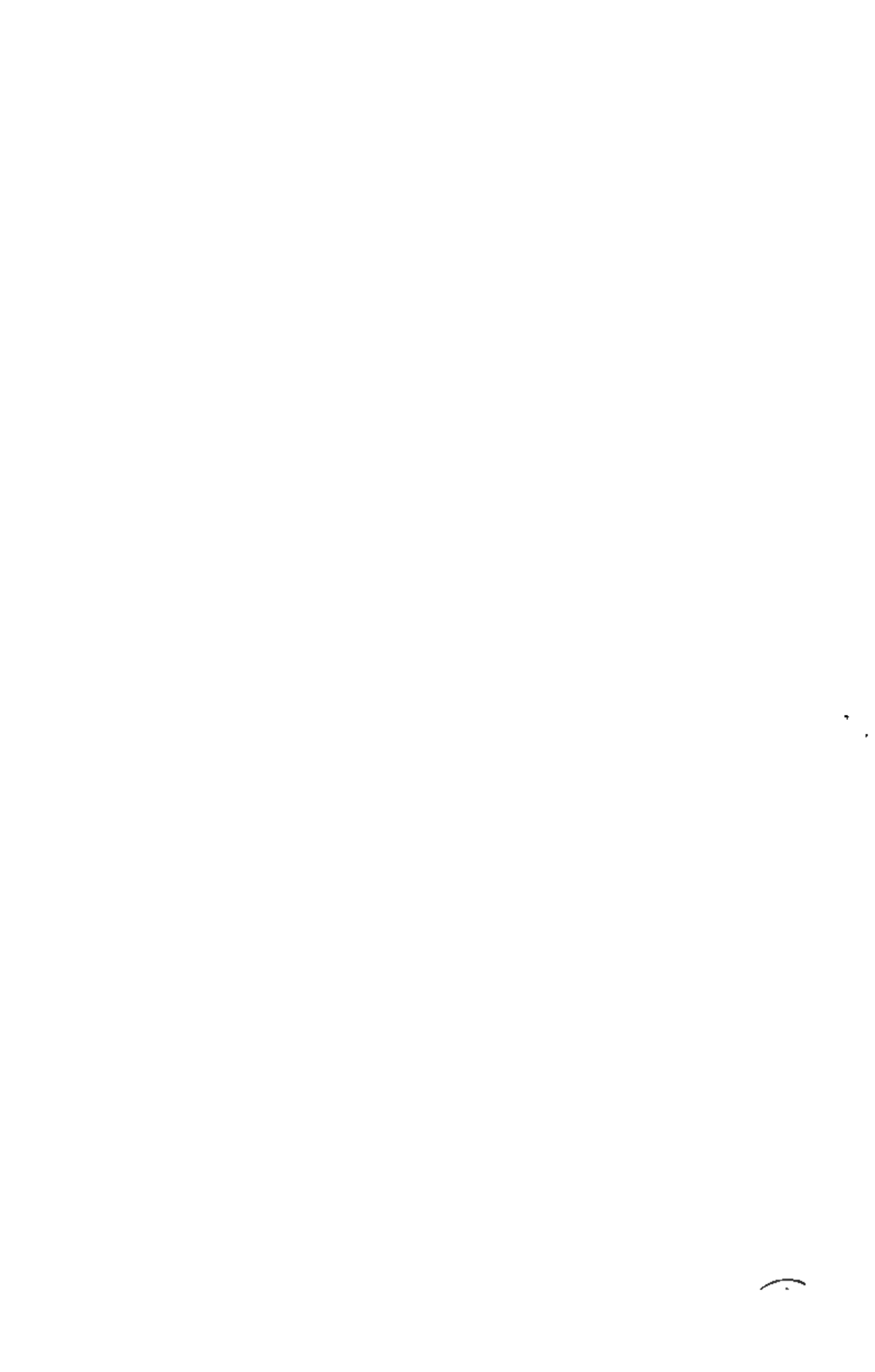
*Plate IV.*—Specimens of counterstruck coins.

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## VII.—*The Coins of Sūrat.*

P. TAYLOR, M.A., D.D., AHMADĀBĀD.

(Communicated)

has gathered round the story of the founding Tradition links its prosperity as a modern city a rich Hindū trader, who settled on its present h century. One of the city-wards is still called l a large reservoir, long since waterless, is ' Talāv. For a while the town, or perhaps we suburb, so quickly rising under his fostering the " new place "; but ere long certain astro- ivened by Gopī, suggested it might well be ur, ' the City of the Sun.' Forthwith petition Muẓaffar Karim, as overlord of the district, night be given for the adoption of this name. staunchly orthodox adherent of the Muslim ave been quite to his liking that a new town ld thus be accorded a purely Hindū name ; yet .sposition inclined him to accede, as far as e request. So, changing just the final letter of ecreed that the city should be called Sūrat abic سورة ), a term surely free from all al with the word employed to designate each is Qōr'ān."

nt of Sūrat, Narmadāśaṅkar gives the date of y as A.D. 1520. But in this detail he has evi- e : for six years before 1520 the Portuguese sa visited " a city called Surat at the mouth of early it was " a city of very great trade in all " Barbosa further relates that " Many ships of r parts sail thither continually, and discharge ause this is a very important seaport, and there tities of merchandise. Moors, Gentiles. and in this city. Its custom-house, which y large revenue for the King of Gu

until now Malaguioy, a Gentile, commands it, and governs it, as lord of it."<sup>1</sup>

This so circumstantial reference to the prosperity of the city in the year 1514 renders inevitable the conclusion that Sūrat dates back considerably before the days of the merchant-prince Gopi. We may with probability infer that on the site of an ancient Hindū town called Sūryapur the present city was built, and that simultaneously with a phenomenal development of its trade in the first quarter of the sixteenth century the city's name was changed from Sūryapur to Sūrat.<sup>2</sup>

Owing both to its wealth and to its importance as a naval station, Sūrat early became an object of desire to the Portuguese, who on three several occasions assaulted and sacked the city—once in 1512, again in 1530, and yet again in 1531. Of the 1530 expedition Danvers concisely records that "Antonio da Silveira proceeded up the Tapti river, and burnt the city of Sūrat and the ships in the arsenal there, killing everything that had life within it, and taking away everything of value."<sup>3</sup> The fort that had been built after the first invasion proving insufficient, the Sultān Maḥmūd (III) bin Latīf gave orders for the erection of the much stronger castle that still dominates the river.

In the latter part of the year 1572 (A. H. 980) the Emperor Akbar, gladly responding to an invitation from the disaffected noble Ē'timād Khān, swooped down with his army upon the province of Gujarāt, and in six short months had annexed it to his dominions. The recalcitrant Mirzās, who had found an asylum with Changiz Khān of Broach, and whose presence in Gujarāt had supplied Akbar a specious pretext for invasion, early in 1573 gained possession of Sūrat, and entrenched themselves within the Castle. Akbar, however, followed close on the rebels, and after a seven-weeks' siege took the city (24 Shawwāl 980 ; 27 Feb. 1573). Henceforward Sūrat, in common with the rest of the province, became an integral part of the Mughal Empire, and for the next two centuries shared in its vicissitudes.

<sup>1</sup> Stanley's Edition of Barbosa's "Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar," printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1866, pages 67, 68.

<sup>2</sup> Notwithstanding the contrary opinion maintained by Elliot and Dowson, it is well definitely to dissociate the name of the city Sūrat (Guj. સુરત) from that of the province Sorath (Guj. સેરઠ). This latter name is the Prakritized form of the Sanskrit Saurashtra (સૌરાષ્ટ્ર), which originally denoted the whole of the Kathiawad Peninsula. It is, however, in its present application, limited to the *prant*, or district, in that Peninsula which borders the sea on the South and South-West. With an area of 5220 square miles, it includes the Native States of Junagarh, Jafarabad, Porbandar, Bantva, and Jetpur.

<sup>3</sup> F. C. Danvers : "The Portuguese in India," Vol. I, page 399.

I. The period of Local Mughal Currency: A. H. 985—1027; A. D. 1577—1618. It was within the first decade subsequent to its subjugation by Akbar that Sūrāt for the first time issued coins from a mint of its own. Prior to this period its currency had consisted of the gold and silver and copper coins struck by the Gujarāt Sultāns for the most part at their capital city of Aḥmadābād. This Aḥmadābād mint, which in the early months of H. 980 had been producing coins for the ill-fated Sultān Muẓaffar III, was ere the close of that year impressed into service for the issue of imperial rupees, bearing the more illustrious name of Jalāl-al-dīn Akbar Pādshāh. But Sūrāt in the year of its conquest possessed no mint that could be requisitioned for imperial coinage. So far as we can learn, it was in the year H. 985 (A. D. 1577-78) that Sūrāt made its first contribution to the currency, and the coins then issued were of a type distinctly inferior both in workmanship and in weight to the rupees struck at Aḥmadābād and other of the Imperial Mints. Here, for instance, is Mandelslo's account of the coins that were current at his time (A. D. 1638) in the province of Gujarāt :—

“ They have also two sorts of money, to wit, the Mamoudies  
 “ and the Ropias. The Mamoudis are made at Surat, of silver  
 “ of a very base alloy, and are worth about twelve pence sterling,  
 “ and they go only at Surat, Brodra, Broitchia, Cambaya, and  
 “ those parts. Over all the Kingdom besides, as at Amadabath  
 “ and elsewhere, they have Ropias Chagam, which are very good  
 “ silver, and worth half a Crown French money.”<sup>1</sup>

These “ Sūrāt Maḥmūdīs,” we may confidently affirm, are identical with the silver coins which Stanley Lane-Poole has designated in the British Museum Catalogue “Coins of Gujarāt Fabric.” They are known only in silver, and are of two denominations corresponding in weight to the half and the quarter rupee. They are round coins, the larger ones having a diameter of six-tenths of an inch and the smaller of half an inch. The dates on the specimens known to me range from H. 985<sup>2</sup> to H. 1027. Then comes a blank for nearly two centuries, after which precisely the same type of coin reappears, but now with the dates H. 1215 and 1217 (A. D. 1800 and 1802).

The legend, which on all these Maḥmūdīs is the same, reads as follows :—(see Fig. 1).

<sup>1</sup> J. Albert de Mandelslo: “Voyages and Travels:” rendered into English by John Davies, Edition of 1662, p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> I had here and in the preceding paragraph originally written H. 989, but my friend, Mr. Framji J. Thanawala, after reading this article, sent him in MS. form, most kindly resented me two beautiful Maḥmūdīs—one dated H. 985 and the other H. 988.

*Obverse*.—In a square area bounded by double lines with dots between :

بادشاه  
اکبر غازی  
محمد  
جلال الدین

Margins illegible.

*Reverse*.—In similar area :

والله اعلم  
محمد  
رحموا الله

Margins illegible.

The figures denoting the Hijri years are entered near the right-hand lower corner of the square area of the *Obverse*—over the *jam* of جلال. In the coin dated H. 985 the figures are upright, but on all specimens known to me of a later date they appear as though lying on their faces, having suffered rotation from the upright position through one quadrant to the left. It is worthy of special note that, though Akbar died in H. 1014, his name is retained unchanged on the coins struck subsequent to that date, whether in Jahāngir's reign or even two hundred years later.<sup>1</sup>

II. The Period of Imperial Mughal Currency : A. H. 1030—1215 ; A.D. 1620—1800.

In order to meet the demand for a purely local currency, the Sūrat Mint continued to issue its comparatively insignificant Maḥmūdī silverlings for a period of more than forty years, say, H. 985—1027, with a slight added margin for either limit. But at the close of that period this Mint seems to have been promoted to the grade of an Imperial Mint, and its thenceforward increased activity was evidenced by the production, and in considerable numbers, of all the different standard coins of the realm, the gold muhr, the silver rupee, and the copper fulūs. The following table shows for each of the Mughal Emperors (or Claimants to the throne) the metals in which coins from the Sūrat Mint are known to us to-day. It will be seen that, with the exception of five claimants (Dāwar Bakhsh, Shujā', Kām Bakhsh, Nikū-siyar and

<sup>1</sup> In the account here given of the Sūrat Maḥmūdīs, now more commonly called the coins of Gujarāt Fabric, I have availed myself of the conclusions established in two articles published in the Numismatic Supplement II from the Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXXIII, Part I, No. 2, 1904, and the Numismatic Supplement VI from the Journal and Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal (New Series), Vol. I, No. 10, 1905.



*Obverse.*—In a square area bounded by double lines with dots between :

بادشاه  
اکبر غازی  
محمد  
جلال الدین  
Margins illegible.

*Reverse.*—In similar area :

لا اله الا الله  
محمد  
رسول الله  
Margins illegible.

The figures denoting the Hijrī years are entered near the right-hand lower corner of the square area of the *Obverse*—over the *jīm* of جلال. In the coin dated H. 985 the figures are upright, but on all specimens known to me of a later date they appear as though lying on their faces, having suffered rotation from the upright position through one quadrant to the left. It is worthy of special note that, though Akbar died in H. 1014, his name is retained unchanged on the coins struck subsequent to that date, whether in Jahāngir's reign or even two hundred years later.<sup>1</sup>

II. The Period of Imperial Mughal Currency : A. H. 1030—1215 ; A.D. 1620—1800.

In order to meet the demand for a purely local currency, the Sūrat Mint continued to issue its comparatively insignificant Maḥmūdī silverlings for a period of more than forty years, say, H. 985—1027, with a slight added margin for either limit. But at the close of that period this Mint seems to have been promoted to the grade of an Imperial Mint, and its thenceforward increased activity was evidenced by the production, and in considerable numbers, of all the different standard coins of the realm, the gold muhr, the silver rupee, and the copper fulūs. The following table shows for each of the Mughal Emperors (or Claimants to the throne) the metals in which coins from the Sūrat Mint are known to us to-day. It will be seen that, with the exception of five claimants (Dāwar Bakhsh, Shujā', Kām Bakhsh, Nikū-siyar and

<sup>1</sup> In the account here given of the Sūrat Maḥmūdīs, now more commonly called the coins of Gujarāt Fabric, I have availed myself of the conclusions established in two articles published in the Numismatic Supplement II from the Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXXIII, Part I, No. 2, 1904, and the Numismatic Supplement VI from the Journal and Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal (New Series), Vol. I, No. 10, 1905.

Ibrāhim) every ruler from Jahāngir to Shāh 'Ālam II is represented by at least his silver pieces :—

SŪRAT MINT.					SŪRAT MINT.				
N <sup>o</sup>	Emperor or Claimant.	Metal.			N <sup>o</sup>	Emperor or Claimant.	Metal.		
		G.	S.	C.			G.	S.	C.
1	Jahāngir ... Jahāngir and Nūr Jahān ...	...	S	C	11	Farrukh-siyar ...	...	S	C
		G	S	...	12	Rafī' al darajāt ...	...	S	C
2	Dāwar Bak <u>hsh</u> ...	...	...	...	13	Shāh Jahān II. ...	G	S	...
3	Shāh Jahān I. ...	G	S	C	14	Nikū-siyar ...	...	...	...
4	Shujā' ...	...	...	...	15	Ibrāhīm ...	...	...	...
5	Murād Bak <u>hsh</u> ...	...	S	C	16	Muḥammad ...	G	S	C
6	Aurangzeb ...	G	S	C	17	Aḥmad Shāh ...	...	S	...
7	A'zam Shāh ...	...	S	...	18	'Ālamgīr II. ...	...	S	...
8	Kām Bak <u>hsh</u> ...	...	...	...	19	Shāh Jahān III....	...	S	...
9	Shāh 'Ālam I. ...	G	S	C	20	Shāh 'Ālam II. ...	G	S	...
10	Jahāndār ...	G	S	C					

We have already seen that the latest known Sūrat Maḥmūdī is dated H. 1027. The earliest known Sūrat rupee—a rupee in the possession of my friend Mr. Framji Jamaspji Thanawala—is of the first month of the Hijrī year 1030<sup>1</sup>, and from that date right on till H. 1215, or even a few years later, the Sūrat mint was more or less active. As the year H. 1215, however, witnessed both the resumption of the coinage of silver Maḥmūdīs and also the production of Sūrat muhrs and rupees by the Bombay mint of the East India Company, the issue of exclusively Imperial Mughal coins may be assigned to the 185 (lunar) years from A. H. 1030 till A. H. 1215. Accordingly we now proceed to register in their chronological order the legends on the different types of coins struck at the Sūrat mint during this period.

<sup>1</sup> Entry is made in the Lāhor Mus. Catal. (p. 70, No. 137) of an Akbarī rupee struck at Sūrat (سورت) in the month Jān. (جان) of the Ilahī year 38. This strange rupee, however, did not, we may confidently affirm, issue from the Sūrat (سورت) Mint.

JAHĀNGĪR : A. H. 1014—1037 ; A. D. 1605--1627.

A. From A. H. 1030—x (regal year) till A. H. 1033—18.  
Rupee (*see* Fig. 2) and half-rupee.

*Obv.*

نورالدین  
جہا  
بادشاہ  
نکیر  
۱۰۳۱

*Rev.*

ماہ فروردی الہی  
سنہ ۱۷  
سورت  
ضرب

On two rupees of this type in the Lāhor Museum (Catalogue Nos. 143 and 179) the tail of the *ye* in the word **الہی** is retracted across the face of the coin, and in one the word **سنہ** is wanting. Thus on these rupees the Reverse legends read as follow :—

ماہ بہمن الہی سنہ	and	ماہ ابان الہی
سورت		۱۷ سورت
ضرب		[ضرب]

B. From A. H. 1033-19 till A. H. 1037-22.

One muhr (Br. Mus. Catal. No. 513), several rupees (*see* Fig. 3), and a few half-rupees of this period are known, bearing on the Obverse the name of Jahāngir and on the Reverse that of his Queen-consort Nūr Jahān.

*Obv.*

جہانگیر  
ز حکم شاہ  
صد زیور  
یافت  
سورت  
ضرب

*Rev.*

شاه  
پاد  
جهان  
بنام نور زر  
بیگم  
۱۹ سنه ۱۰۳۳

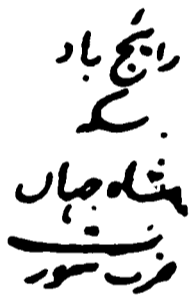
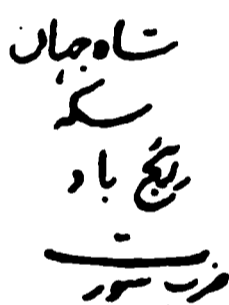
Thus the legend, covering both the Obverse and the Reverse, runs

ز حکم شاه جهانگیر یافت صد زیور  
بنام نور جهان بادشاه بیگم زر

By order of Shāh Jahāngir money gained a hundred beauties  
Through the name of Nūr Jahān Pādshāh Begam.

SHĀH JAHĀN I. : A. H. 1037-1069 ; A. D. 1628-1659.

A. A. H. 1037-1  
Rupee.

1. *Obv.*  or the variant (see Fig. 4) 

*Rev.*

لا اله الا الله  
محمد  
رسول الله  
سنه  
۱۰۳۷

2. (See Fig. 5) *Obv.*

غازی  
جهان پادشاه  
شاه  
صاحبقران ثانی  
سنه  
محمد  
شهاب الدین

*Rev.* لا اله الا الله  
محمد  
رسول الله  
ضرب ١٠٣٧  
سورت

B. From *Hijrī* 1037—**احد** till *Hijrī* 1042-x.

Rupee (*see* Fig. 6) and half-rupee.

Both on Obverse and on Reverse the legend is bounded by two concentric linear circles between which comes a circle of dots.

*Obv.* پادشاه غازی  
شاه جهان سنه احد  
محمد  
شهاب الدین  
نے  
صاحب قران ثا

*Rev.* لا اله الا الله  
محمد  
رسول الله  
ضرب  
سورت  
سنه ١٠٣٧ هجر

It was in this year 1037 that the term *Hijrī* (هجري) was for the first time entered on the coins of Sūrat.

From some specimens of rupees of this period in the cabinet of the Bombay Asiatic Society it would seem that the entry of the regnal year was occasionally omitted altogether.

C. From A. H. x—*Ilahī* 4 (1) till A. H. x—*Ilahī* 5 (12).<sup>1</sup>

Only two coins of this type have been published, and both are muhrs : one is in the British Museum and the other at Lāhor.

*Obv.* Same as B.

<sup>1</sup> The bracketed figure indicates the month : thus *Ilahī* 4 (1) means the first month—Farwardin—of the *Ilahī* year 4 ; and similarly *Ilahī* 5 (12) the twelfth month—Isfandārmuz—of the *Ilahī* year 5.

*Rev.*

لا اله الا الله  
 محمد  
 رسول الله  
 ضرب  
 سنة ٤ سورت الهى  
 ماه فروردى

D. From A. H. x—6 till A. H. 1046—9.

Rupee (*see* Fig. 7).*Obv.* In square area with knotted corners.

بادشاه غازى  
 شاه جهان

Margin : upper : شهاب الدين  
 : right : محمد صاحب  
 : lower : قران ثانى  
 : left : ضرب سورت

*Rev.* In square area with knotted corners.

لا اله الا الله  
 محمد

رسول الله ٩

Margin : lower : بصدق ابى بكر  
 : left : وعدل ١٠٤٦ عمر  
 : upper : بازرم عثمان  
 : right : وعلم على

It will be observed that on the rupees of this type both the Hijri and the regnal year are entered on the Reverse, the former in the left margin and the latter in the left lower corner of the area. The two dates are thus brought fairly close together.

A gold coin of the year H. 1047, now in the Bombay Asiatic Society's cabinet, bears the regnal year both on the Reverse as in type D and also on the Obverse as in type E. This interesting muhr thus serves as a link connecting both those types.

E. From A. H. 1048—12 till A. H. 1051—14.

Rupee.

*Obv.* } Same as in D,  
*Rev.* }

but the regnal year is now removed from the Reverse area, and is entered instead in the right-hand margin of the Obverse. Thus

محمد صاب (See Fig. 8) or, more commonly, محمد صاب

F. From A. H. 1052—16 till A. H. 1067—30 (but note G below).

Rupee.

*Obv.* } Same as in D,  
*Rev.* }

but the regnal year is now entered not on the Reverse, but in the right-hand lower corner of the Obverse area (see Fig. 9). The *Shāh Jahānī* Sūrat rupees most in evidence are of this type. One specimen in my possession is square (see Fig. 10), measuring 7 inch, and weighing 178 grains.<sup>1</sup> Its Hijrī year is indistinct, but seems to be either 1055 or 1059, and its regnal year is wanting.

G. A. H. 1057—20 and A. H. 1057—21.

Rupee (see Fig. 11) and half-rupee.

*Obv.* In area enclosed by a wavy diamond border.

پادشاه غازی  
شاه جهان  
۲۱

Margin : left upper : شهاب الدین  
: right upper : محمد صاحب  
: right lower : قران ثانی  
: left lower : ضرب سورت

<sup>1</sup>The late Pandit Bhagvānlāl Indrajī, in his article on "Antiquarian Remains at Sopārā and Padana," contributed to the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XV, No. XL, tells of his obtaining at Sopārā about ten coins of white metal, all of them square, and all bearing the legend of *Shāh Jahān*. He adds (p. 279), "I believe these coins were perhaps struck at Sōpārā to replace the Portuguese white metal coins, which were current in this part of the country. I may mention that, except here, I have never found a white metal Moghal coin." Now Sopārā is otherwise unknown as a mint town, and it is extremely improbable that at this long since decayed emporium of trade a mint should have been opened by the Mughals solely for the production of white metal coins. Through the generosity of my kind friend Mr. Frāmji Jāmaspi Thānāwālā four of these tutenag coins are now in my possession, and though on none of them can the place of mintage be deciphered, still the coins themselves resemble so closely the square rupee mentioned as type F that I incline to assign both to one and the same mint. But the rupee distinctly bears the name of its mint-town Sūrat, and hence we may with probability infer that it was from Sūrat these rare tutenag coins issued.

*Rev.* In similar area :

لا اله الا الله

محمد

رسول الله

Margin : right lower : بصدق ابي بكر

: left lower : وعدل ١٠٥٧ عمر

: left upper : بازرم عثمان

: right upper : وعلم علي

H. A. H. 1067—31 and A. H. 1068—31.

Rupee (*see* Fig. 12).

*Obv.* In circular area :

پادشاه غازی

شاه ٣١ جهان

The marginal legend, starting from the left upper portion, reads consecutively :—

شهاب الدین محمد صاحب قران ثانی ضرب سورت

*Rev.* In similar area :

لا اله الا الله

محمد

رسول الله

The marginal legend, starting from the left upper portion, reads consecutively.

بصدق ١٠٩٧ ابي بكر وعدل عمر بازرم عثمان وعلم علي

In one of my specimens the year ١٠٩٧ is by a freak written ١٠٢٧

In the rupee of the year A. H. 1068—31 the marginal legend on the Reverse begins not at the left upper but at the right lower portion.

J. A. H. 1068—31.

The Indian (Calcutta) Museum Catalogue registers a rupee (No. 13149 on page 35) as follows :—

*Obv.* In square.

پادشاه غازی

شاه جهان

شاه (31st year) under ٣١

Margins as in Obverse of D.

*Rev.* Kalima in a circle ; margins as usual ; and date ١٠٩٨

*Obverse.*—In a square area bounded by double lines with dots between :

بادشاه  
اکبر غازی  
محمد  
جلال الدین

Margins illegible.

*Reverse.*—In similar area :

لا اله الا الله  
محمد  
رسول الله

Margins illegible.

The figures denoting the Hijrī years are entered near the right-hand lower corner of the square area of the *Obverse*—over the *jīm* of جلال. In the coin dated H. 985 the figures are upright, but on all specimens known to me of a later date they appear as though lying on their faces, having suffered rotation from the upright position through one quadrant to the left. It is worthy of special note that, though Akbar died in H. 1014, his name is retained unchanged on the coins struck subsequent to that date, whether in Jahāngir's reign or even two hundred years later.<sup>1</sup>

II. The Period of Imperial Mughal Currency : A. H. 1030—1215 ; A.D. 1620—1800.

In order to meet the demand for a purely local currency, the Sūrat Mint continued to issue its comparatively insignificant Maḥmūdī silverlings for a period of more than forty years, say, H. 985—1027, with a slight added margin for either limit. But at the close of that period this Mint seems to have been promoted to the grade of an Imperial Mint, and its thenceforward increased activity was evidenced by the production, and in considerable numbers, of all the different standard coins of the realm, the gold muhr, the silver rupee, and the copper fulūs. The following table shows for each of the Mughal Emperors (or Claimants to the throne) the metals in which coins from the Sūrat Mint are known to us to-day. It will be seen that, with the exception of five claimants (Dāwar Bakhsh, Shujā', Kām Bakhsh, Nikū-siyar and

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Ibrāhīm) every ruler from Jahāngir to Shāh 'Ālam II is represented by at least his silver pieces :—

SŪRAT MINT.					SŪRAT MINT.				
No.	Emperor or Claimant.	Metal.			No.	Emperor or Claimant.	Metal.		
		G.	S.	C.			G.	S.	C.
1	Jahāngir ...	...	S	C	11	Farrukh-siyar ...	...	S	C
	Jahāngir and Nūr								
	Jahān ...	G	S	...	12	Rafī' al darajāt ...	...	S	C
2	Dāwar Bakhsh ...	...	...	...	13	Shāh Jahān II. ...	G	S	...
3	Shāh Jahān I. ...	G	S	C	14	Nikū-siyar ...	...	...	...
4	Shujā' ...	...	...	...	15	Ibrāhīm ...	...	...	...
5	Murād Bakhsh ...	...	S	C	16	Muḥammad ...	G	S	C
6	Aurangzeb ...	G	S	C	17	Aḥmad Shāh ...	...	S	...
7	A'zam Shāh ...	...	S	...	18	'Ālamgir II. ...	...	S	...
8	Kām Bakhsh ...	...	...	...	19	Shāh Jahān III....	...	S	...
9	Shāh 'Ālam I. ...	G	S	C	20	Shāh 'Ālam II. ...	G	S	...
10	Jahāndār ...	G	S	C					

We have already seen that the latest known Sūrat Maḥmūdī is dated H. 1027. The earliest known Sūrat rupee—a rupee in the possession of my friend Mr. Framji Jamaspji Thanawala—is of the first month of the Hijrī year 1030<sup>1</sup>, and from that date right on till H. 1215, or even a few years later, the Sūrat mint was more or less active. As the year H. 1215, however, witnessed both the resumption of the coinage of silver Maḥmūdīs and also the production of Sūrat muhrs and rupees by the Bombay mint of the East India Company, the issue of exclusively Imperial Mughal coins may be assigned to the 185 (lunar) years from A. H. 1030 till A. H. 1215. Accordingly we now proceed to register in their chronological order the legends on the different types of coins struck at the Sūrat mint during this period.

<sup>1</sup> Entry is made in the Lāhor Mus. Catal. (p. 70, No. 137) of an Akbarī rupee struck at Sūrat (صورت) in the month Jān. (جان) of the Ilahī year 38. This strange rupee, however, did not, we may confidently affirm, issue from the Sūrat (صورت) Mint.

JAHĀNGĪR : A. H. 1014—1037 ; A. D. 1605--1627.

A. From A. H. 1030—x (regnal year) till A. H. 1033—18.  
Rupee (*see* Fig. 2) and half-rupee.

*Obv.*

نورالدین

جہا

بادشاہ

نکیر

۱۰۳۱

*Rev.*

ماہ فروردی الہی

سنہ ۱۷

سورت

ضرب

On two rupees of this type in the Lāhor Museum (Catalogue Nos. 143 and 179) the tail of the *ye* in the word الہی is retracted across the face of the coin, and in one the word سنہ is wanting. Thus on these rupees the Reverse legends read as follow :—

ماہ ابان الہی and ماہ بہمن الہی  
سنہ

سورت

ضرب

۱۷ سورت

[ضرب]

B. From A. H. 1033-19 till A. H. 1037-22.

One muhr (Br. Mus. Catal. No. 513), several rupees (*see* Fig. 3), and a few half-rupees of this period are known, bearing on the Obverse the name of Jahāngir and on the Reverse that of his Queen-consort Nūr Jahān.

*Obv.*

جہانگیر

ز حکم شاہ

صد زیور

یافت

سورت

ضرب

*Rev.*

شاه  
پاد  
جهان  
بنام نور زر  
بیگم  
۱۹ سنه ۱۰۳۳

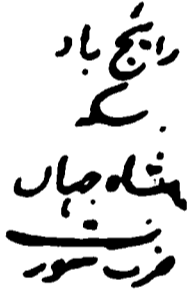
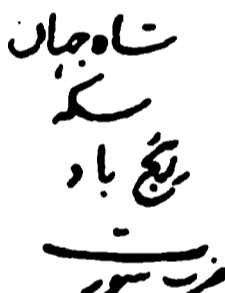
Thus the legend, covering both the Obverse and the Reverse, runs

ز حکم شاه جهانگیر یافت صد زیور  
بنام نور جهان پادشاه بیگم زر

By order of Shāh Jahāngir money gained a hundred beauties  
Through the name of Nūr Jahān Pādshāh Begam.

SHĀH JAHĀN I. : A. H. 1037-1069 ; A. D. 1628-1659.

A. A. H. 1037-1  
Rupee.

1. *Obv.*  or the variant (see Fig. 4) 

*Rev.*

لا اله الا الله  
محمد  
رسول الله  
سنه  
۱۰۳۷

2. (See Fig. 5) *Obv.*

غازی  
جهان پادشاه  
شاه  
صاحبقران ثانی  
سنه  
محمد  
شهاب الدین

*Rev.* لا اله الا الله  
 محمد  
 رسول الله  
 ضرب ١٠٣٧  
 سورت

B. From *Hijrī* 1037—**احد** till *Hijrī* 1042-X.

Rupee (*see* Fig. 6) and half-rupee.

Both on Obverse and on Reverse the legend is bounded by two concentric linear circles between which comes a circle of dots.

*Obv.* پادشاه غازی  
 شاه جهان سنه احد  
 محمد  
 شهاب الدین  
 فی  
 صاحب قران ثا

*Rev.* لا اله الا الله  
 محمد  
 رسول الله  
 ضرب  
 سورت  
 سنه ١٠٣٧ هجر

It was in this year 1037 that the term *Hijrī* (هجري) was for the first time entered on the coins of Sūrat.

From some specimens of rupees of this period in the cabinet of the Bombay Asiatic Society it would seem that the entry of the regnal year was occasionally omitted altogether.

C. From A. H. x—Ilaḥī 4 (1) till A. H. x—Ilaḥī 5 (12).<sup>1</sup>

Only two coins of this type have been published, and both are muhrs : one is in the British Museum and the other at Lāhor.

*Obv.* Same as B.

<sup>1</sup> The bracketed figure indicates the month : thus Ilaḥī 4 (1) means the first month—Farwardīn—of the Ilaḥī year 4 ; and similarly Ilaḥī 5 (12) the twelfth month—Isfandārmuz—of the Ilaḥī year 5.

*Rev.*

لا اله الا الله  
 محمد  
 رسول الله  
 ضرب  
 سنة ٤ سورت الهى  
 مائة فرورده

D. From A. H. x—6 till A. H. 1046—9.

Rupee (*see* Fig. 7).*Obv.* In square area with knotted corners.

بادشاه غازى  
 شاه جهان

Margin : upper : شهاب الدين  
 : right : محمد صاحب  
 : lower : قران ثانى  
 : left : ضرب سورت

*Rev.* In square area with knotted corners.

لا اله الا الله  
 محمد

رسول الله ٩

Margin : lower : بصدق ابى بكر  
 : left : وعدل ١٠٤٩ عمر  
 : upper : بازرم عثمان  
 : right : وعلم على

It will be observed that on the rupees of this type both the Hijrī and the regnal year are entered on the Reverse, the former in the left margin and the latter in the left lower corner of the area. The two dates are thus brought fairly close together.

A gold coin of the year H. 1047, now in the Bombay Asiatic Society's cabinet, bears the regnal year both on the Reverse as in type D and also on the Obverse as in type E. This interesting muhr thus serves as a link connecting both those types.

E. From A. H. 1048—12 till A. H. 1051—14.

Rupee.

Obv. } Same as in D.  
Rev. }

but the regnal year is now removed from the Reverse area, and is entered instead in the right-hand margin of the Obverse. Thus

محمد صائب (See Fig. 8) or, more commonly, محمد صائب

F. From A. H. 1052—16 till A. H. 1067—30 (but note G below).

Rupee.

Obv. } Same as in D,  
Rev. }

but the regnal year is now entered not on the Reverse, but in the right-hand lower corner of the Obverse area (see Fig. 9). The Shāh Jahānī Sūrat rupees most in evidence are of this type. One specimen in my possession is square (see Fig. 10), measuring 7 inch, and weighing 178 grains.<sup>1</sup> Its Hijrī year is indistinct, but seems to be either 1055 or 1059, and its regnal year is wanting.

G. A. H. 1057—20 and A. H. 1057—21.

Rupee (see Fig. 11) and half-rupee.

Obv. In area enclosed by a wavy diamond border.

پادشاه غازی  
شاه جهان  
۲۱

Margin : left upper : شهاب الدین  
: right upper : محمد صاحب  
: right lower : قران ثانی  
: left lower : ضرب سورت

<sup>1</sup>The late Pandit Bhagvānlāl Indrajī, in his article on "Antiquarian Remains at Sopārā and Padana," contributed to the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XV, No. XL, tells of his obtaining at Sopārā about ten coins of white metal, all of them square, and all bearing the legend of Shāh Jahān. He adds (p. 279), "I believe these coins were perhaps struck at Sôpārā to replace the Portuguese white metal coins, which were current in this part of the country. I may mention that, except here, I have never found a white metal Moghal coin." Now Sopārā is otherwise unknown as a mint town, and it is extremely improbable that at this long since decayed emporium of trade a mint should have been opened by the Mughals solely for the production of white metal coins. Through the generosity of my kind friend Mr. Frāmji Jāmaspi Thānāwālā four of these tutenag coins are now in my possession, and though on none of them can the place of mintage be deciphered, still the coins themselves resemble so closely the square rupee mentioned as type F that I incline to assign both to one and the same mint. But the rupee distinctly bears the name of its mint-town Sūrat, and hence we may with probability infer that it was from Sūrat these rare tutenag coins issued.

*Rev.* In similar area :

لا اله الا الله

محمد

رسول الله

Margin : right lower : بصدق ابي بكر

: left lower : وعدل ١٠٥٧ عمر

: left upper : بازرم عثمان

: right upper : وعلم علي

H. A. H. 1067—31 and A. H. 1068—31.

Rupee (*see* Fig. 12).

*Obv.* In circular area :

پادشاه غازی

شاه ۳۱ جهان

The marginal legend, starting from the left upper portion, reads consecutively :—

شهاب الدین محمد صاحب قران ثانی ضرب سورت

*Rev.* In similar area :

لا اله الا الله

محمد

رسول الله

The marginal legend, starting from the left upper portion, reads consecutively.

بصدق ١٠٩٧ ابي بكر وعدل عمر بازرم عثمان وعلم علي

In one of my specimens the year ١٠٩٧ is by a freak written ١٠٢٧

In the rupee of the year A. H. 1068—31 the marginal legend on the Reverse begins not at the left upper but at the right lower portion.

J. A. H. 1068—31.

The Indian (Calcutta) Museum Catalogue registers a rupee (No. 13149 on page 35) as follows :—

*Obv.* In square.

پادشاه غازی

شاه جهان

شاه (31st year) under ۳۱

Margins as in Obverse of D.

*Rev.* Kalima in a circle ; margins as usual ; and date ١٠٩٨

K. A. H. 1069—32.

*Obv.* } Same as in D,  
*Rev.*

but with the regnal year entered not on the Reverse, but over the word شاه in the lower line of the square area on the Obverse. The legend in this area thus reads :—

بادشاه افغانی  
شاه جهان

My cabinet contains two *Copper* coins of Shāh Jahān from the Sūrāt Mint. These are dated A. H. x—29 and A. H. 1077 (? 1067)—30. Their legends are alike, and read as follows :—

*Obv.*

شاه جهان

فلوس ۳۰

*Rev.*

سورت

سنه ۱۰۷۷

MURĀD BAKHSH : A. H. 1068 ; A. D. 1657-58.

A. A. H. 1068. Rupee (see Fig. 13) and half-rupee.

مراد شاه غازی  
محمد سکندر ثانی  
رضا حبقران جهانے  
گرفت  
از ث احد  
سنه

Muḥammad Murād, the victorious King, the Second Alexander,  
Took the heritage from (Shāh) Jahān, the “Lord of the Conjunction.”

*Rev.*

لا اله الا الله

محمد

رسول الله

ضرب

سورت

۱۰۶۸

B. A. H. 1068. Rupee (see Fig. 14) and half-rupee.

*Obv.* In square area with knotted corners.

پادشاه غازی  
محمد مراد بخش

Margin : right : ابوالمظفر

: lower : "Wedded to the Faith." مزوج الدین

: left : ضرب سورت

: upper : بالہی سنہ احد

*Rev.* In similar area :

لا الہ الا اللہ

محمد

رسول اللہ

Margin : right : بصدق ابی بکر

: lower : وعدل عمر

: left : بازرم عثمان

۱۰۶۸

: upper : وعلم علی

A Fulūs of Murād Bakhsh is described, and figured, in the Numismatic Supplement I of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Vol. LXXIII, Part I, No. 1, 1904). Its legends are very simple :—

*Obv.*

مراد شاہی  
فلوس

*Rev.*

سورت  
سنہ  
ضرب

AURANGZEB : A. H. 1069—1118 ; A. D. 1659—1707.

A. A. H. 1070—احد Rupee (see Fig. 15) and half-rupee.

*Obv.*

عالم گیر  
اورنگ زیب  
شاہ  
زد چو بد رمنیر  
سکم  
درجہان ۱۰۷۰

Rev.

بندر مبارک سورت

ضرب

میمنت مانوس

جلوس احد

This interesting rupee supplies us the only "honorific epithet" assigned on the Mughal Coins to the city of Sūrāt, which is here styled "Bandar mubārak," the blessed Port. The origin of this title is doubtless to be found in the fact that Sūrāt was the chief port of embarkation for Indian Muslims on pilgrimage to Makka. For this same reason the city is also sometimes designated (though not on coins) the Bāb al Ḥajj, or Gate of Pilgrimage. Terry in his "Voyage to East India" refers<sup>1</sup> in the following terms to the pilgrim-traffic from Sūrāt in the second decade of the seventeenth century :—

"The ship, or junk, for so it is called, that usually goes from Sūrāt to Moha, is of an exceeding great burden, some of them, I believe, fourteen or fifteen hundred tons, or more, but these huge vessels are very ill built, like an over-grown lighter, broad and short, but made exceeding big, on purpose to waft passengers forward and backward ; which are Mahometans, who go on purpose to visit Mahomet's sepulchre at Medina, near Mecca, but many miles beyond Moha. The passengers, and others, in that most capacious vessel that went and returned that year I left India, (as we were credibly told) amounted to the number of seventeen hundred. Those Mahometans that have visited Mahomet's sepulchre are after called Hoggees<sup>2</sup>, or holy men."

Another, but distinctly less probable, explanation of the origin of the epithet Bandar mubārak is given in the Bombay Gazetteer from a local history written by Bakhshī Mia walad Shāh Aḥmad. It is there recorded that, when orders were issued (cir. A. D. 1540) by the Sultān Maḥmūd (III) bin Laṭīf for the erection of the Castle at Sūrāt, the Turk Ṣafī Āghā, to whom the work had been entrusted, submitted three plans. "The King chose the one that placed the Castle on the bank of the river, and under this plan wrote the word *mubārak*, or 'the prosperous.' Hence the city up to this day is called *Sūrāt bandar mubārak*."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Edward Terry : "A Voyage to East India" : reprinted (in 1777) from the edition of 1655, pages 130, 131.

<sup>2</sup> حاجي Hāji (for Ḥājji), 'one who has performed the pilgrimage to Mecca.'

<sup>3</sup> Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. II (Surat and Broach), page 72, note 1.

B. A. H. 1071--3 and A. H. 1078--10 till 1080--12.

Rupee (*see* Fig. 16) and half-rupee.

*Obv.*

عالم گیر  
اورنگ زیب  
شاه  
زد چو بد رمفیر  
سکه ۱۰۷۱

*Rev.*

در جهان  
سنه ۳ جلوس  
میمنت  
مانوس  
ضرب  
سورت

C. From A. H. 1075--x till A. H. 1089--22 (but *see* B).

Muhr (B. M. Catal. No. 707), rupee (*see* Fig. 17) and half-rupee.

*Obv.* Same as in B.

*Rev.*

سنه ۸ جلوس  
میمنت  
مانوس  
سورت  
ضرب

Of rupees dated 1079--11 and 1080--12 the Reverse in some specimens follows type B, and in others type C.

D. A. H. 1089--22. Rupee (*see* Fig. 18) and half-rupee.

*Obv.*

عالم گیر  
اورنگ زیب  
۱۰۸۹  
شاه  
زد چو بد رمفیر  
سکه  
د جهان

*Rev.* Same as in C.

E. From A. H. 1090—22 till A. H. 1118—51.

Muhr (probably of this type in Indian Museum A. H. x—29 ; A. H. x—30 ; A. H. x—42) ; rupee (see Fig. 19) and half-rupee.

*Obv.*

عالم گیر  
۱۱۰۴  
اورنگ زیب  
شاه  
زد چو بد رمنیر  
سکه  
در جهان

*Rev.*

مانوس  
میلنت  
سنه ۳۶ جلوس  
ضرب  
سورت

This is quite the most common of all the types of coins struck at Sūrat in the reign of Aurangzeb.

The Brit. Mus. rupees, Nos. 796, 796a, dated A. H. 1105—37, have the Reverse “counterstruck with galloping horseman.”

The arrangement here shown of the words of the Reverse legend is worthy of special note, since adopted on all the gold and silver coins struck at Sūrat in or after the reign of Jahāndār (A. H. 1124).

Of the *Copper* coins of Aurangzeb from the Sūrat mint two distinct types are known.

A. From A. H. x—4 till A. H. x—11.

*Obv.*

اورنگ زیب  
فلوس شاہ

*Rev*

ت  
سور ۴  
سنه  
ضرب

B. From A. H. 1080—13 till A. H. 1119—x (see Fig. 20).

*Obv.*

سنه ۱۰۸۰  
بارک  
جلوس

*Rev.*

سنه ۱۰۸۹  
سورت  
ب  
ضر

The exaggerated elongation of the upper stroke of the letters alif, kāf, and lām on the Obverse is also found on Aurangzeb's copper coins struck at Lāhor and Akbarābād. See Lāhor Museum Catalogue, page 195, Nos. 18 and 20.

Fulūs of this curious type are not infrequently to be found in the Aḥmadābād bazar, but a specimen in good condition is rare indeed.

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A'ZAM SHĀH : A. H. 1118—19 ; A. D. 1707.

A. A. H. 1119—حد | Rupee (see Fig. 21).

*Obv.*

سالك ۱۱۱۹ اعظم شاه  
بدولت وجاه ياد

*Rev.*

سکه  
زد در جهان  
جلوس اشرف  
ف  
سنه احد  
ضرب  
سورت

This is an exceedingly rare coin.

---

SHĀH 'ĀLAM I : A. H. 1119—1124 ; A. D. 1707—1712.

A. From A. H. x—حد | till A. H. 1123—6.

Muhr (Ind. Mus. Catal., p. 50, No. 10909), rupee (see Fig. 22) and half-rupee.

*Obv.*

۱۱۲۲ غازی  
پادشاه  
بهادر  
شاه عالم  
ک  
سکه مبار

*Rev.*

۴ مانو  
سنه جلوس س  
میمنت  
ضرب  
سورت

JAHĀNDĀR : A. H. 1124 ; A.D. 1712—13.

A. A. H. 1124—۱۱۲۵

Rupee (see Fig. 23) and half-rupee.

*Obv.*

پادشاه  
جهاندار شه  
جهان  
چو صاحب قران  
سکه  
بزد برزر ۱۱۲۴

*Rev.* Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

B. A. H. 1124—۱۱۲۵

Rupee (see Fig. 24).

*Obv.* Same as in A, but with م substituted for زر in the lowest line, which thus reads :—

بزد برمه ۱۱۲۴

*Rev.* Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

C. A. H. ۱۱۲۴—۱ حد

Muhr (B. M. Catal., No. 879) and rupee (*see* Fig. 25).

*Obv.* ابو الفتح غازي جهاندار  
شاه  
چون مهر و ماه  
سکه ۱۱۲۴  
در افاق زد

*Rev.* Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

A *Copper* coin of Jahāndār struck at Sūrāt, and now in my possession, reads as follows :—

Ac. Date wanting.

*Obv.*

جهاندارم  
نورسلطان

*Rev.*

.....  
سنه احد جلوس  
ضرب  
سور .....

The Reverse legend seems from the above fragment to have been identical with that of the E type of Aurangzeb.

FARRUKH-SIYAR : A. H. ۱۱۲۴—۱۱۳۱ ; A.D. ۱۷۱۳—۱۷۱۹.

A. From A. H. ۲—۲ till A. H. [۱۱]۳۱—۸.

Rupee (*see* Fig. 26) and half-rupee.

*Obv.*

محمد رفیع سیار  
از فضل حق باد  
شاه  
سکه ۱۱۲۸  
نادر سیم وزنه

*Rev.* Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

Mr. Frāmji Jāmaspji Thānāwālā possesses an undated *Copper* coin struck at Sūrāt in the reign of Farrukh-siyar. From drawings that

he has been so kind as to send me it is evident that this Fulūs bears portions of the following legends :—

*Obv.*

فرخ سیر  
شاه  
فلوس پاد

*Rev.* Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

Compare also the copper coin of Farrukh-siyar, No. 36, in King and Vost's "Some Novelties in Moghal Coins" (Num. Chron., Vol. XVI, Third Series).

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RAFI'AL DARAJĀT : A. H. 1131 ; A.D. 1719.

A. A. H. 1131—حد | Rupee (*see* Fig. 27).

*Obv.*

۱۱۳۱ رفیع الدرجات  
ت  
برکات شاهنشاه بحر و بر  
ت  
زد بازاران  
سکه بهند

*Rev.* Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

---

A *Copper* coin in my collection bears only the following fragmentary inscription :—

*Obv.*

رفیع الدرجات  
ت

*Rev.*

.....  
سنة احد جلوس  
ضرب  
سورت

SHĀH JAHĀN II : A. H. 1131 ; A. D. 1719.

A. A. H. 1131—حد | Muhr and Rupee (*see* Fig. 28) and half-rupee

*Obv.*

شاه جهان  
پادشاه غاز  
سکه مبار ۱۱۳۱

*Rev.* Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

MUḤAMMAD SHĀH : A. H. 1131—1161 ; A. D. 1719—1748.

A. A. H. 1131—**احد** | — and — **احد** 1132 |

Muhr (B. M. Catal, No. 953) and Rupee (*see* Fig. 29).

*Obv.*

بلف الم محمد

شاه

پادشاه زمان

سکه

زد در جهان ۱۱۳۱

*Rev.* Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

The few coins known of this type were till recently attributed to Nikū-siyar, that unfortunate prince—a grandson of Aurangzeb—who, having suffered imprisonment for forty years, was suddenly raised to the Imperial throne, and after but 105 days of regal splendour was again consigned to the dungeon in the fort at Āgra. However we can now with confidence affirm that no coins issued in Nikū-siyar's name from the Sūrāt mint. In the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for April, 1899 (pages 55, 56), Mr. Irvine supplied the translation of an interesting passage from the *Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadi*, in which it is distinctly recorded that, on receipt at Sūrāt of the tidings of Muḥammad Shāh's elevation to the throne, an official assembly was convened, at which the accession was proclaimed by beat of drum, and the royal prayer (*khutba*) was recited. Forthwith coins were struck at Sūrāt, bearing, according to the express statement of the *Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadi*, the very legend that distinguishes the type now under discussion.

Muḥammad Shāh began to reign only some six weeks before the close of the year 1131 Hijrī, and coins of this rare “Pādshāh Zamān” type are known dated that year and the following. Before the close, however, of the first year of Muḥammad Shāh's reign the new-fangled legend, which had nowhere indeed won acceptance save at the Sūrāt mint, was abandoned, and thereupon Sūrāt, falling into line with the other imperial mints, began to issue coins bearing that “Pādshāh Ghāzī” inscription which remained till the close of Muḥammad's reign, some thirty years later, the norm for the imperial currency. Thus the

coins—muhrs and rupees—struck at Sūrāt during Muḥammad Shāh's first regnal year fall into three classes :—

- (a) Those dated 1131 H., and bearing the "Pādshāh Zamān" legend;
- (b) those dated 1132 H., and bearing the same rare legend ;
- (c) those dated 1132 H., and bearing the normal "Pādshāh Ghāzī" legend.

B. From A. H. 1131—حد|—till A. H. 1155—25.

Muhr (Br. Mus. Catal., No. 967a) and rupee (see Fig. 30).

*Obv.* ۱۱۳۳ محمد شاه

پادشاه غاز  
ل  
سکه مبار

*Rev.* Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

Two types are known of Muḥammad Shāh's *Copper* coins of Sūrāt.

A<sub>c</sub>. *Obv.* محمد شاه

شاه  
فلوس پاد ۱۱۳۲

*Rev.* Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

B<sub>c</sub>. *Obv.* محمد شاه غاز

فلوس.....

*Rev.* Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

AḤMAD SHAH : A. H. 1161–1167 ; A. D. 1748–1754.

A. A. H. x—حد| and A. H. x—2.

Rupee (see Fig. 31).

*Obv.* احمد شاه بهادر

پادشاه غاز  
ل  
سکه مبار

*Rev.* Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

‘ĀLAMGĪR II. : A. H. 1167—1173 ; A. D. 1754—1759.

A. From A. H. 11 x x—2 till A. H. x—5.

Double rupee <sup>1</sup> (see Fig. 32) and rupee.

*Obv.*

۱۱... عالم گیر

پادشاه غاز  
ل  
سکه مبار

*Rev.* Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

SHĀH JAHĀN III. : A. H. 1173—1174 ; A. D. 1759—1760.

A. A. H. 117 x—حد ۱ ; [11]75—حد ۱ ; 1178—حد ۱ ; 118 x—حد ۱

Rupee (see Fig. 33) and half-rupee.

*Obv.*

۱۱۷...  
شاه جهان  
پادشاه غاز  
ل  
سکه مبار

*Rev.* Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

As Shāh Jahān was deposed on the 29th of Ṣafar, A. H. 1174<sup>2</sup>, it is difficult to account satisfactorily for the dates [11]75, 1178, and 118 x, all coupled with the regnal year حد ۱. That other claimants bearing the name of Shāh Jahān arose in these years to contest the crown with Shāh ‘Ālam is not, so far as I can discover, recorded in any history of India. May we venture to assume that the workmen at the Sūrat mint had grown careless, and that these years find a place on the coins through mistake?

<sup>1</sup> For a description and illustration of this Double Rupee see Mr. Nelson Wright's articles in Numismatic Supplement V, Journal and Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal (New Series), Vol. I., No. 10, 1905.

<sup>2</sup> See Dowson and Elliot's: "History of India," Vol. VIII., p. 278.

SHĀH 'ĀLAM II. : A. H. 1173—1221 ; A. D. 1759—1806.

A. H. x—4 ; A. H. x—5 ; A. H. x—6 ; also from A. H. 1197—24 till A. H. x—49.

*Double rupee* <sup>1</sup>, rupee (*see* Fig. 34), half-rupee, and 2-anna piece.

*Obv.*

۱۱۹۷  
شاه عالم  
←  
پادشاه غاز  
ل  
سکه مبار

*Rev.* Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

In A. H. 1215 (A. D. 1800), if not indeed earlier, the East India Company's mint at Bombay struck "Sūrat" muhrs and rupees : but the evidence from coins still occasionally to be obtained in the bazars precludes the inference that in that year the Mughal coinage ceased to issue from the Sūrat mint. It would seem to have lingered on for a few more years, though, doubtless, the output was small. My cabinet contains a rupee of the regnal year 46 of make quite different from the familiar "46 san rupee" issued by the H. E. I. Company; also another rupee of distinctly native workmanship yet bearing as its date so late a regnal year as 49, the very last year of Shāh 'Ālam's reign.

III. The period of the East India Company's Currency : A. H. 1215—1251 ; A. D. 1800—1835<sup>2</sup>.

The year H. 1215 witnessed a revival of the old Sūrat Maḥmūdī coinage, bearing the name of the Emperor Akbar, deceased nearly two centuries, a revival that continued seemingly for just two years. What circumstances led up to the issue of so old a type of coin, and, further, what occasioned its final withdrawal, are questions that still await a satisfactory answer. Can these coins have been struck by

<sup>1</sup> On this double rupee, dated A. H. x—4, in the possession of Mr. R. F. Malabār-wālā of Bombay, *see* the article by Mr. Nelson Wright in the Numismatic Supplement V. Compare also Note 13.

<sup>2</sup> In the Indian Museum Catalogue, page 99f, all the Sūrat coins of the East India Company are entered as dated either H. 1205 or H. 1210. If these readings be correct, the figures are probably in both cases due to faulty workmanship in the engraving of the dies, thus | ۲۰۵ for | ۲۱۵ and | ۲۱۰ also for | ۲۱۵.

way of protest against the imperious action of the H. E. I. Company in issuing its "Sūrat" rupees in that same year H. 1215? And was the so early disappearance of these Maḥmūdīs in H. 1217 an indirect consequence of that year's treaty at Bassein, whereby sole and undisputed control over the district became vested in the English? These problems we must, I fancy, be content to leave for the present unsolved.

If the East India Company struck any "Sūrat" coins, whether in that city or in Bombay, prior to H. 1215, they are undistinguishable from the Mughal coins. The Company's muhrs and rupees, which, according to Prinsep, the Bombay Mint<sup>1</sup> recommenced issuing in A.D. 1800 (A.H. 1214-15), were all struck in the name of the Emperor Shāh'Ālam, and on all were inscribed the same Obv. and Rev. legends as had for forty years obtained on his coins.

Thus : *Obv.*

شاه عالم  
 —  
 پادشاه غاز  
 ك  
 سكه مبار

*Rev.*—Same as in the E type of Aurangzeb.

As to their fabric, however, the Company's coins struck at Sūrat readily fall into two classes—those of native fabric or hand-made, and those of English fabric or machine-made.

A. The H. E. I. Company's "Sūrat" Coins of Native Fabric were issued in both gold and silver. Of these four sub-classes may be distinguished :—



- (a) On the Obverse over the شاه of پادشاه comes an oval label, bearing the figures of the Christian year 1802. Also on the Reverse the جلوس of ر is superscribed by a crowned head. See Brit. Mus. Catal., page 281, No. 81.
- (b) On the Obverse for the uppermost of the dots over شاه of پادشاه a small crown is substituted. On the Reverse the regnal year is 46. See Brit. Mus. Catal., page 281, No. 82.

<sup>1</sup> One coin—a quarter-rupee—is entered in the British Museum Catalogue (p. 280, No. 80) as having been struck at the mint "Mumbai-Sūrat." This is, however, a curious error, for the coin really issued from the mint at Mahisūr (Mysore). See Numismatic Supplement V, Journal and Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal (New Series), Vol. I, No. 4, 1905.


(c) The coins of this sub-class are identical with those of 

save that the distinctive crown is absent. These coins are thus in appearance virtually the same as the *Mughal* coins struck in the regnal year 46. See Brit. Mus. Catal., page 282, No. 87.

(d) The Obverse and the Reverse are the same as in 

but the silver coins of this sub-class bear the figures 1825 incused on a raised label on the Reverse over the  of  (See Fig. 35). See Brit. Mus. Catal., page 282, No. 85.

B. The H. E. I. Company's Sūrat coins, in gold and silver, of English Fabric. Of these are the following three sub-classes:—

(a) Edge milled with straight milling , and both on Obverse and on Reverse linear circle round rim (see Fig. 36).

(b) Plain edge, and both on Obverse and on Reverse serrated rim (see Fig. 37).

(c) Plain edge, and both on Obverse and on Reverse raised plain rim (see Fig. 38).

All the "Sūrat" coins of English Fabric bear, as their date, above the top line of the Obverse the Hijrī year ۱۲۱۵ and (with, perhaps, the sole exception of the 1802 muhrs) all the Company's "Sūrat" coins, whether of Native or of English Fabric, have, as a fixed date, the regnal year 46.

The machine-made coins of the H. E. I. Company continued in circulation till A. D. 1835 (A. H. 1250-51), and, finally, that year witnessed the introduction of the uniform Imperial Coinage which still constitutes the standard currency for all British India.

AHMADĀBĀD,

12th May, 1906.

The chief interest of this article certainly attaches to the three Plates that illustrate it. These have been prepared from beautiful photographs of the original coins taken by my kind friend, Mr. Henry Cousens, M.R.A.S., the accomplished Superintendent of the

Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle, who, as on previous occasions, so now again, has thus placed the readers of this *Journal* under a debt of obligation.

G. P. T.

PLATE I.

No.	Emperor.	YEAR.		Metal.	Weight in Grains.	Typical of Hijri Period.
		Hijri.	Regnal.			
1	Akbar ... ..	994	...	Silver.	86	Cir. 985—1027 and 1215—1217 H.
2	Jahāngīr ... ..	1031	17	S	175	1030—1033 H.
3	Jahāngīr a n d Nūr Jahān ... ..	1033	19	S	176	1033—1037 H.
4	Shāh Jahān I. ... ..	1037	1	S	175	1037 H.
5	„ ... ..	1037	1	S	175	1037 H.
6	„ ... ..	1037	1	S	174	1037 <i>Hijri</i> (written).
7	„ ... ..	1046	9	S	171	1043—1046 H.
8	„ ... ..	...	12	S	176	1048—1051 H.
9	„ ... ..	...	29	S	174	1052—1067 H.
10	„ ... ..	?	?	S	177	?—square.
11	„ ... ..	1057	21	S	176	1057 H.

PLATE II.

No.	Emperor.	YEAR.		Metal.	Weight in Grains.	Typical of Hijri Period.
		Hijri.	Regnal.			
12	Shāh Jahān I. ... ..	1067	31	Silver.	176	1067-1068 H.
13	Murād Bakhsh ... ..	1068	1	S	176	1068 H.
14	„ ... ..	1068	1	S	176	1068 H.
*15	Aurangzeb ... ..	1070	1	S	175	1070 H.
16	„ ... ..	1071	3	S	174	1071—1078 H.
†17	„ ... ..	...	8	S	176	1075—1089 H.
†18	„ ... ..	1089	...	S	176	1089 H.
19	„ ... ..	1104	36	S	175	1090—1118 H.
20	„ ... ..	1089	22	Copper.	212	1089—1119 H.
21	A'zam Shāh ... ..	1119	1	S	170	1118—1119 H.
22	Shāh 'Ālam I. ... ..	1122	4	S	177	1119—1123 H.

• On this rupee Sūrat bears the epithet *Bandar mubāra* .  
† Reverse only is shown on the Plate.  
‡ Obverse only is shown on the Plate.

## PLATE III.

No.	Emperor.	YEAR.		Metal.	Weight in Grains.	Typical of Hijrī Period.
		Hijrī.	Regnal.			
*23	Jahāndār ...	1124	...	Silver.	176	1124 H.
*24	" ...	1124	...	S	176	1124 H.
*25	" ...	1124	...	S	177	1124 H.
*26	Farrukh-siyar ...	1128	...	S	177	1125—1131 H.
*27	Rafī 'al darajāt ...	1131	...	S	177	1131 H.
*28	Shāh Jahān II ...	1131	...	S	177	1131 H.
*29	Muḥammad Shāh.	1131	...	S	177	1131—1132 H.
*30	" ...	1133	...	S	177	1131—1155 H.
*31	Aḥmad Shāh ...	...	...	S	174	1161—1162 H.
†32	'Ālamgīr II ...	...	5	S	357	1171 H.
*33	Shāh Jahān III ...	117 x	...	S	176	117 x—118 x H.
*34	Shāh 'Ālam II ...	1197	...	S	165	1177—1221 H.
35	Shāh 'Ālam II ...	1825 A.D.	...	S	180	} Struck by the H. E. I. Com- pany.
36	" ...	1215 H.	...	S	177	
*37	" ...	1215 H.	...	S	179	
†38	" ...	...	46	S	83	

\* Obverse only is shown on the Plate.

† This is a Double Rupee.

‡ The Reverse only of this Half Rupee is shown on the Plate.













**ART. XVIII.—Bombay, as seen by Dr. Edward Ives in the  
year 1754 A.D.**

**BY JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A.**

*(Read 12th October 1906.)*

Dr. Edward Ives was a Surgeon in His Majesty's Navy and served in the Mediterranean from 1744 to 1746. Then he served for some years in England. From 1753 to 1757 he was Surgeon of the "Kent," bearing the flag of Vice-Admiral Charles Watson, Commander-in-Chief in the East Indies. On the Admiral's death in 1757, he retired from service in India and returned home *via* Persian Gulf. He reached England in 1759. He continued on half pay till 1777. He was then superannuated in 1777. He died in 1786. It was in 1773 that he published his book of Travels.<sup>1</sup> The title of the book is rather a very long one. It runs thus :

" A  
Voyage from  
England to India  
In the year MDCCLIV.  
And an  
Historical Narrative  
of

The Operations of the Squadron and Army in India, under the Command of Vice-Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive, in the years 1755, 1756, 1757 ; including a Correspondence between the Admiral and the Nabob Serajah Dowlah.

Interspersed with  
Some interesting passages relating to the manners, customs, &c., of  
several nations in Indostan

Also, a  
Journey from Persia to England  
By an unusual route

With  
An Appendix

Containing an account of the diseases prevalent in Admiral Watson's squadron ; a description of most of the trees, shrubs, and

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Dictionary of National Biography, edited by Sidney Lee, Vol. XXIX (1892), p. 79.

plants of India, with their real, or supposed, medicinal virtues : Also a copy of a letter written by a late ingenious physician, on the disorders incidental to Europeans at Gombroon in the Gulf of Persia,

Illustrated with a Chart, Maps and other Copper-plates

BY EDWARD IVES, ESQ.,

Formerly Surgeon of Admiral Watson's ship and  
of His Majesty's Hospital in the East Indies.

London.

Printed for Edward and Charles Dilly.

MDCCLXXIII."

I find this book mentioned in the Catalogue of the books of the library of our Society printed in 1875, as "Ives (Edward).—Voyage from England to India, also a Journey from Persia to England, 4to. Lond., 1773." It is marked as AA-a-17. But its name bears an asterisk in the printed catalogue, which means that in 1775 the book was either "damaged or missing." I find on inquiry from our librarian that it is missing.

The late Dr. Gerson DaGunha has given us an excellent paper entitled "The Origin of Bombay." It is published in 1900 as an extra number of the Journal of our Society. Therein, Dr. Ives's book is not referred to. The Bombay Gazetteer<sup>1</sup> refers to this book especially in its account of the Ângriâs.<sup>2</sup> Therein, Dr. Ives's account of the taking of Gheria by Admiral Watson is interpolated in the larger account<sup>3</sup> from Robert Orme.<sup>4</sup> I am not sure if the writer of the Gazetteer has quoted directly from Dr. Ives's book, as I find some discrepancies in the references given.<sup>5</sup> Again Dr. Ives's book is referred to in the Bombay Quarterly Review of 1857.<sup>6</sup> But, I find that, as far as I know, Dr. Ives's short account of Bombay is not referred to at any length by any writer, at least on this side of the country. So, the object of this paper is to give a short account of Bombay as seen by Dr. Ives in 1754.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. I, Part II., pp. 88, 93, 94. Vol. X, pp. 381, 382. Vol. XIII, p. 499.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. I, Part II, pp. 87—96.

<sup>3</sup> A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan from the year 1745, Vol. I, (Fourth Edition of 1799), pp. 407—417.

<sup>4</sup> For the life of this author, *vide* "Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire, of the Marattoes, and of the English concerns in Indostan, from the year 1659," by Robert Orme (1805,) pp. V—LXVII.

<sup>5</sup> For example (a) the Gazetteer, Vol. I, Part II, p. 93, n.2. There, the p. 82 referred to in the note does not refer to the matter spoken of. (b) The page referred to as p. 82 of Ives on p. 94 of the Gazetteer must be p. 85.

<sup>6</sup> The Bombay Quarterly Review, Vol. V, January and April, 1857, p. 162. Article entitled "An Age of Progress in Bombay."

From his title page, we learn that, though the year of our author's principal visit of Bombay was 1754, the book was published in 1773, *i.e.*, about 19 years afterwards. It was dedicated to Sir Charles Watson, Bart., the son of the Admiral in whose fleet Dr. Ives had served and visited India. The dedication is interesting, as it aims thereby to set before a son, for his improvement, the example of a worthy father. It says: "If what I have written of your excellent Father . . . shall contribute to your improvement, and set you forward in the paths of virtue, I then shall be beyond measure happy."

Our author thus describes the occasion of his voyage.

"Immediately after the peace of Aix la Chapelle, or as soon as our sea and land forces under the command of Admiral Boscawen had left the Indies and were on their return to England, Mons. Dupleix, Governor of Pondicherry, began by his intrigues to sow the seeds of dissention among the country princes; and when he had so far succeeded as to set them at variance with one another, he sent a body of European troops into the field, as auxiliaries to those Nabobs who espoused the French interest, and who, by dint of this supply, gained several successive advantages over the other princes who were friends to our East India Company. Mustapha-Jing, a powerful prince, and Chunda-Saeb, an enterprising general, were those with whom he was principally connected, and whom he made use of as instruments for bringing out his ambitious designs—Designs no less extensive, than of acquiring for his nation an absolute ascendancy over the whole Carnatic and Deccan, and for himself, immortal honour and immense riches. The English presidency were possessed of such convincing proofs of his insatiable avarice, and thirst for power, that they prudently and resolutely determined to exert their utmost abilities in putting a stop to his violent, and hitherto rapid proceedings; for that purpose, they, under the character of allies, joined their forces with the armies of a prince called Nazir-Jing, and of the Nabob of Arcot named Mahomed-Aly, against whom their enemies were now taking the field<sup>1</sup>."

Admiral Watson's flag ship "Kent," of which our author was the medical officer, left Spithead for Plymouth, the rendezvous of the fleet, on 22nd February 1754. They left Portsmouth on 9th March and sailed for Cork in Ireland, to take on board from there, the king's troops under command of Col. Adlercron. While sailing to that port they were overtaken by a storm and so

<sup>1</sup> "Ives's Voyage," pp. 1—2.

had to anchor at Kingsale on 12th March. From there he wrote to Col. Adlercron to march to that town with his troops. On the 19th the raging storm disabled two ships of his small fleet of 6 ships, the whole strength of which was altogether 226 guns. The Admiral sailed from Kingsale on the 24th March with only four ships and taking as many troops as he could accommodate. The two disabled ships were ordered to proceed to Plymouth with some more troops who were to proceed to India in some other ships that the Admiralty may prepare to replace the disabled ships. On 6th April, they anchored at Fonchial road off the island of Madeira, "a place," according to our author, "famous for supplying not only Europe, but all our settlements in both the Indies, with a most excellent wine." We know that the town has not as yet lost the fame, and the "Madeira wine" is still well-known. The price of the wine, at that time, says our author, was from £ 20 to 22 for a pipe (*i.e.*, a cask containing two hogsheads or 126 gallons).

The following opinion of our author, regarding the zeal of the Portuguese to observe their holidays, is worth noting, to enable those who are interested in these people to judge if matters have changed. Our author says :—

"Whilst we continued at Madeira, we met with many disagreeable delays in supplying our squadron with wine and other refreshments, on account of the Passion-week, and the carnival that followed it, at which season all business there is at a stand and strangers are sure to be entertained with much gaudy, superstitious mummary. The custom indeed of celebrating this festival with a great deal of religious pageantry, is observed in all Popish countries, but probably nowhere carried to so great an height as among the Portuguese, who are the most bigotted to the fopperies of their religion of any nation under the Sun."<sup>1</sup>

The fleet left Madeira on 19th April at 10 A.M., saw the island of Palma, one of the Canaries, on the 23rd, "got into the trade winds" on the 25th, "were in sight of the Bonavista, one of the Cape de Verd Islands," on the 26th or 27th. In the middle of May, the "ship being too much crowded with stores and men and consequently very hot between decks, the crew became so sickly" that in 6 days they buried 7 men and 160 were on the sick list suffering from "putrid fevers." This fever was the result of eating the stock-fish, a part of their tinned provision getting putrid.

<sup>1</sup> "Ives's Voyage," p. 4.

In their voyage they shot off the Cape of Good Hope an "albatrose," a sea fowl "which measured  $17\frac{1}{2}$  feet from wing to wing." A shark also was caught "which had the horns, skin, and many bones of a bullock in the belly. After it was dead and dried, a very large man passed through its jaws."<sup>1</sup>

They arrived at Madagascar on 17th July. Madagascar was then governed by 4 or 5 kings who were frequently at war with each other. The beef of Madagascar was then well known. The bullocks of the Island weighed from 600 to 700 pounds. The chiefs of the King's court "prided themselves in being called by English names. And the King's own family likewise, in imitation of the court of England, is not without a Prince of Wales, a Duke of Cumberland, a Prince Augustus, and Princesses, distinguished by English names. All the great men abovementioned, came on board naked, except a covering over their hips, and another over their shoulders."

The fleet touched the shore of India at the Fort of St. David near Madras on the 10th of September 1754.

Dr. Ives left Fort St. David on 11th October and his ship, Salisbury,<sup>2</sup> anchored in what he called "Bombay Road" on the 13th of November 1754. He gives the following description of Bombay<sup>3</sup>:—

"Bombay is a small island, but for its size, perhaps the most flourishing of any this day in the universe. Though the soil is so barren as not to produce any one thing worth mentioning, yet the convenience of its situation will always more than make up for that defect. It may justly be styled 'the grand storehouse of all the Arabian and Persian commerce.' When this island was first surrendered to us by the Portuguese, we hardly thought it worth notice; but, in a very few years afterwards, we experimentally found the value of it, and it is now become our chief settlement of the Malabar Coast."

Speaking of the natives of this island, he says that, though shorter, they are stronger than the people of the Coromandel Coast. He got this idea of their strength from the number of men that carried

<sup>1</sup> "Ives's Voyage," p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> It was in this ship that the late Mr. Nowrojee Rustomji Seth, the first Parsee to visit England, had sailed from here in 1723. (Parsee Prakāsh, Vol. I., p. 24).

<sup>3</sup> Ives's Voyage, p. 31. His description of Bombay, is referred to in the "Bombay Quarterly Review," Vol. V, January and April 1857, pp. 161-162, in the article entitled "An Age of Progress in Bombay, 1740-1762."

the palanquin, which was one of the principal kinds of conveyances here up to about 50 or 60 years ago. He says four coolies carried a palanquin here, while six were required at Madras. "The people of this island were," he says, "made up of every nation in Asia."

I will quote here at full length what he says of my own co-religionists, the Parsees. He says :—

"We met with several Persees, who, like their forefathers, the ancient Persians, are followers of Zoroaster, who is said to have modelled and reduced into order the religion of the ancient Magi, the fundamental maxim of which was the worshipping only one God under the symbol of light. They adore the sun, and particularly the rising sun, with the profoundest reverence and veneration; and by a natural consequence of the worship they pay the sun, they likewise pay a particular veneration to fire.

"I met with a very remarkable instance of this while I was at Bombay; one day passing through the street, I heard a very uncommon noise, and seeing at the same time a large fire in one of the houses, curiosity led me a little closer to it: in the middle of the house was set a large brass pan with a fire in it: before this fire, or rather on each side of it, two men were kneeling at their devotions, which they hurried over with great rapidity. I looked on for a considerable time with great attention, and afterwards learned from a servant of the admirals, who was of this *cast*, that one of them was a priest, then on a visit to another priest in a fit of sickness. This servant likewise told me, that the Persees have such a veneration for fire, that they never put it out, or so much as breathe upon it; and I took particular notice, that while these priests were at prayers over the pan of coals, they had a kind of little white bib over their mouth, as I imagined, to prevent their breathing on their favourite element. The prayers appeared to me, to be only a repetition of the same set of words, from the similarity of their sounds. The visiting priest used many gestures with his hands over the fire, and afterwards stroked down the face of the sick priest, which I looked upon as the final benediction, for presently afterward the ceremony ended. This instance strongly corroborates Prideaux's observation<sup>1</sup> concerning their usage at public worship. 'The priests themselves never approach this fire in their temples but with a cloth over their mouths, that they might not breathe thereon: and this they did not only when

<sup>1</sup> The reference is to Dr. Humphrey Prideaux's "The Old and New Testaments connected in the History of the Jews and neighbouring nations." Part I. Bk. IV (17th Edition of 1815), Vol. I, p. 269.

they tended the fire to lay on more wood, or do any other service about it, but also when they approached to read the daily offices of their liturgy before it. So that they mumbled over their prayers, rather than spoke them, in the same manner as the Romish priests do their masses, without letting the people present articulately hear one word of what they said.' " <sup>1</sup>

I will make a few observations on some of the statements of Dr. Ives in the above passage.

The prayer referred to above as being recited by the visiting priest over the sick priest seems to be the Ardibehesht Yasht (Yasht 3). There are two points in our author's statements which point to that identification.

1. The first is that the visiting priest used many gestures with his hands over the fire and afterwards stroked down the face of the sick priest.
2. The second is that the prayer seemed to him "to be only a repetition of the same set of words from the similarity of their sounds."

Ardibehesht is the third of the seven Ameshâspends or archangels of the Parsees. His Avesta name is Asha Vahishta, *i.e.*, the best purity. In the word 'Asha' or purity, both physical and mental purities are included. So, this archangel is believed to preside over the best purity. Health both physical and mental or spiritual, gives purity. So, Asha Vahishta prssides over health also. He is therefore invoked in case of illness. The Hûspâram *nask*, as described in the Dînkard, says :

"Where it is the healing of the sick, the spiritual debt is unto the archangel Asha Vahisht, and that which is worldly unto the physician's anteroom (drugs)." <sup>2</sup> What is meant is this: When a man recovers from illness, we are indebted to two sources for his recovery—one, the Divine power, as represented by the Ameshâspend, Asha Vahishta, and the other, the human power as represented by the medical man who treats the sick man. As Prof. Darmesteter points out, this reminds us of the words of the eminent French physician Ambroise Paré, who is known in France as the Father of Surgery. He used to say: "Je panse et Dieu guérit," *i.e.*, "I dress (the wounds) and God cures." He meant to say that the medical men only dress the wounds, to cure a patient, but

<sup>1</sup> Ives's *Voyages*, pp. 31-32.

<sup>2</sup> S. B. E. XXXVII, p. 115, Dinkard, Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVII, 14. *I'ide* Le Zend Avesta, par Darmesteter, Vol. II, p. 115.

it is God who really cures him. In the Ardibehesht Yasht itself, of all the remedies for a sick man's illness, the best is considered to be that of the Holy Word, *i.e.*, that which strengthens and influences his mind. This being the case, the recital of the Ardibehesht Yasht, before sick persons, was often resorted to even up to the last century, and it is not unknown even now.

“The stroking down the face” of the sick patient while reciting the Ardibehesht Yasht consists now-a-days in making a few passes over the body with a handkerchief, or with the hand, and then clapping the fingers of the hand. This process is now known as “Ardibehesht Yasht ni pichi.”

Fire, as the refulgent symbol of the Glory of God and the visible form of heat that pervades and purifies the whole earth is a symbol of purity. So, Asha Vahishta or Ardibehesht presides over fire also. Hence it is that, as Dr. Ives describes, the fire was placed before the sick patient while the Yasht was recited. But one can recite that Yasht even without the fire.

Now Dr. Ives says that the prayer seemed to him “to be the repetition of the same set of words from the similarity of their sounds.” That statement also proves the fact that the prayer recited by the priest and heard by him was the Ardibehesht Yasht, because of all the Avesta writings, the Ardibehesht Yasht is one where there is a good deal of repetition with a slight change of words.

The “little white bib” which, according to Dr. Ives, was put on by the priest while reciting the prayer before fire was the *padân* or *paitidâna*, put on, even now, by Parsee priests.

Dr. Ives thinks that what he saw, *viz.*, the priests reciting their prayers with a piece of cloth over their mouths, corroborated Prideaux's observation that the Parsee priests mumbled over their prayers like Romish priests. That is not always the case. The present prayer book of the Parsees contains writings both in the ancient Avesta language and the later Pazend. So, whenever they have to recite the Pazend portion in the midst of the Avesta scriptures, they do so with a suppressed tone, which is technically known among them as reciting in *bâj* and which Firdousi refers to, as reciting in *samsame* زمزمه

Then Dr. Ives thus refers to the Parsee custom of the disposal of their dead and of their places of disposal now known as the Towers-of-Silence.

“ As the Gentoos burn their dead, one would think that the Parsees, who are so fond of worshipping their deity under the representation of fire, should be desirous of having their dead bodies committed to that element, wherein they suppose their creator principally to reside. But contrary to this, and to the custom of all other nations in the world, they neither burn nor bury their dead, but cast them out in the open air, to be exposed to the several elements, where they are soon devoured by eagles, vultures, and other birds of prey. The principle they go upon is, that a living man being compounded of all the elements, it is but reasonable, after he is dead, that every particular element should receive its own again. On the top of Malabar-hill, in this island of Bombay, are two round buildings, on purpose for receiving the dead bodies of the Parsees, which are placed and remain there till the bones are clean picked by the birds. A guard constantly stands within a small distance of the place, who is very much displeased if you offer to approach the buildings ; and for this reason, lest by your going too near, you disturb the vultures in their preying upon the dead bodies. One afternoon, however, I resolved to satisfy my curiosity so far as to peep into one of these edifices. I perceived several dead bodies, but there was little flesh left upon the bones ; and that little was so parched up by the excessive heat of the sun, that it did not emit those stinking effluvia which there was reason to expect. It was owing probably to the same cause, that the bones were rendered quite black.” <sup>1</sup>

The pictures of the towers that he gives seems to be imaginary, because the two towers that he refers to, still exist, and one can see at once, that his sketches differ. First of all, he has shown them to be of the same size, which, as a matter of fact, they are not. Again the outward appearances also differ.

We note that our author does not speak of the places serving as receptacles of the bodies, as towers, but only as “ round buildings.”

The word Towers has latterly come into use. There was some discussion, about a year ago<sup>2</sup>, as to who first brought the words “ Tower-of-Silence ” into use. Sir George Birdwood said that it was the late Mr. Robert Xavier Murphy who first used the term. I supported his statement, and said that it was in 1832, that the term was first used in a card printed in the *Bombay Gazette* by the late Mr. Framji Cowasji when he built the “ Tower-of-Silence ” which is

<sup>1</sup> Ives' Voyage, pp. 32 and 33.

<sup>2</sup> Vide Sir George Birdwood's letter to the *London Times* of 8th August 1905. Vide that letter quoted in the *Times of India* of 29th August 1905. Vide my letter to the *Times of India* of 3rd October 1905.

known by his name. The late Mr. Murphy, who was latterly the Editor of the *Bombay Gazette*, had, at the time of the publication of that card in the *Bombay Gazette* of 28th March 1832, some connection with the paper. So, it appears that, when Mr Framjee Cowasji asked the *Bombay Gazette* to print his card or general invitation to Europeans and other non-Zorastrians to come and see the round building he had built for the disposal of the dead of his community, Mr. Murphy, who must have been connected with the *Gazette* in some capacity before he became its editor, coined this new phrase "Tower-of-Silence" for the first time.

Sir George Birdwood in his letter to the *London Times* above referred to, calls the phrase "Tower-of-Silence" "a fine figure of speech." I will take this opportunity to say, what must have suggested this fine figure of speech to Mr. Murphy. He was an Oriental Scholar and was at one time Oriental Translator to Government. As such, he was versed in Oriental literature and among that, in Persian and Hindustani literature. Now in Persian the word for "Silence" or for "the Silent" is *khámush* خاموش. This word *khámush* is also figuratively used for the "dead." Dr. Steingass gives both these meanings for this word *khámush*.<sup>1</sup> Then, as to the word 'Tower', it is natural that the structure being round, the word Tower at once struck Mr. Murphy as an appropriate word.

So it seems that the Persian word *khámush*, meaning 'Silence' or 'Silent' as well as 'dead', suggested to Mr. Murphy the phrase "Tower-of-Silence."

A few Hindustani quotations, wherein the word *khámush* is used for the dead, have been kindly supplied to me by my friend Munshi Khan Saheb Farrudin. I am indebted to him for this suggestion as to the possible way which may have suggested to Mr. Murphy this figure of speech.

(ناسخ)

عیش تنہائی ہوا مردوں کی کثرت سے محال  
جاؤں اب یارب کہاں شہر خموشان چہرہ زگر

Translation—(The complaint of a departed soul)—

"The solitary enjoyment has become impossible owing to the infinite number of the dead. Oh God! where am I to go leaving the City of Silence, i.e., the cemetery."

*Vide* his Persian-English Dictionary, p. 443, the word *Khamush* خاموش

ایضاً

گذر ناگاہ جو میرا ہوا شہر خموشان میں  
عجب نقشہ نظر وہاں شاہانِ عالم کا  
کہیں آئینہ زانوی سکندر کا شکستہ تھا  
کسی جانب پڑا تھا کاسٹہ سر خاک میں جم کا

Translation—(A living man draws a picture of the unstability of the worldly greatness.)

“ I happened to go once in the City of Silence (*i.e.*, to the cemetery), where a wonderful sight of the state of the kings of the world, came to my vision. On one side was lying the knee of Alexander and on the other the skull of Jam (shed).”

استعمال شہر خموشان

(از آباد لکھنوی)

دیکھ کر آئینہ رخ اوس کا سکتہ ہو گیا  
جیتے جی ہم داخل شہر خموشان ہو گئے

“ We were so much affected that we remained motionless (literally smitten with apoplexy) on seeing her (beloved's) mirror-like face. We felt like entering alive the City of Silence.”

(از ناسخ لکھنوی)

جس جگہ تھے قصر و منظر بن گئیں گورین تمام  
شہر جو آباد تھے شہر خموشان ہو گئے

“The spot which had lofty palaces and beautiful sights is now full of graves.

The cities which were once populous have now become cities of silence, *i.e.*, grave-yards.”

I have come across an old document in the records of the Parsee Panchayet, which shows that the Portugese used the word ‘well’ for the Tower. In a document dated 1st May 1796 we find the following words : “ Poço dós Parcois aon de passrað seus defuntos”,

*i.e.*, the Parsees' well, through which their dead bodies pass. The document is a deed of sale of a hill, named Ragi, by one Krishnoba to Mr. Dady Nusserwanjee. Some Portuguese documents of the years 1710 to 1739 speak of the Towers as cemeteries or sepulchres. (*Vide* the Zartoshti of month Farvardin 1276 Yazdezardi, Vol. IV., No. 1.)

There is one statement in the above description of Dr. Ives which appears to me to be useful in determining the date of the construction of one of the old Parsi Towers-of-Silence in Bombay. He speaks of having seen "two round buildings" or towers. Unfortunately, these two towers, the two oldest of the five public towers standing in the Parsee ground, known as Doongarwadi among the Parsees, have no tablets to give the dates of their construction. But, fortunately, it is three old European travellers that have come to our help, in determining, at least approximately, the dates of these two old towers.

The first or the oldest of the two towers referred to by Dr. Ives is that known as Modi's tower. As said above, there is no tablet over it. Again there are no family records to determine the date of its foundation. But, as pointed out by Khan Bahadur Bomanji Byramji Patel<sup>1</sup>, Dr. John Fryer<sup>2</sup> refers to this oldest tower in his book of travels entitled "A New Account of East-India and Persia, in Eight Letters, being nine years travels, begun 1672 and finished 1681." Therein he says: "On the other side of the great Inlet, to the Sea, is a great point abutting against Old Woman's Island<sup>3</sup> and is called Malabar-hill, a rocky woody mountain, yet sends forth long grass. A-top of all is a Parsy Tomb lately reared."<sup>4</sup>

Fryer's book was published in 1698. He left England for India on 9th December 1672.<sup>5</sup> He arrived in Bombay on 9th December 1673.<sup>6</sup> His letter, wherein he refers to the tower (Modi's Tower), is dated Surat, 15th January 1675 (old system 1674).<sup>7</sup> So, it is clear, that the first Parsi Tower-of-Silence was built some time before the year 1675 when he wrote the letter containing the above passage. He says it was "lately reared." The words "lately reared" are rather indefinite. It may be two or three years before the year when he wrote the above.

<sup>1</sup> *Parsi Prakash*, I, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Fryer left England on 9th December 1672. He landed in Bombay on 9th December 1673. His letter from Surat wherein he refers to the first tower is dated 15th January 1675.

<sup>3</sup> Colaba was then known by this name.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Fryer's Travels, p. 67.

<sup>5</sup> *Vide* his New Account of East India and Persia in eight letters from 1672-1681, p. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, p. 59.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, p. 89.

Now, there is another traveller whose book helps us in determining the value or the meaning of Dr. Fryer's words "lately reared." This traveller was Mr. (afterwards Sir) Streynsham Master who was in India from 1656 to 1682. In an interval during the period he had gone once to England.<sup>1</sup>

As he has not been referred to in the Gazetteer and in the *Parsi Prakash*, his notes having come to light lately, I will here make use of his reference and try to determine the date of the first tower.

It is in a letter dated "Bombay, January 18, 1671, (i.e., New System, 1672) that he refers to the tower. The letter is headed "a letter from Suratt in India giving an acco<sup>t</sup>: of y<sup>e</sup>: Manners of y<sup>e</sup>: English factories, &c., their way of Civill Converse and Pious Comportment and Behaviour in these Parties.' It is an unusually long document to be called a letter. Therein, while giving a short description of Bombay, and speaking of its different "nations or sects of people" he thus speaks of the Parsees :

<sup>1</sup> The following particulars about this traveller are collected from Col. Henry Yule's Account of his life. *Vide* the Diary of William Hedges, Esq., by Col. Henry Yule, printed for the Hakluyt Society in 1888, Vol. II, p. CCXXIII.

Sir Streynsham Master was born on 28th October 1640. He left London on 4th April 1656 to go to India with his uncle and god-father George Oxenden. They arrived at Surat in November 1656. Mr. Oxenden returned to Europe but Master remained at Surat in charge of George Oxenden's brother Cristopher Oxenden who was "then second in council of the Company's factory at Surat." Mr. Master then went out as Cape-Merchant and supercargo on a vessel bound for Persian Gulf. He returned to Surat in December 1659. He was taken into the Company's service in January 1659-60. Till 1686, he was employed at Surat and Ahmedabad. During the interval, i.e., in 1662, his uncle had returned to Surat as Sir George Oxenden and as President of Surat. In 1668 he was one of the Council at Surat.

In the month of September of that year "he was associated with Mr. Goodyer (Governor-designate,) Captain Young, and Mr. Cotes, to go to Bombay and receive over charge of the Island from the King's officers." <sup>a</sup> When Surat was attacked by the Mahrattas in 1664 he took part in the defence of the factory and Company's property. When the Mahrattas pillaged Surat for the second time under Sivaji in October 1670, the Council was temporarily located at Swally (known among the people there as Soomari *सुमारी*). So, Mr Master was asked to come down from that place to Surat to hold the factory against the invaders. This he did "with much gallantry and tact." The Court of Directors in London voted him on 20th July 1671-2 a gold medal in recognition of his services. It was presented to him in 1672 when he went home. Gerald Aungier was the Governor at the time of Sivaji's above invasion. He was at Swally. Master returned to England in June 1672 and married in 1674. In September 1675 he was nominated the Governor of Fort St. George. He arrived at Fort St. George on 7th July 1676. He then went to Bengal on inspection duty and took charge of his appointment as Governor of Madras in 1677, when Sir William Langhorne went home. He fell in the disfavour of the Court of Directors; he was recalled by a letter, dated 5th January 1680-81. He gave over charge of his office to Mr. W. Gyfford on 3rd July 1681 and then went to England.

<sup>a</sup> The Diary of William Hedges, Esq., by Col. Henry Yule, Vol. II, Printed for the Hakluyt Society in 1888, p. CCXXV.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. CCCV.

“ The Parsees are the antient inhabitants of Persia, from whence those that now inhabit hereabouts fled, at such time as the Mahometan Religion was by Violence planted in that Country, which was about 900 years since. Then severall of those Parsees resolving to so suffer and undergoe any hardship rather than submit to Mahomett and his followers imbarged themselves and their families in a few slight built vessels of that Country and Committed themselves to the Mercy of the Wind and the Seas, not knowing whether they would [fare] (a most desperate undertaking), and at length it pleased God they were cast upon the Coast of India between Surratt and Daman about 12 or 13 miles from Surratt, near the same place where the first English Ship that arrived in India was allsoe cast away, where escapeing to the Shoare with life, the Indians not used to such guests, yet being as obliging People to strangers as any nation under heaven (as the English found them when the Sun, the first Ship we had in these parts was cast away at or near the same place) tooke yet this advantage upon them (if it may be soe tearmed) that they should live and inhabit with them if they would swear to them that they would not kill Cows or any of that Sort of Cattell, and observe their Ceremonies of Marryage, that is to Marry their children young at 6 or 7 years old or thereabouts, to which the Poore Parsees soone agreed, and there seate'd themselves, the Towne being called Nausarree, or by the English Nunsaree, where since they have spread themselves about these parts of the Country, about 30 or 40 miles about Surratt, but there are very few farther in the Country, yet some, for they say a Parsee was raised to great honour in the Court by Jangier this Mogull's grandfather. At the said place of Nausaree thear chief priests reside, where tis said they have their Holy fire which they brought [with] them from their owne Country, and is never to goe out. They keepe it soe constantly supplied ; they had a Church in Surratt ; but the Tumultuous Rabble of the Zelott Moors destroyed and tooke it from them when they were furious on the Hindooes. They have severall buryall Places hereabouts, which are built of Stone in the wide fields, wherein they lay the dead Bodys exposed to the open air soe that the Ravenous fowles may and doe feed upon them.

“ These People are of a different Shape and Complexion from all other People that ever I sawe in the World ; they are of all Professions, except Seamen, for they have hitherto held it unlawfull for them to goe to Sea, because they must then Pollute the Element of Water which they esteem holy, as they doe fire. But of late some few of them had adventured to transgress that ceremony. They have a great Reverence for fire, and many of them will not put it out, but let

it extinguish for want of matter ; they worship and acknowledge one God Almighty and noe Images or Representations. But only the Sun they doe adore, and they give this reason for it ; that God Almighty told them by their first Prophet that they should worship only one thing beside Himselfe and that thing should be that which was most like unto Him. Now they say there is noe one thing in the world soe much like unto God as the Sun, for it hath its light and heat in itselfe, which it disperseth and infuseth into all parts and Creatures in the World, soe that it gives them life and light ; therefore they say they worship it.

“ President Aungier, one of the most ingenious men of our Nation that ever was in these parts, hath been somewhat Curious in his Enquiry into the Religion of these People, and according to the account they have of the history of the World, he is of opinion they had it from the Hebrews, it differing not much from Moses. They say according to these prophesys the World will not last many hundreds of years longer, but that their Kingdom and Country will be restored to them, and all Nations shall be of their Religion ere the World be ended.”

Then, while speaking of the island of Bombay, Master says of the Parsees of this city :—

“ Here is allsoe some Parsees, but they are lately come since the English had the Island, and are most of them weavers, and have not yet any place to doe their devotion in or to bury their dead.”<sup>1</sup>

This last statement of Sir Streynsham Master, made on 18th January 1672, shows, that on that day, the Parsees had no Tower-of-Silence. So, the statement of Dr. Fryer on the one hand, and that of Sir S. Master on the other, gives two dates between which the first Parsee Tower-of-Silence was built in Bombay. They decide that it was built at some time during the three years between the 18th of January 1672, the date given by Master, and 15th of January 1675, the date given by Fryer. This period of three years can still be reduced to a narrower period, because though Fryer wrote his letter from Surat on 15th January 1675, he narrates therein what he saw at Bombay during the preceding year. At the end of the monsoons of 1674 he had left Bombay for Surat.<sup>2</sup> His observations about Bombay itself must have been for the months of January or February 1674, because we learn from his book that before the end of the hot season he had left Bombay for Bassein. Before this, he had been visiting some of the coast towns near Bombay. So, his account of Bombay refers to the early

<sup>1</sup> The Diary of William Hedges, Esq., by Col. Henry Yule, Vol. II, printed for the Hakluyt Society in 1888, p. CCCXVI.

<sup>2</sup> Fryer's Travels, p. 82.

part of the year 1674. So, we can safely say, that the tower referred to by Fryer as "lately raised," was built some time after 18th January 1672 and before January or February 1674. It was built in the latter end of 1672 or at some time in 1673.

Now, just as the writings of the abovementioned two travellers have helped us in determining approximately the date of the construction of the first tower, the book of Dr. Ives helps us in determining the date of the second old tower—which is now known as the Manockji Seth's Tower.

The Parsee population at the time of our author's visit must be much below 10,000. Sir James Campbell's Gazetteer has given "the chief available details of the strength of the Parsees at different times since the beginning of the (19th) century." But the Journal of our own Society seems to have escaped his notice. In the very first volume of the Journal of our Society, then known as the Literary Society, we have a note latterly attached to the "Preliminary Discourse" delivered by Sir James Mackintosh, the founder of the Society. In that note we find the following figures of Parsee population in 1811:—

Men from 20 to 80 years of age	...	...	...	3,644
Women	„	„	„	3,333
Boys from 20 down to infant children	...	...	...	1,799
Girls	„	„	„	1,266
				<hr/>
Total				10,042
				<hr/>

This was in 1811. So in the middle of the 18th century it may be about 5,000. Whatever it may be, it was thought some time before 1748, that there was a demand for a second and a larger tower. The fact is inferred from the Will of the first Mr. Manockji Nowroji Seth, who died in 1748, and from whose father's name our Nowroji Hill derives its name. This Manockji Seth was the grandson of Rustom Manock, from whose name Rustompura in Surat derives its name, and who was the broker of the English Factory at Surat in the middle of the 17th century, and had gone in 1660 to the Court of the Mogul Emperor at Delhi to bring about a settlement of some points of dispute that had arisen between the abob of Surat and the English Factory at Surat. His father Nowroji Seth was the first Parsee to go to England in 1724. He went there to lay his grievances personally before the Court of Directors in the matter of some money dispute that had arisen between him and the English Factors at Surat.

Now, it appears from the last Will<sup>1</sup> of the above Manockji Seth that, some time before 1748, the date of the death of the Testator, the Parsee community had raised a fund to build a second and a larger tower. Mr. Manockji Seth's subscription was Rs. 2,000, but it was not collected, perhaps, because the money subscribed by the community was not found sufficient. So, he mentions the subscription in his Will and directs that instead of Rs. 2,000, a sum of Rs. 2,500 may be given to the fund. The whole amount of the subscriptions not being found sufficient, the heirs of the late Mr. Manockji offered to make up all the deficiency, and the tower was built and named after the principal donor, as Manockji Seth's Tower.

Now the question is : When was that tower built ? This tower also bears no date. Mr. Manockji had built a tower in his lifetime, a year before his death (*i.e.*, in 1747), at Naosari. That tower bears a date in Persian.<sup>2</sup> But the tower built in Bombay several years later does not bear any date.

Mr. Ruttonji Framji Vachha in his *Mumbai-no-Bâhâr*, *i.e.*, "the Spring or the Rise of Bombay" published in 1874, says that the tower of Manockji Seth was built in 1128, Yazdazardi, *i.e.*, in 1759 A.D. Khan Bahadur Bomanji Byramji Patel gives the date as 1756.<sup>4</sup> He says that he was given that date by the late Mr. Heerjeebhoy Hormusji Sethna, a member of Seth Khândân family. There seems to be no documentary evidence about it. I wrote to three members of the Seth Khândân family, to inquire, if they had any documents or written notes in the family, to show that the tower was built in 1756. They have replied that they have none.

Now the work of our author, Dr. Ives, shows us, that the second tower, namely, the Manockji Seth's Tower was built some years before 1756, the date given by Khan Bahadur Patel. Dr. Ives says that in 1754 he saw two towers. So, it appears, that the Manockji Seth's Tower was built not in 1756 but some time before 1754. Manockji Seth having died in 1748 and provided for that tower in 1748, it must have been built at some time between 1748 and 1754. This period of interval can still be reduced, because the Bombay Parsees wrote a letter in February 1750 to the Naosari An uman asking them to send two priests to perform the ceremony of laying the foundation. The letter was signed, among others, by the two wives of Manockjee Seth.<sup>5</sup> So.

<sup>1</sup> This Will, and what we may now call its codicils, have been published in the શ્રી ૧૧ બાનકાન કુટુંબની વંશીવલી તથા કુટુંબ ઐત્રિયા, *i.e.*, the Genealogy and a short Account of the Seth family, published in 1900 by Mr. Jalbhoy Ardeshir Seth (pp. 77-84). It is also partly published in the Parsee Prakash.

= Parsee Prakash, I, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> મુ'બઈનો બાહાર, p. 445.

<sup>4</sup> Parsee Prakash, I, p. 42.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

the tower must have been built sometime between 1750 and 1754, probably not long after the above letter, *i.e.*, in or about 1751.

We will now proceed to consider a few other points about Bombay referred to by our author.

It appears that a term "toddy-headed" was used at that time for the weak-headed from the fact that toddy intoxicated men. We do not find the term used now.

The rind of the cocoanut fruit was at that time used for a kind of cloth for the poorer class of people. I think that that has altogether gone out of use now.

The Abkari tax for tapping each cocoanut tree was then 20 shillings.

The meaning of the word Bombay is often discussed. Our author understands its name to convey "an idea of a safe retreat in foul weather" (Bon or good bay). Bombay is said to have had "a very good dock" at the time for small ships. It was "the most convenient place among all our settlements in the East Indies for careening and heaving down large ships" (p. 33).

Among the little forts and batteries of this little island, Dr. Ives names, "Dungaree, Massegon, Mahee, Mendham's Point and Sion-hill." Of these Dungaree and Sion-hill are familiar names to us even now. Massegon is our modern Mazagon. Dr. Jerson daCunha<sup>1</sup> suggests four meanings of the name.

1 मच्छ गांव (machchgâv), *i.e.*, fishing village.

2 महिष गांव (mahishgâv), *i.e.*, a buffalo village.

3 माजगांव (mâzagâv), *i.e.*, central village.

Of these three, he thinks the first to be "most acceptable." The form Massegon given by our author seems to support this meaning.

Mahee seems to be Mahim where we have still an old fort. Mendham's Point is a name unknown to us now. Colaba, which was formerly considered to be an island separate from Bombay, was then known as the Old Woman's Island. Before it was connected with Bombay itself in 1838, the southern extremity of Bombay, where the Soldiers' Home stands at present, was known as Mendham's Point. It is said that the first English cemetery was there and the first person buried there was one Mendham. Hence the Point was named after him.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Origin of Bombay, p. 59. The Extra Number of the Journal of the B. B. R. Asiatic Society, 1900.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Jerson da Cunha's Origin of Bombay, p. 339.

All these forts were defended by guns at the time of our author's visit. The principal fort had more than 100 guns.

The renovation of the Cathedral has been much discussed lately. Of this cathedral our author says : " The Church also is not less substantial than the fort ; it is a very handsome, large edifice, and in comparison of those which are to be met with in the other settlements, it looks like one of our cathedrals." It was built by voluntary subscriptions. Rev. Mr. Cobbe, father of Mr. Richard Cobbe, Admiral Watson's chaplain, was the chief promoter of the work of building the church. Rev. Cobbe was at one time a chaplain of the Bombay factory.

Tank-house was the family residence of the Admiral. Our author does not say where it was, but I think it is the house at Gowalia Tank, now known as Tanka-ville. It was so called from the large tank near it. The Admiral was allowed five pagodas <sup>1</sup> a day for " a part of the expenses of his table." The Company allowed him and his principal attendants the use of palanquins. The horses being of little value and being also very scarce, they generally used oxen. These oxen travelled fast at the rate of 7 or 8 miles an hour. The Admiral had a chaise and a pair of oxen allowed him by the Company. It was in this chaise that the Admiral went " for an afternoon's airing " to Malabar Hill, Old Woman's Island (Colaba) and to Marmulla. By Marmulla, our author perhaps means Breach Candy.

The Hindu burning ground was at that time " near the water's edge under Malabar hill. "

The following account of our author's interview with a *Jogee* is interesting :—

" During my stay at this place, I hired by the month, a chaise drawn by a pair of bullocks. In the several excursions I made in this carriage, I had frequently passed by one of those religious persons, or anchorets, who in India are called *Joogees* ; and who, in consequence of a vow made by their parents, and during their mother's pregnancy with them, are devoted to the service of heaven. One evening, I and a companion had an inclination to pay a short visit to this *Joogee*, who always sat in one posture on the ground in a shady cocoanut plantation, with his body covered over with ashes, and his long black hair clotted, and in the greatest disorder. As we approached him, we made our salutation, which he respectfully returned ; and then, with the assistance of our Indian driver, who could speak English, we began a conversation with him, that principally turned on the wonderful efficacy of his prayers, and which he pretended had

According to Webster, its value varied at different places. It was about 7s. 4d

given health to the sick, strength to the lame, sight to the blind, and fecundity to women who for their whole lives had been deemed barren. When we were about to take our leave of him, I offered him a present of two rupees, which he bade me to throw on the ground, and then directed his servant, who was standing by, to take them up, which he did with a pair of iron-pincers, throwing the rupees at the same time into a pot of vinegar. After they had lain there a little while, the same servant took them out, wiped them carefully, and at last delivered them to his master, who soon afterwards, by way of return, presented us with a few cakes of his insipid pastry. I then requested of him, that in his next prayers he would petition for an increase of my happiness, to which with great complacency in his countenance, he replied : ‘ I hardly know what to ask for you ; I ‘ have seen you often and you have always appeared to me to enjoy ‘ perfect health ; you ride in your chaise at your ease ; are often accompanied with a very pretty lady ; you are ever well clothed, and ‘ are likewise fat ; so that you seem to me to be in possession of every ‘ thing that can be any way necessary to happiness. I believe therefore, when I pray for you, it must be in this strain, that God would ‘ give you grace to deserve, and to be thankful for those many ‘ blessings which he has already bestowed upon you.’ I told him that I was thoroughly satisfied with the mode of his intended supplication for me ; and with a mutual exchange of smiles and compliments we parted.”<sup>1</sup>

It is only last month, that our Governor Lord Lamington laid the foundation of a building, which was understood to be the first building in a scheme of thoroughly re-building the whole of the Sir Jamsetjee Hospital. The foundation of this hospital was laid in 1843 and it was opened in 1845. But it seems that a Government Hospital existed in Bombay as early as 1773. It was intended only “for the sick and hurt of the squadron of His Majesty.” Our author says of this hospital :—

“ Our hospital at Bombay was without the town-wall ; and in order to make my attendance on it the more convenient, Mr. Délaguarde (a factor in the Company’s service) was so obliging as to give me the use of a very commodious house, which lay near the hospital, and belonged to him as superintendent of the powder-works.”

From the reference to the powder-works, and from the statement that the hospital was out of the Fort, we are led to think that it was somewhere at Mazagon, where a place is still known as Darukhaneh. It appears that the hospital was attended to by any medical

<sup>1</sup> From Ives’s *Voyages*, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 28.

officer that happened to be in Bombay. During his first visit, our author was in Bombay only for about one month from 13th November to 15th December 1754.<sup>1</sup>

While on the subject of the hospital I would draw the attention of medical men to the drugs used at the time. Our author <sup>2</sup> gives a list of the drugs as given to him by a Portuguese Physician of Bombay named Diego.

The next interesting thing in our author's book are the tables of the daily rainfall of Bombay for the monsoon of the year 1756. He gives the daily rainfall as measured by his friend Dr. Thomas who supplied it to him afterwards. The total rainfall of that year from May to October was 110 inches and 3 tenths. He also describes the rain-gauge then used.

Among the Bombay curiosities of the time our author mentions the following<sup>3</sup> :—

1. A terapin (a large beetle) kept at the Governor's <sup>4</sup> house ; its age was said to be "upward of 200 years."
2. Large frogs, some measuring about 22 inches from the extremities of the fore and hind feet when extended and weighing about 4 or lbs.
3. Beautiful shells on the sea shore much estimated by the ladies of that time and known as Ventletraps or Wendletraps. One of such shells was sold for several pounds.

He names the following species of Bombay snakes known at the time :—

1. The Covra (Cobra) Capella, from 4 to 8 or 9 feet long.
2. The Covra Manilla, of the size of a man's little finger and about a foot long.
3. The Palmira, about 4 feet long, "not much larger than a swan's quill."
4. The Green Snake.
5. The Sand Snake.
6. The Covra dé Aurellia, which is like an earth-worm about 6 inches long. It "kills by getting into the ear and causing madness." This seems to be what is now known here as the *श्रीगणेश* (a centepede).
7. The Manilla Bombo.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, p. 42.

<sup>4</sup> Richard Bouchier was Governor of Bombay from 17th November 1750 to 28th February 1760.

During his short stay of one month, our author saw two fleets of country vessels in the harbour. "One of them belonged to the Nanna or Prince of the Maharattas, the other to Monajee Angria, the brother of Angria the pirate." These vessels carried two guns in their bow. The music of these fleets "was a plain brass tube, shaped like a trumpet at both ends and about 10 feet in length, and a kind of drum called a tomtom. Each fleet consisted of about 30 sails."<sup>1</sup>

The following table gives the exchange as then prevalent :—

"A 36-shilling piece exchanges for 16½ rupees.

A guinea	„	„	9	„
An English crown	„		2 rupees and 6 double pice.	
A Spanish dollar	„	2	„	„ 3 „ „ "

Eighty pice made a rupee.

The description of the Elephanta Caves given by our author on the authority of his friend Dr. Thomas will interest archæologists to enable them to know what parts have been latterly further destroyed. He gives a plan of the caves.

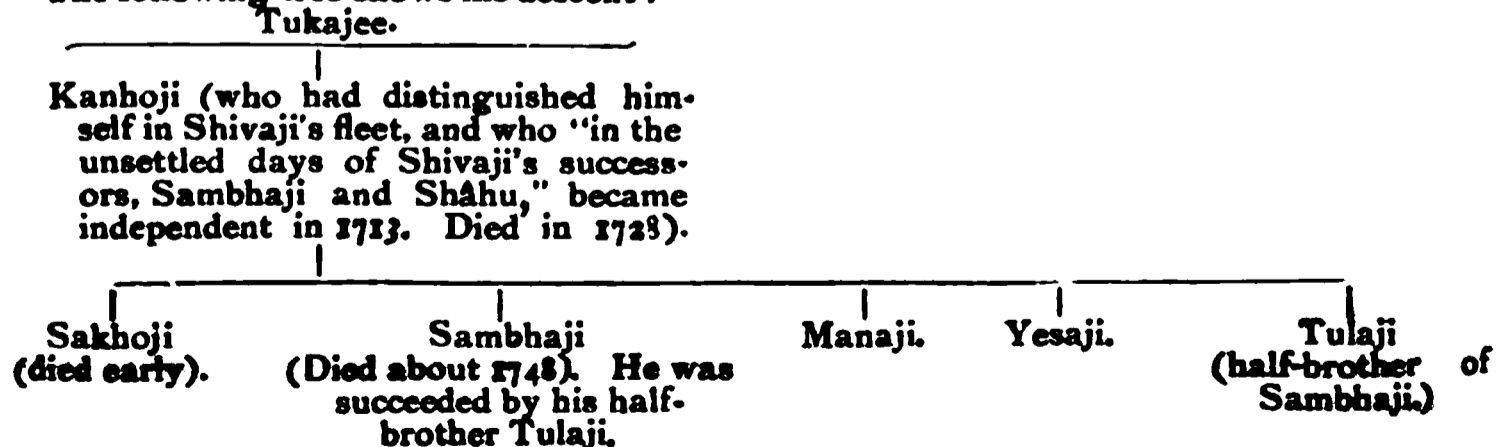
This finishes our author's account of Bombay during his first visit (13th November to 15th December 1754). He then went with his Admiral to Madras and the adjoining towns and returned to Bombay again on 11th November 1755.

On his second visit to Bombay, we find that the fleet, to which our author was attached, was engaged in a naval fight<sup>2</sup> with the Angria. The family of Angria were more or less pirates on our Western shores. The Angria at this time (1755) was Tulaji.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ives' Voyage p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of the Angrias and of this naval battle, *vide* the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Part II, pp. 86-96. *Vide* also History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan from the year 1745, (by Orme), pp. 407-17.

<sup>3</sup> The following tree shows his descent :—



Lieut.-Col. Robert Clive, afterwards Lord Clive, was at that time in Bombay. He had already, by this time, made his name as a good soldier. He "had lately landed on the island with three companies of the King's Artillery from England. He was sent out with a design of acting in conjunction with the Maharattas against the French in the Carnatic and Deccan ; but finding that a truce had been agreed upon with that nation, and perhaps partly excited by Mr. James's late success, it was judged proper by Admiral Watson, Mr. Bouchier Governor of Bombay, Colonel Clive, &c., that the sea and land forces united with the Maharattas should attempt the destroying Angria's piratical state, which was becoming exceedingly formidable, troublesome, and dangerous, not only to the Maharattas, who were his neighbours, but also to our East India Company, and the whole Malabar Coast."<sup>1</sup>

Gheria was the stronghold of Angria at that time, and so, it was this fort that was intended to be taken after a naval fight. It was situated in the Province of Beejapur and was "called Gheria by Mussulmans, but Viziadroog by Hindoos."<sup>2</sup>

In our author's description of the preliminary arrangements before the naval battle, we find an interesting account about the question of the division of booty, or prize-money as they called it, acquired in war, a question, which, it seems, they settled beforehand to avoid disputes later on.

Our author says—

"All things being at last in readiness for putting to sea, a council was held, at Mr. Watson's particular desire, between the sea and land officers, both of His Majesty's forces, and those of the East India Company, with a view of obviating any difficulties that might arise in regard to the proper distribution of prize-money, should the intended expedition be crowned with success. It was settled at this council, that Admiral Watson, as Commander-in-Chief of the King's Squadron, should have two-thirds of one-eighth of the whole ; and Rear-admiral Pocock, one-third of one-eighth. Lieutenant-Colonel Clive and Major Chambers were to share equally with the captains of the King's ships. The captains of the Company's ships, and armed vessels, and captains of the army, were to have an equal share with the lieutenants of the men-of-war. The subaltern officers of the army, and Lieutenants of the company's armed ships and vessels, were to have the same distribution as the warrant-officers of the navy, &c.

<sup>1</sup> Ives' Travels, p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> The *Bombay Quarterly Review*, Vol. III, p. 56.

“ These articles, however, had scarcely been agreed upon in council, before Colonel Clive, who Commanded-in-Chief on shore, paid a visit to Mr. Watson, and acquainted him, that the Army was not satisfied with the terms on which he, as their Commander-in-Chief, was to share ; and that to make those gentlemen easy, who were to serve under him, he found himself under the disagreeable necessity of remonstrating and requiring that, as Commander of the Army he might be entitled to a more honorable division. The argument the Gentlemen of the Army went upon, was, that Mr. Clive, by virtue of the Commission he bore in common of Lieutenant-Colonel, could claim but an equal share with a Captain in the Navy ; yet on this occasion, being Commander-in-Chief of the Army, he ought certainly to be particularly distinguished, and be admitted, at least, to share with Mr. Pocock, the Second Sea-Officer, who was a Rear-Admiral. Mr. Watson replied, that it was impossible for him to make any alterations in the articles agreed upon in council ; neither indeed would his doing it be at all consistent either with custom or the different ranks which Admiral Pocock and Colonel Clive bore in the respective services. He told the Colonel, however, that to satisfy the wishes of the Army, which in the present situation of affairs, he deemed to be a point of the utmost consequence, he would give security under his own hand, to make good the deficiency, out of any monies he himself might be entitled to, so as to make the share of the Commander-in-Chief of the army and that of Mr. Pocock exactly alike. The Colonel, sensibly struck with Mr. Watson’s disinterestedness, answered, that provided his officers were satisfied with the proposal, he for his own part should come into it with great cheerfulness. He accordingly took the first opportunity of making those gentlemen acquainted with the Admiral’s declaration, who were so much pleased therewith that from that moment all discontent ceased, and the expedition went on with the greatest unanimity.” <sup>1</sup>

Our author adds a footnote about the result of the above stipulation, showing a great self-denial on the part of Clive.

Dr. George Smith, in his *Memoirs of the life of Lord Clive*, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, <sup>2</sup> calls this “ no little self-denial ” on the part of Clive. It seems really to be so, and draws our admiration, especially when we know that, according to his biographers, the pecuniary affairs of Clive were not satisfactory at that time. As Lord Macaulay points out in his *Essay of Lord Clive*, <sup>3</sup> based on “ *Sir John Malcolm’s Life of Lord Robert Clive*,” Clive had spent away, while in England,

<sup>1</sup> *Ives’ Voyages*, pp. 81 and 82.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. VI, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Macaulay, *Critical and Historical Essays*, Part II.

the whole of his moderate fortune that he had carried from the Madras side. He had extricated "his father from pecuniary difficulties" and "redeemed the family estate. The remainder he appears to have dissipated in the course of about two years. He lived splendidly, dressed gaily even for those times, kept a carriage and saddle horses, and, not content with these ways of getting rid of his money, resorted to the most speedy and effectual of all modes of evacuation, a contested election followed by a petition."<sup>1</sup>

Looking to this condition of Clive's pecuniary state of affairs, it was really "no little self-denial" on his part to have refused politely a sum of £ 1,000 offered by Admiral Watson.

Dr. Ives gives two fine sketches—one of the views of the Gheria fort itself and the other of a view of the river from it. His account of the interview of Admiral Watson with the weeping family of Angria is really very touching. The interview brought about tears in the eyes of the Admiral. When the mother of the Angria bemoaned the flight of her son and said, "that the people had no king, she no son, her daughters no husband, the children no father," the Admiral consoled her by saying "that from henceforward they must look upon him as their father and friend." On hearing this, a boy, of about six years, sobbing said, "then you shall be my father." This reminds us of what we often hear of old *topeewallas* being considered the real *mābāps* of the people.

At the close of the battle the fleet returned to Bombay on the 17th March and then left it on the 27th of April 1756. Our author then went with the Admiral to Calcutta, where the affairs of the Black Hole had attracted all available military and naval force. On his return homeward *via* Persian Gulf in 1758, on the death of Admiral Watson, his ship touched Bombay on 24th January 1758. He finally embarked from here on 8th February. 1758.

<sup>1</sup> Lord Macaulay's Essay on Clive. "Critical and Historical Essays contributed to the EDINBURGH REVIEW" in 3 Volumes (1843), Vol. III., p. 138.

ART. XIX—*A few Notes on Broach from an  
Antiquarian point of view.*

By

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A.

(*Read March 15th, 1907.*)

In December last, Khan Bahadur Adurjee Muncherjee Dalal conveyed to me an invitation from himself and his colleagues, the Trustees of the Parsee Punchayet of Broach, to pay a visit to their city for the purpose of delivering there one or two lectures and a reading from the *Shah-námeh* of Firdousi. In response to this kind invitation, I paid a short visit to Broach from 31st December to 3rd January. While there, I made some inquiries on a subject suggested to me by our learned Secretary, Mr. Edwardes, some time ago, and on two or three other subjects suggested by the visit to the city. The object of this paper is to present few notes on those subjects.

The following are the principal three heads under which I beg to submit my notes :—

- I.—The sites of the Dutch and English Factories.
- II.—The past history of Broach from a Parsi point of view and the part said to have been played in that history by the *Kabisah* (i.e., the intercalary month) question of the Parsis.
- III.—The *Kabir Vad* and the *tiraths* or shrines on the Nerbudda near Broach.

I.

The first subject on which I beg to present a few notes is that of the sites of the first English and Dutch factories. Our Secretary had written to me, in June 1905, to make some inquiries from friends at Broach, about the site of the first English factory. On 28th June 1905, I had written to my friend, Mr. Ruttonjee Muncherjee Dalal, requesting him to make such inquiries. On 21st August 1905, he wrote to me in reply giving the results of his inquiries. During my short visit I took up the question myself and made some inquiries personally.

The *Broach Gazetteer* says : “In the year 1613, Broach was visited by Aldworth and Withington, English merchants, and in the next year (1614), on Withington’s return from Sind, a house in Broach was hired for a factory. In 1616 Sir Thomas Roe obtained from the Emperor Jehângier permission for the English to establish a trading-house at Broach on very favourable terms. They were to be allowed to live near the Governor, and the decree commanded no man to molest them by sea or land or take any customs of them<sup>1</sup>. . . . The Dutch were not long of following the example of the English. In 1617 they also settled at Broach and established a factory.<sup>2</sup> But the Broach factory does not seem to have risen to much consequence. In the eighteenth century there was but one junior<sup>3</sup> merchant and one book-keeper, with a few native servants under them.<sup>4</sup>” (Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. II, p. 468).

It appears from this account that the English (A.D. 1614) preceded the Dutch (1617) in founding their factory by about 3 years.

The site of the Dutch factory at Broach is well-known. There is no doubt about it. The large house<sup>5</sup> in which it was situated, is still known as the વેલંદાની કોથી (*Valandâni Kothi*), i.e., the factory of the Hollanders. In spite of the various changes which it seems to have

<sup>1</sup> Robert Orme gives the following version of Sir Thomas Roe in the matter of these concessions :—

“The two and twentieth (of July 1616) I received letters from Brampore, in answer of those to Mahobet Chan, who at *first* (request) granted my desire, making his firman to Barooch most effectual to receive our nation, and to give them a house near the Governor ; strictly commanding no man to molest them by sea or land, or to take any *custome* of them, or any way trouble them under colour thereof. . . . The firman I caused to be sent to Surat (in order to be forwarded by the agency there to Broach): so that Borooch is provided for a good retreat from the Prince’s injuries, and the custom given, whereby fifteen hundred pounds per annum will be saved besides all manner of searches and extortion.”—(Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire of the Morattoes, and of the English concerns in Indostan from the year 1659, by Robert Orme (1805), pp. 371-72).

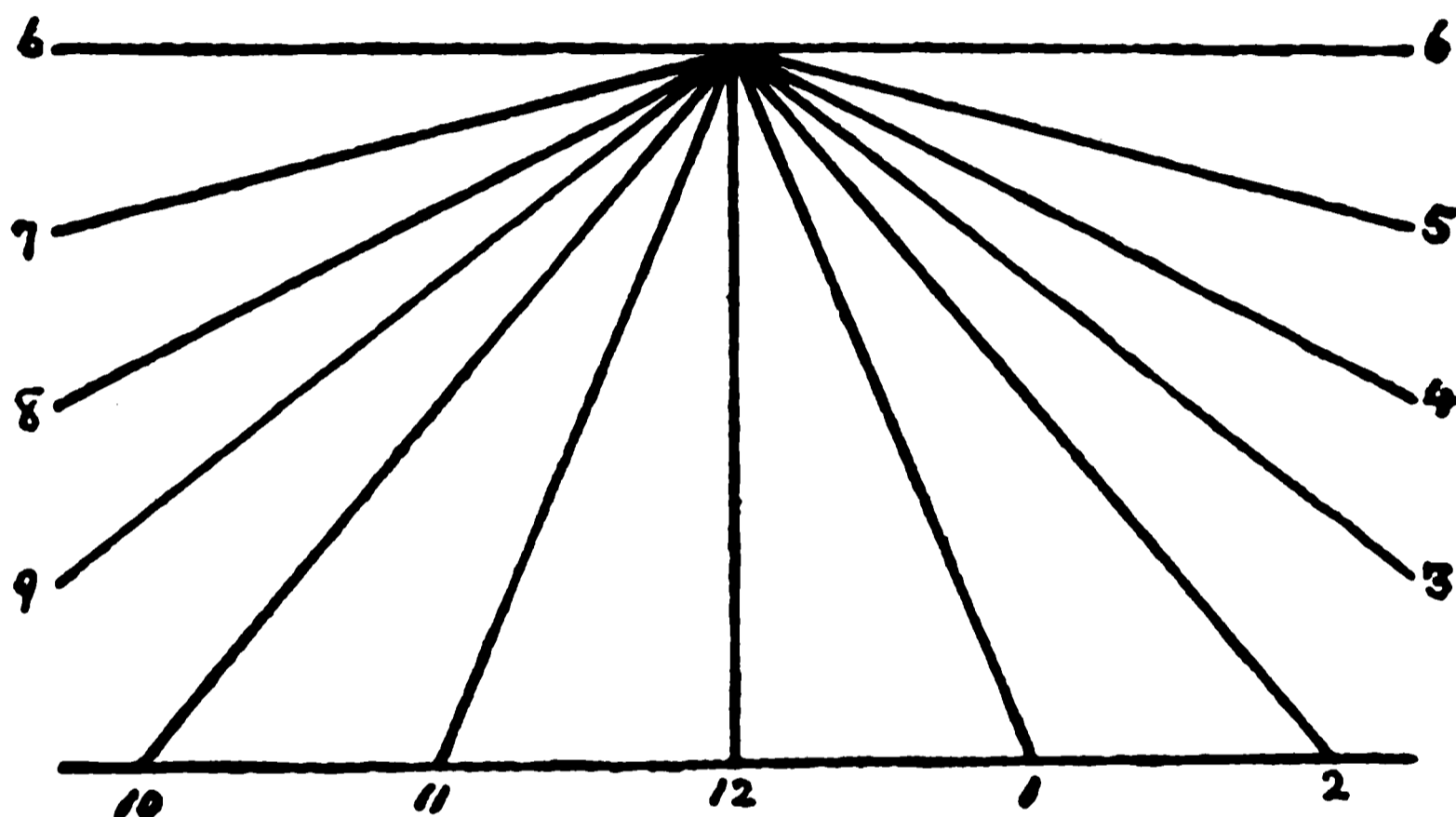
<sup>2</sup> Mr. Bendien, the Bombay Consul for Holland, has, after the above paper was read, kindly sent me copies of his articles on the Dutch in Broach. He gives Pieter Gillesen as the name of this first factor. (*Vide* his articles on the Dutch factories in the Neerlandia of January and February 1907. *Vide* the February issue p. 26 for this reference).

<sup>3</sup> Jan Willem Six “Secundo” in the inscription in his tomb. *Vide infra*, p. 323.

<sup>4</sup> “The factory at Baroche was established in the year 1617, and is still continued, yet with very little circumstance, for there is but one junior merchant, and one book-keeper, who reside there as factors, and who have a few native servants under them.”—(“Voyages to the East Indies by the late John Splinter Stavorinus,” translated from the Dutch by Wilcocke, Vol. III (1798), pp. 208-09.)

<sup>5</sup> According to Mr. Bendien the factory bears on the gate “as an inscription” the initials of the Company. (The Dutch East India Company, V with an ‘o’ and ‘c’ in the legs of V.)

gone through, for being adopted for small residential quarters, it still bears an inscription on the inside of a wall. I give below the form of the sun-dial with the inscription on it as copied by me from a distance on 31st December 1906. The dial with an inscription is within the court-yard of the factory on the top of the inside part of a wall abutting on a public road. The inscription on bears the Christian year 1700 and the name of F. J. Groenevelt (F. J. Groenevelt Anno 1700). Above this inscription appear the initials of the Dutch Company.



The site of the first English factory is not known. But oral tradition, as heard there, says that the very house which was the seat of the Dutch factory was later on the place of the English factory. So, it appears that the English factory was, latterly, when the Dutch left it, transferred to this house. It is not known where it was when it was first founded.

The Dutch must have remained at least about 175 years at Broach. This appears from some of the dates on the tombs in their cemetery. This cemetery is situated about a little on the west of the village of Vijalpore, at a short distance from where the Parsi Towers-of-Silence stand. The *Gazetteer* says of the Dutch tombs that "these monuments bear dates ranging from 1654 to 1770." <sup>1</sup> It would have been well had the *Broach Gazetteer*, which appeared in 1877, published the inscriptions on the tombs which are falling in ruins.

<sup>1</sup> *Broach Gazetteer*, p. 559.

The Dutch cemetery is an interesting place to see, because the construction of the tombs in it seems to be different from what we see in the case of tombs in modern English cemeteries in India.<sup>1</sup> I give the photographs of two of them at the end of this paper. I am indebted for these to Khan Bahadur Adurjee Muncherjee Dalal of Broach. On entering from the west we find a tomb with a platform containing four seats. Then there is a block containing three tombs. This block seems to have had a tablet which is removed. There is another block containing six tombs, one tomb has the form of a Mahomedan dome over it. One can count the ruins of about 20 tombs besides a few masonry mounds. In close proximity we find a small ruin like that of a basin of water.

I beg to suggest that careful photographs of all the tombs and especially of the inscriptions may be soon taken. I have taken copies of the inscriptions.<sup>2</sup>

I wrote about a fortnight ago to Mr. Couzens, the head of the Archæological Department, to ascertain, if the inscriptions are published by his Department in any report. I have not heard from him yet. This week I took my copy of the inscription to the Dutch Consulate here to get it translated. Mr. J. G. Bendien, the Consul, having gone to Holland, I saw Mr. Y. Von Rykoun, the head of the Holland-Bombay Trading Company. He could not give me a correct translation, because being in a foreign language and being very old, I have not been able, in a hasty visit, to copy the inscriptions well. I had requested a gentleman there to kindly get a good photo taken of them, but he has not done so yet. However I learnt from Mr. Rykoun that the Dutch Consul, Mr. Bendien, had once visited the Dutch cemetery, and has taken a photo of the inscriptions which he has published in a Dutch paper in Holland. I have written to Mr. Bendien to send us a copy with its translation. When received it will be worth publishing in our journal.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Bellasis, while describing the old tombs in the cemeteries of Surat, assigns the following reasons for the grandeur of these old tombs: "The Agents of these several nations vied with each other to live in the greatest splendour .. .. Men who lived in such grandeur may naturally be supposed to have emulated each other in creating ostentatious tombs to commemorate their dead; and thus we find the sepuchral ruins in the cemeteries of Surat, even at the present day, bearing witness to the large sums that must have been expended for these purposes." (Journal B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VI, pp. 146-47.) As Mr. Bellasis says, an idea of the grandeur of the Dutch tombs at Surat may be formed "by the fact of a bill being extant, charging Rs. 6700 to the Dutch Company for mere repairs" (Ibid, p. 19).

*Vide* Appendix to this paper. As I have latterly received copies of the Inscriptions more carefully taken by Mr. Bendien, the Dutch Consul, I give them in the appendix. Mine being those by one not knowing the language are naturally faulty.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide* n. 2.

While on the subject of the inscriptions on the Dutch tombs, I beg to draw the attention of a future reviser or editor of a second edition of the *Gazetteer* of the Broach district to several errors in the copies of the inscriptions of two other tombs as given in the *Gazetteer*.

The *Gazetteer* gives the inscriptions on two tombs near the village of Vijalpore. I give my copy of the inscription of the tomb of one which I saw, *vis.*, that of Capt. W. Semple :—

Beneath this stone  
are deposited the remains of  
Captain William Semple,<sup>1</sup>  
of His<sup>2</sup> Majesty's 86th Regiment,  
who was killed by  
cannon shot  
at the siege of Broach  
on the 25th of August 1803.  
Universally and most sincerely  
regretted by all his  
brother Officers.

To us who are nearer the time, the mistakes may appear trivial, but after several centuries they, especially the mistake of "Her Majesty" for "His Majesty," may cause serious doubts about the date. A future student of historical data may, in the absence of other materials to put him on the right track, long linger in doubts about the date. If he takes the word "Her Majesty" to be correct, he may think, that perhaps the year 1803, given later on, may be a mistake for 1893 or for some other year. If he takes the date as correct, he may linger in doubts about the period of Her Majesty's reign.

I found similar carelessness on the part of either the copyist or the printers, in the matter of the inscription on the slab in the compound of the Civil Hospital within the fort on the grave of Brigadier David Wedderburn, who was killed while storming the city. He is the officer who is often referred to with curses and maledictions by Abas Alli in

<sup>1</sup> The name is not Sempie as given by the *Gazetteer*.

<sup>2</sup> The *Gazetteer* gives "Her Majesty", which is not, and cannot be, correct, as the year is 1803 when the late Queen had not come to the throne.

<sup>3</sup> The *Gazetteer* omits this word.

military display might induce the Nawáb to propose some settlement of the claims made against him, the Chief of Surat was directed to transport this force by sea to the neighbourhood of Broach. These instructions the factors at Surat did not carry out. . . .”

We see from this account that the *casus belli* was a claim of money upon the Nawáb by the English.

Now the native account of the fight of the English with the Nawáb, referred to above, throws some further light upon this matter, and says that a Parsee of Surat was partly at the bottom of this question. This native account is very interesting from a Parsee point of view, because, as said above, it suggests that the question of *kabíseh*, or of the calculation of an intercalary month, which had produced a schism among the Parsees of India in the 18th century and which has produced among them two sects—the Kadmis and the Shehanshahis—had some connection with the above dispute between the English and the Nawáb of Broach.

The native account, which I beg to present, is that of a Mahomedan writer named Sayed Abbas Ali. He has written a short history of this dispute and the subsequent battle between the English and the Nawáb of Broach under the title of “Kisseh-i-Nawáb Majuzkhan Bahadur of Broach.”<sup>1</sup> It was written in Urdu. It has not been published and I have not been fortunate in seeing it in the original Urdu. But a Gujerati translation of it was published in 1869 by Mobed Byramji Fardoonji Vakil<sup>2</sup> of Broach under the title of ભરૂચના નવાબ મોઝુકખાન બહાદુર નો કીસસો. Two hundred copies of it were published then. The translation being out of print, in 1894, Mr. Sorabji Framjee Byramjee Vakil, a grandson of the original translator, has published a second edition. I am indebted to my friend Khan Bahadur Adarji Mancherjee Dalal for a copy of it. I think that the Gazetteer refers to the above *Kisseh* in its account of “the local details of the capture” of Broach when it says that it gives it on the authority of “A life of Mázad Khân,” by one of his courtiers. The name of the Nawáb, as given by the *Kisseh*, is Maozuzkhan while the English writer gives it as Mazad Khan. The difference is not very important when we know that the last letter *dâl* in the Urdu name, if written or read with an additional dot (*nukteh*), can be read ‘z’ instead of ‘d’.

<sup>1</sup> I give this title as given by the translator of the *Kisseh*. According to Mr. Sorabshaw Dadabhoy Fardoonji, Munsiff of Broach, the author called his work “Kisseh-i-Gamgeenec,” i.e., “The Story of Sorrow,” probably because it described the downfall of the Nawab’s regime. It was written in 1193 Hijree i.e. 1785 A. D.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Sorabshaw Dadabhoy Fardoonjee Munsiff in his letter dated 5th January 1907 writes to me that he knew this translator. He was a priest and was practising in the Broach District Court in his full dress of *Jama Pichodi*.

Now the *Kisseh* gives the following account of the commencement of the dispute which, as said above, is interesting from a Parsee point of view :—

The Nawáb of Surat was Sayad Hakijuldin Khan. An Englishman, named Mr. Sam Gabrier<sup>1</sup>, was the head of the English factory on behalf of the Company. Among the Parsees at Surat, there arose a great dispute about the calculation of time,<sup>2</sup> the difference of a month in calculation having arisen as the result of some letters received from Persia. There arose two parties. At the head of one, the Rasmi, who adhered to the old previous calculation was Minocher<sup>3</sup>. At the head of the other sect, the Kadmis, was Dhunjee<sup>4</sup>. The dispute had continued for some time<sup>5</sup>. During that dispute Dhunjee, the leader of the Kadmi sect of Surat, writes to the Nawáb of Broach to inquire into the matter of the question under discussion. He also wrote to his own Mulla<sup>6</sup>. The Nawáb, therefore, sent for the two *akhsuns* i.e., preceptors of the Parsees, one Dastur Kamdin<sup>7</sup> by name and another Pádashá<sup>8</sup>. He asked them to tell correct facts as described in religious books. Dastur Kamdin after a long consideration said that what Muncher, the leader of the Rasmis, said was correct and

<sup>1</sup> This Mr. Gabier is Mr. Gambier of our historical writers.

<sup>2</sup> It was in 1720, that one Jamasp, known as Jamasp Velayati, came from Persia to India and pointed out the difference of one month between the calculation of the Zoroastrians of Persia and that of the Zoroastrians of India. In 1736, a layman, named Jamahed, from Persia, revived the question. In 1745 the Parsees of Surat had a regular schism for the first time. In 1768, Dhanjishaw Manjishaw sent Mobad Kaus Rustam Jalál of Broach to Persia to study the question there.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Muncherjee Kharshedj Seth (1714-1784). He was the broker of the Dutch Factory at Surat. He had great influence with the Nawáb of Surat. He had twice been to Delhi to the Mogul Court for business purposes. Anquetil Du Perron (*Le Zend Avesta* I, Partie I, p. cccxv) speaks of him as the courtier (broker) of the Dutch and as the chief of the Parsees of Surat (*le premier des Parses de Surat*).

<sup>4</sup> Dhanjeeeshaw Manjishaw (1713-1788). He was a great merchant of Surat and was the broker of the English factory. *Vide* foot-note No. 4 above.

<sup>5</sup> In 1768, the dispute had taken a serious turn in Broach itself, and Dastur Kamdinjee of Broach, the leading priest of the Shahanshahis or the Rasmis, was sent to jail. The new party there was headed by Kaus Rustam Jalál who was the father of Mulla Feroze and who was sent to Persia in the same year by Dhunjeeeshaw Manjishaw. The Nawab of Broach referred the matter to the Panchayets of Naosari and Surat. After some discussion lasting for several months, the Panchayet of Surat wrote to Broach to continue in the Rasmi belief (*vide* "Parsee Prakash," I, p. 1863).

<sup>6</sup> i. e., the high priest who led his sect. This was Kaus Rustam Jalál.

<sup>7</sup> Dastur Kamdinjee Fardunjee (1732-1782) who belonged to the Shahanshahi sect. He was the father of Aspandiarjee who published in 1826 "કદીમ તારીખ પારસીઓનો કદીમ," According to the "Parsee Prakash" (Vol. I, p. 68) he was a well-known Kadmi priest of Broach. Homaji who is honoured by the Parsees of Broach as a martyr was hanged for killing Behanbai, the sister of Pádashá. She was a staunch Kadmi. A manuscript book on the Kabiseh controversy, in my possession, gives Pádashá's personal name as Rustomji. He was the great great grandfather of Mr. Burjorjee, the present Kadmi head-priest of the Mazagon fire-temple of Mr. Framji Patel.

what Dhanjee, the leader of the Kadmis, said was wrong. The Nawáb wrote accordingly to Dhunjee. So Dhunjee was enraged against the Nawáb of Broach for not having gained the opinion of the priests and for not having decided in the favour of his sect. He had a grudge against the Nawab and he was on a look out to wreak his vengeance.

Now it so happened, that some time after this event, the Nawáb stopped at the Customs Office at Broach some of the goods of merchandise belonging to Dhunjee, saying that custom duty was due on them. Dhunjee claimed exemption, but the Nawáb refused it and confiscated the goods. Dhunjee had to pay the custom dues. Dhunjee then went before Mr. Gambier, the head of the English factory at Surat, with whom he had great influence, and said that the Custom House of Broach was from the first under the control of the Port of Surat, that its income was about Rs. 1,00,000 per year, and that the Nawáb has not been paying it to the Surat factory for the last 40 years. Dhunjee succeeded in influencing Mr. Gambier, who wrote to the Nawáb of Broach claiming a sum of 40 lakhs as due from him to the Government of Surat which had the right of enjoying the customs duties at Broach. The Nawáb indignantly repudiated the claim. Thereupon Mr. Gambier declared war. Thus, it appears, that according to the native author, a religious dispute amongst the Parsees of the time had some connection with the fight between the Nawáb of Broach and the English.

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Speaking of the fight, the Urdu *Kisseh* says that the Nawáb of Broach had asked assistance from Fatesingrao of Baroda, the Nawáb of Cambay, the Ruler of Dholka and the Raja of Rajpipla. Fatesing of Baroda is said to have had some sinister motives in sending his army for assistance. He was himself looking for an opportunity to seize Broach.

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<sup>1</sup> *Vide* the Broach Gazetteer, II, p. 470.

Kanouj referred to by Wilford. Prinsep affords us very valuable help on this point. In his essay on Saurâstra coins he says that the type of the series of Indian coins known as Gadhia-ka paisa is an "example of imitation of a Grecian original,"<sup>1</sup> and that "a comparison (of these coins) with the coins of the Arsakian and Sassanian dynasties of Persia, which are confessedly of Greek origin," satisfactorily proves that. Prinsep says on the subject of these coins: "The popular name for these rude coins—of silver and copper—is, according to Burnes, in Gujarât, 'Gadhia-kâ paisâ,' 'Ass money,' or rather, 'the money of Gadhia,' a name of Vikramâditya. . . . The Hindus insist that this Vikrama was not a paramount sovereign of India, but only a powerful king of the western provinces, his capital being Cambât or Cambay: and it is certain that the princes of these parts were tributary to Persia from a very early period. The veteran antiquarian, Wilford, would have been delighted, could he have witnessed a confirmation of his theories afforded by the coins before us, borne out by the local tradition of a people now unable even to guess at the nature of the curious and barbarous marks on them. None but a professed studier of coins could possibly have discovered on them the profile of a face after the Persian model, on one side, and the actual Sassanian fire-altar on the other; yet such is indubitably the case, as an attentive consideration of the accumulation of lines and dots (on the figures of the coins) will prove. Should this fire-altar be admitted as proof of an Indo-Sassanian dynasty in Saurâshtra, we may find the date of its establishment in the epoch of Yesdijird, the son of Behrâm-Gor; supported by the concurrent testimony of the Agni-purâna, that Vikrama, the son of Gadhâ-rupa, should ascend the throne of Mâlayâ (Ujjain) 753 years after the expiation of Chânakya or A.D. 441." (2)

A painting in the Âjanta caves refers to a Persian embassy to India. This also seems to refer to Behrâmgour, who, according to Firdousi, came in disguise as his own ambassador.

We have so far seen, that the ancient Persians had some connection with the country round Broach, and that old tradition, as found in the Agni-purâna, and old coins prove that connection.

Now we will speak of the connection of Broach with the early Parsee settlers in India.

(a) Div in Kathiâwâr was the first port where a band of refugees from Persia had landed in 761 A.D. and Sanjân the first place where they made their permanent settlement in 785 A.D. and built their first fire-temple in 790 A.D. They continued there for full 300 years.

<sup>1</sup> Essays on Indian Antiquities, by James Prinsep, edited by E. Thomas (1858). Vol. I, p. 335.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 341-42.

Then they began to disperse in the different cities of Gujarāt of which Broach was one.

The Kisseh-i-Sanjan, thus refers to this exodus from Sanjan (1):

بدینسان سال سیصد شد کم و بیش — وزانجا چند مردم شد کم و بیش  
پراگنده شده در کشور هند — بهر جانب گرفته جای دلبد  
بیانکانیر بعضی رو نهادند — کسان در جانب بروج فتادند

*Translation.*—In this way, passed away 300 years, more or less, (*i.e.*, about 300 years), as several persons, more or less, went away from that place. They were dispersed in the country of India and they got hold of (*i.e.* took abode in) attractive places in all directions. Many went to Bānkānir. Some went in the direction of Broach.

(b) This was in 1090. Two hundred years after this event, *i.e.*, in 1270 A.D. they divided Gujarat into five *panthaks*, *i.e.*, ecclesiastical divisions for the performance of sacerdotal functions. This was to avoid differences and quarrels among the priesthood about the spheres of their work. The Kisseh-i-Zarthushtiān-i-Hindustān thus speaks of this event.<sup>2</sup>

یکی روز همه دانای سنجان — جمع گشتند و بستند عهد از جان  
کنیم تقسیم مایان این همه جای — که هر جا هست بهدینان خوشرای  
همه جارا بکرده پنج تقسیم — نخست سنجان که سرحدش بدان بیم  
که حد او بود ای مرد خوشطور — ز رود پار تا آن رود دلفور  
همه بهدین که چون در حد سنجان — بحکم موبدان باشند با جان  
دگر تقسیم نوساری همی دان — بداده موبدانرا از دل و جان  
ز رود پار تا آن رود بریار — همه نوساریانرا اندر آن تاو  
مجال کسی نباشد در اینجا — همه حد خود سازند ملجا  
تو کوداره بدان تقسیم سیوم — ز بریار تا اوکلیسرای نیکو بوم  
کنند آنجا همه کوداریان کار — بجان و دل همه موبد شوند یار  
تو تقسیم چهارم ای نیکو دان — بدان بهروچ کو گویم حد و پیمان  
که تا کفایت دانی — همه سرحد بهروچیان بدانی  
سیم پنجم ای نیکو مرد — بگویم تا شد و معلوم ای زد  
مت بگفته مرد دانا — بدینسان کرد شهر و مارا  
پ سنجان اینچنین کار — بکرده تا نباشد کین و پیکار

<sup>2</sup> Vide my "A few Events in the Early History of the Parsees," p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Vide *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

*Translation.*—“ One day all the wise men of Sanjan assembled and entered into a contract sincerely. (They said :) “ We will divide all these places where there are laymen of good thoughts.” They divided all these places into five parts. First is Sanjan, whose limit was in that direction. O men of good nature ! its limit is from the river Pâr to that of Dantur. All the laymen, when they are within the limits of Sanjan, may be willingly under the orders of the Mobads (thereof). Know the other division to be Naôsâri. It was given to the Mobads with all heart and life (*i.e.* with a sincere heart). All (the country) from the river Pâr to the river Bariâv, was under the power of the Naôsariâns (*i.e.* the Naosari Mobads). Nobody else would have any control therein. All would have security in their own jurisdiction. O good-natured man ! Know the third division to be Godareh from Bariâv to Aklesar. All the Godârians will officiate at that place, and all the Mobads may be friendly with their heart and soul. O man of good knowledge ! Know the fourth division to be Broach, whose limit and measurement, I will now tell you. Know that (division) to be from Aklesar to Khambâyet. Know all that to be the limit of the people of Broach. O good man ! Know the fifth division. O leader ! I will tell that to you, so that you may know it. Wise men have named it Khambâyet. In this way they have divided the towns and places. The wisemen of Sanjân have done this work (of division), so that there may be no quarrel and dispute.”

(c) A good number of Parsees must have settled in Broach before this date (1290 A.D.) of the division of *panthaks* or ecclesiastical jurisdictions. On the authority of a manuscript book of a Hindu gentleman at Baroda, Khan Bahadur Bomanji Byramji Patel, says that a brick Tower of Silence was built at Broach in samvat 1365, *i.e.*, 1309 A.D. A brick tower even earlier than this is said to have been built there. I saw the ruins of a brick Tower of Silence on the 1st of January 1907. Though the outside of it shows very little difference from the modern towers, the inside seems to differ a good deal. For example we do not find in it different rows for males, females and children as are found in the modern towers.

(d) We learn from the Persian Revâyets, that Broach continued to be a Parsee centre for several centuries. In the letters received from the Zoroastrians of Persia by the Parsees of India, in reply to their questions on various religious subjects, we find Broach specially named, as one of the Parsee towns. The following Revayets mention the name of Broach.

1. The Revayet of 847 Yazdardi (1478 A.D.) brought from Persia by Narimân Hoshang.

The Revayet of 850 Yazdazardi (1481) brought by Narimân Hoshang.

2. The Revayet of 1511 A-D. brought by an unnamed messenger.
3. The Revayet of 1533 brought by Kâus Kâmdin.
4. The Revayet of 1626 brought by Bahman Aspandyâr.
5. The Revayet of 1627 brought by Bahman Poonjeh.

Not only did Broach Parsees take a part in these enquiries on religious subjects, but, at times, they sent messengers to Persia for the purpose from their own town. For example Narimân Hoshang, the messenger who went to Persia in 1478 and 1481 was a Parsee of Broach. Again Kâus Mahyar, who went to Persia in 1597 A.D., and Kaus Rustam Jelal, who went in 1768, belonged to Broach.

(B) Now I will give here a short outline of the events that had brought about the rule of the Nawabs, in the reigns of the last two of whom, the Kabiseh controversy of the Parsees seems to have raged a good deal, and is said to have had an influence on the state of affairs then prevailing.

In 1660 Aurangzeb got the city walls destroyed, because the city had long withstood his siege during the time of his war with his brothers. In 1675 the Mahrattas under Sivajee attacked the town and levied contributions. Finding the city without a wall for protection they returned in 1686 under Sivajee's son Sambhajee and plundered it. So, Aurangzeb ordered the city walls to be built again.<sup>1</sup>

In 1696 Avory, an English pirate, had plundered several Mahomedan pilgrim ships. So, the English factory at Broach was closed like that at Surat and the British factors put into chains. In 1702 matters seem to have improved and the factory was again working. Before the middle of the 18th century the English and the Dutch both had withdrawn their factories. The Dutch returned sometime before 1772. In 1772 the English conquered Broach. It remained in their possession for about 10 years. In 1782 it was given to the Peishwa and in 1803 it was taken back by the British and is in their possession since that time.

<sup>1</sup> The *Broach Gazetteer*, II, p. 468.

Hamilton says "In Aurangzeb's wars with his brothers, about the year 1660, this town held out a great while against his army. That season proving a dry one Aurengzeb's folks suffered much for want of fresh water and provisions, but at last he took it, and put all to the sword that had borne arms against him, and raz'd part of the walls, and pronounced a curse on them that should repair them again. But the Savajee's incursions made him order the rebuilding then himself, and he christened it *Suckabani* or the dry city. (A new account of the East Indies by Capt. Alexander Hamilton, 1744, Vol I., p. 145.)

Before 1722, Nizam-ul-Mulk was the Viceroy of Gujerat under the Moguls. During his viceroyalty, he had made Broach a part of his private estate. In 1722, he assumed independence in Deccan. In 1736 Abhasing was the Viceroy of Gujerat. At this time, Abdulla Beg, held Broach from the Nizam-ul-Mulk under the title of Nek Âlam Khân. He was the founder of the line of Nabobs who ruled for 36 years. He died in 1738 and was succeeded by his second son Mirzâ Beg who ruled up to the time of his death in 1752 under the title of Nek Âlam Khân II. Mirza Beg was succeeded by his brother who died within 3 months. On the death of this brother, the succession was in dispute for two years. At last Syed Idrus of Surat, who had great religious influence, espoused the cause of Mirza Ahmed Beg, a grandson of Abdulla Beg, and placed him on the throne. This Mirza Ahmed died in 1768 and was succeeded by his son Mazed Khan the last of the Nawabs. The following table shows the geneology of these Nawabs :—

*Genealogical table of the Nawábs of Broach.*

Abdulla Beg (or Nek Âlam Khân I.) 1736-38		
First son (name not known).	(Second son) Mirza Beg (or Nek Âlum Khan II) 1738-52.	Third son who succeeded his brother Mirza Beg and ruled for 3 months. No successor for two years, 1752-54.
Mirza Ahmed Beg, 1754-68.		
Mâzad Khan, 1768-72. (the last Nawáb, overthrown by the British.)		

Now it was between this Mâzad Khan and the British that a dispute arose. The Gazetteer (Vol. II, p. 469) gives the following account of the dispute, prepared from the correspondence recorded in some of the volumes of the Secretariat Records :—

“ The political connection of the English Company with Broach dates from their capture of Surat in 1759. There were certain claims of the Nawáb of Surat upon the customs revenue of the Port of Broach. These, together with a sum due to the English on account of an excessive levy of duties on cloth, amounting altogether to £15,000 (Rs. 1,50,000), the Nawáb of Broach was called upon to pay. In the early months of 1771 a body of the Company's troop in the neighbourhood of Surat was engaged against the Kolis. In the hope that a

military display might induce the Nawáb to propose some settlement of the claims made against him, the Chief of Surat was directed to transport this force by sea to the neighbourhood of Broach. These instructions the factors at Surat did not carry out. . . . .”

We see from this account that the *casus belli* was a claim of money upon the Nawáb by the English.

Now the native account of the fight of the English with the Nawáb, referred to above, throws some further light upon this matter, and says that a Parsee of Surat was partly at the bottom of this question. This native account is very interesting from a Parsee point of view, because, as said above, it suggests that the question of *kabíseh*, or of the calculation of an intercalary month, which had produced a schism among the Parsees of India in the 18th century and which has produced among them two sects—the Kadmis and the Shehanshahis—had some connection with the above dispute between the English and the Nawáb of Broach.

The native account, which I beg to present, is that of a Mahomedan writer named Sayed Abbas Ali. He has written a short history of this dispute and the subsequent battle between the English and the Nawáb of Broach under the title of “Kisseh-i-Nawáb Majuzkhan Bahadur of Broach.”<sup>1</sup> It was written in Urdu. It has not been published and I have not been fortunate in seeing it in the original Urdu. But a Gujarati translation of it was published in 1869 by Mobed Byramji Fardoonji Vakil<sup>2</sup> of Broach under the title of ભરૂચનાં નવાબ મેઝુકખાન બહાદુર ને ઈસરો. Two hundred copies of it were published then. The translation being out of print, in 1894, Mr. Sorabji Framjee Byramjee Vakil, a grandson of the original translator, has published a second edition. I am indebted to my friend Khan Bahadur Adarji Mancherjee Dalal for a copy of it. I think that the Gazetteer refers to the above *Kisseh* in its account of “the local details of the capture” of Broach when it says that it gives it on the authority of “A life of Mázad Khân,” by one of his courtiers. The name of the Nawáb, as given by the *Kisseh*, is Maozuzkhan while the English writer gives it as Mazad Khan. The difference is not very important when we know that the last letter *dâl* in the Urdu name, if written or read with an additional dot (*nukteh*), can be read ‘z’ instead of ‘d’.

<sup>1</sup> I give this title as given by the translator of the *Kisseh*. According to Mr. Sorabshaw Dadabhoy Fardoonji, Munsiff of Broach, the author called his work “Kisseh-i-Gamgeenee,” i.e., “The Story of Sorrow,” probably because it described the downfall of the Nawab’s regime. It was written in 1193 Hijree i.e. 1783 A. D.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Sorabshaw Dadabhoy Fardoonjee Munsiff in his letter dated 5th January 1907 writes to me that he knew this translator. He was a priest and was practising in the Broach District Court in his full dress of *Jama Pichodi*.

Now the *Kisseh* gives the following account of the commencement of the dispute which, as said above, is interesting from a Parsee point of view :—

The Nawáb of Surat was Sayad Hakijuldin Khan. An Englishman, named Mr. Sam Gabrier<sup>1</sup>, was the head of the English factory on behalf of the Company. Among the Parsees at Surat, there arose a great dispute about the calculation of time,<sup>2</sup> the difference of a month in calculation having arisen as the result of some letters received from Persia. There arose two parties. At the head of one, the Rasmi, who adhered to the old previous calculation was Minocher<sup>3</sup>. At the head of the other sect, the Kadmis, was Dhunjee<sup>4</sup>. The dispute had continued for some time<sup>5</sup>. During that dispute Dhunjee, the leader of the Kadmi sect of Surat, writes to the Nawáb of Broach to inquire into the matter of the question under discussion. He also wrote to his own Mulla<sup>6</sup>. The Nawáb, therefore, sent for the two *ákhuns* i.e., preceptors of the Parsees, one Dastur Kamdin<sup>7</sup> by name and another Pádashá<sup>8</sup>. He asked them to tell correct facts as described in religious books. Dastur Kamdin after a long consideration said that what Muncher, the leader of the Rasmis, said was correct and

<sup>1</sup> This Mr. Gabier is Mr. Gambier of our historical writers.

<sup>2</sup> It was in 1720, that one Jamasp, known as Jamasp Velayati, came from Persia to India and pointed out the difference of one month between the calculation of the Zoroastrians of Persia and that of the Zoroastrians of India. In 1736, a layman, named Jamshed, from Persia, revived the question. In 1745 the Parsees of Surat had a regular schism for the first time. In 1768, Dhanjishaw Manjishaw sent Mobad Kaus Rustam Jalál of Broach to Persia to study the question there.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Muncherjee Kharshedj Seth (1714-1784). He was the broker of the Dutch Factory at Surat. He had great influence with the Nawáb of Surat. He had twice been to Delhi to the Mogul Court for business purposes. Anquetil Du Perron (*Le Zend Avesta* I, Partie I, p. cccxv) speaks of him as the courtier (broker) of the Dutch and as the chief of the Parsees of Surat (*le premier des Parses de Surat*).

<sup>4</sup> Dhanjeehaw Manjishaw (1713-1788). He was a great merchant of Surat and was the broker of the English factory. *Vide* foot-note No. 4 above.

<sup>5</sup> In 1768, the dispute had taken a serious turn in Broach itself, and Dastur Kámdinjee of Broach, the leading priest of the Shahanshahis or the Rasmis, was sent to jail. The new party there was headed by Kaus Rustam Jalál who was the father of Mulla Ferose and who was sent to Persia in the same year by Dhunjeehaw Manjishaw. The Nawab of Broach referred the matter to the Panchayets of Naosari and Surat. After some discussion lasting for several months, the Panchayet of Surat wrote to Broach to continue in the Rasmi belief (*vide* "Parsee Prakash," I, p. 863).

<sup>6</sup> i.e., the high priest who led his sect. This was Kaus Rustam Jalál.

<sup>7</sup> Dastur Kamdinjee Fardunjee (1731-1781) who belonged to the Shahanshahi sect. He was the father of Aspandiarjee who published in 1826 "કદીમ તારીખ પારસીઓને કહેલું," \* According to the "Parsee Prakash" (Vol. I, p. 68) he was a well-known Kadmi priest of Broach. Homáji who is honoured by the Parsees of Broach as a martyr was hanged for killing Behanbai, the sister of Pádashá. She was a staunch Kadmi. A manuscript book on the Kabisch controversy, in my possession, gives Pádashá's personal name as Rustomji. He was the great great grandfather of Mr. Burjorjee, the present Kadmi head-priest of the Mazagon fire-temple of Mr. Framji Patel.

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As the English account says, the expedition ended in a failure. "The management of the expedition had been in many points

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* the Broach Gazetteer, II, p. 470.

contrary to the instructions of the Bombay Government, and had ended in so complete a failure ; the conduct of the officers concerned was made the subject of a committee of inquiry. The result of the inquiry was that Mr. Draper, the Chief of the factory at Surat, was removed and the other members subjected to severe reprimand and censure.<sup>1</sup> The native account gives a few details of the fight which, it says, lasted for 17 days.

The *Kisseh* says that Gambier sent a message with one Hirjee<sup>2</sup> seeking for peace. The Nawáb sent a message saying that "if you want peace I will not want war, but if you will want war I will not delay to fight."

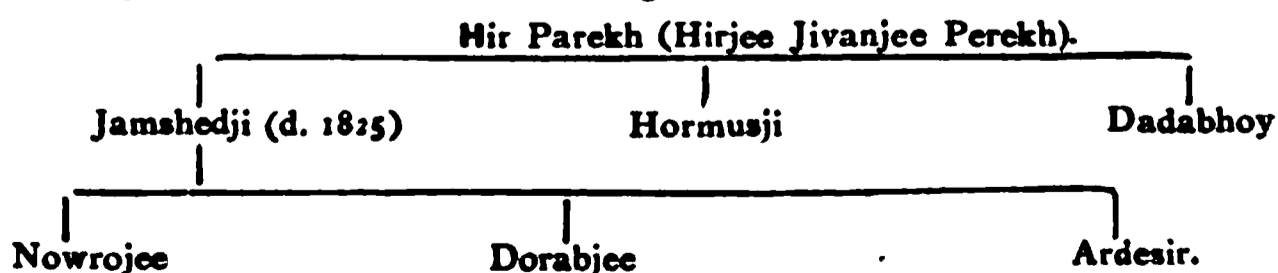
اگر صلح خواہی نخواہم جنگ  
وگر جنگ جوی ندارم درنگ

Mr. Gambier returned to Surat and then sent a fresh demand of about Rs. 4 lacs of Rupees. He asked Laloo, the Dewan of the Nawab of Broach, whom he had taken with him to Surat, Dhunjee the Parsee broker of the English factory and Muncher, the Parsee broker of the Dutch factory, to meet Kalooba, the Dewan of Fatesingrao of Baroda and suggest some means for recovering some money from the Nawab of Broach. The result of their consultation was not known.

The Gazetteer says, "on the 30th July, 1771, the Bombay Government received a letter from the Nawáb of Broach offering to visit Bombay with the view of settling in person the claims brought against him. Mázad Khan's proposal was accepted, vessels were sent to Broach,

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* The Broach Gazetteer, II, p. 470.

<sup>2</sup> We learn from the "Parsee Prakash" (I. p. 191) that this Hirjee was a well-known Parsee of Surat. His full name was Hirjee Jivanjee Parekh and he was known as Hir Parekh. He was the *kārbhāri*, i.e., the household manager of Kaim-ul-Dawlla, the Nawab of Surat. He had such a great influence with the Nawáb that the people of Surat generally said that હીરને ક્યા સો પીરને ક્યા (Hirné kyā so pir ne kya) i.e., whatever was done by Hir was taken (by the Nawab) to have been done by the Pir, i.e., the spiritual guide. He seems to have died long before 1825 A. D., because his son Jamsedji who was a great merchant, is reported to have died in 1825 A. D., at the ripe old age of 75. ("Parsee Prakash," p. 191). His family was long known in Surat after his death. The following table gives the names of his sons and grandsons :—



and, setting out at the close of the stormy season, the Nawâb reached Bombay on the 4th November 1771. While in Bombay Mâzad Khan was treated with every consideration."<sup>1</sup>

Abâs Ali's Urdu account says that it was the Government of Bombay that first invited him to go to Bombay. He refused at first, but being requested again, offered to go, not by land, but by sea and in full state. So ships were sent for him to Broach, in charge of Morley. One Parsee Nowrojee<sup>2</sup> accompanied him.

Abas Ali's account of the Nawab's visit to Bombay is very interesting, especially now, when the particulars of the visit of the Amir of Afghanistan are just fresh in our mind. The Nawâb of Broach was then considered to be a personage of great position. The words અમલી નવાબ ભરૂચકે (Ambhi Nawab Bharooch ke) *i.e.*, "I also am the Nawab of Broach," form a proverb in the Gujarati language. When a person claims some honor or precedence and puts on airs of being a

<sup>1</sup> Gazetteer, II, p. 470.

<sup>2</sup> We learn from the Parsee "Prakash," (I., pp. 97 and 98) that this Parsee Nowrojee was Nowrojee Nanabhoy Khambatta who died in 1804 A. D. at the ripe old age of 90. He was a forefather of Mr. Kharshedji Dinshaw Khambatta of Bombay. At first, he was an inhabitant of Bombay. From there, he had gone to Surat for trade. He was known among the Parsees as મોર્લીના નવરોજી (Morley nâ Nowrojee), *i.e.*, Morley's Nowrojee. This Morley is Mr. James Morley, the Resident of Broach, referred to by the Gazetteer (The Gazetteer of Broach, Vol. II., p. 471), and referred to by the *kisseh*.

Khan Bahadur Bomanjee Byramjee Patel thus refers in his "Parsee Prakash," c Vol. I., p. 27) to the fact of this Nowrojee going to Broach with Morley.

“ત્યાંથી (સુરતથી) ઇ. સ. ૧૮૦૨ માં મી૦ મોરલી નામના ઇસ્ટ ઇન્ડીઆ કંપનીના એક અમલદાર સાથે ભરૂચનાં નવાબ મોજુજખાન પાસે જમીનને લગતું કાંઈ લેહણું વસુલ કરવાને ભરૂચ આવ્યા હતા. એ પછી એવોએ પોતાનાં કુટુંબ સહીત ત્યાંજ મથક કીધું હતું, તથા ત્યાં મોરલીના નવરોજીને નામે ઓળખાતા હતા. ઇ. સ. ૧૮૦૩ માં ઇંગ્રેજ સરકારે ભરૂચ લીધા પછી તેમની ઇવણીમાં જાઈતો માલ વીગેરે પુરૂં પાડવાનું કંટ્રાક્ટ એવણે લીધું હતું.”

Khan Bahadur B. B. Patel gives no authority for his above statement, but on enquiring from him, he says that he has given this statement as he had heard it at Broach.

Now we find from the *kisseh* that the fact of Nowrojee going to Broach with Morley is correct, but the date of their arrival is not correct. In the first place, the Nawâb Maujuz-khan was dead long before 1802 when Morley and Nowrojee are reported to have gone to Broach to demand the land-dues said to have been due from him. The error in the date seems to have arisen from the fact of mistaking the first conquest of Broach by the British in 1772 A. D., for the second conquest in 1803. After the first conquest and after keeping it for about 11 years, Broach was ceded to the Peshwa in 1783 in accordance with a treaty known as the Treaty of Sâlbai (the Broach Gazetteer, II, p. 474). For 19 years it remained in the hands of the Mahrattas and then it was reconquered in 1803. So, the fact referred to by Khan Bahadur B. B. Patel occurred in 1772 after the first conquest and not in 1803 after the second conquest. The Gazetteer Vol. II., p. 472 says, "On the news of the capture of Broach, Mr. James Morley was appointed resident, with Messrs. James Cheape and William Mahon, joint factors, for the management of the concern and for collecting the revenues of the town." So the event referred to in the "Parsee Prakash" must be that of 1772.

great man this proverb is applied to him. Now it seems that the Nawâb of Broach was feted and received with honour in 1772 in the same way as the Amir has been now. I cull the following account from Abbas Ali's version :—

When Mr. Morley reached Broach, the Nawab was still in mourning for the death of his *ustâd* or spiritual guide. Two days were wanting to complete the 40 days' period of mourning. So Mr. Morley saw the Nawab two days after his arrival. Then the Nawab consulted his courtiers about his proposed visit. Some advised him to go and others dissuaded him. But at length he resolved to go. He sent his *pâigah*, i.e., infantry troops to Bombay by way of land. He took with him in the ships a retinue of 1,000 persons of whom about 100 were his courtiers, the author of the *Kisseh* being one of them. The Nawab had 8 sons and 6 daughters. All these began to weep at the departure of the Nawab, who left Broach with a salute from the English ships. The ships anchored at the mouth of the river for one night and then at Surat for another night. Then from Surat it took them two days and a half to come to Bombay. They stoped on the coast of Mahim and from there Mr. Morley sent a letter with the Parsee Nowrojee to the General (i.e., the Governor) of Bombay informing them of their arrival. A *haveli* i.e., a palatial building near the *furjâ*, i.e., the Custom House, belonging to a Mahomedan Mulla, was furnished with carpets, chandeliers, lamps, pictures, etc., and it served as a residence for the Nawâb. About 10 to 11 battalions lined the road in honour of the Nawâb. Members of the Council headed by Mr. Wedderburn formed a deputation to receive the Nawâb. The ships which had anchored at Mahim came to Bombay, salutes were fired from all the ships in the harbour at the time when the Nawab got down from his Fatehmâri (a kind of big boat) into a boat. On coming to the shore, the Nawab was received with a salute from the guns in the fort. Among those that had met to welcome the Nawâb, were English *madams* who were like the houris of paradise. These ladies were all moon-faced. They looked like the garden of *chaman*, i.e., joy, their cheeks were rosy and their statures were so straight that even straight cypresses would look down with shame. Their eyes were like those of the deer and their ringlets put the lookers-on to shame. The Nawâb was pleased to see them, and, they, in their turn, were pleased to see him and began to talk about him amongst themselves. They began to make *kookoo* (i.e., to talk in a whispering tone) among themselves just as five or seven *mena* birds when they meet together. After their first surprise on looking at him they collected themselves and salaamed him.

The Nawâb then got into a golden palanquin. The *chobdars* announced his arrival and departure. He was escorted by his own

body-guards. When the Nawâb came to where the artillery was stationed he was saluted by the guns. The Nawab then reached the house of the General.

The General welcomed the Nawâb and introduced him to his wife and daughter. Two persons acted as interpreters, one of whom was a Parsee. Mr. Hornby, the Governor (of whom the author of the *Kisseh* speaks as the General) expressed his delight at the Nawâb accepting his invitation. Tea was soon served and after a short time the Nawâb departed for his residence.

The next day the Governor paid a return visit.

Governor Hornby and the Nawab both had issued strict orders to their soldiers and sepoys that they should avoid disputes and quarrels with one another. In spite of this caution, once an European had a quarrel with a man of the Nawab. The latter dislocated the hand of his opponent. The Nawab therefore ordered that a hand of his servant may be cut off in punishment. This coming to the ears of the Governor, he interceded and pardoned the man.

The Nawâb was once invited by the Governor to a private interview. The Governor, his wife and daughter met him in their garden and had their tea there. At the time of the evening prayer (*nemâs*), one of the servants of the Nawâb, while spreading the shawl to serve as a carpet broke a valuable chandelier of Mr. Hornby's house worth about Rs. 3,000.

The Nawab stayed in Bombay for about two months and was entertained by Mr. Wedderburn and other members of the Council.

As to the political question, to settle which the Nawâb was called to Bombay, it was arranged that the Nawâb should pay a sum of Rs. 4 lacs by six-monthly instalments within 2 years. The Nawâb then left Bombay with all honors. Mr. Morley accompanied him as the British Resident at Broach. The Nawâb, not paying the first instalment within the time fixed, Mr. Morley left his court. Another expedition, headed by General Wedderburn, and aided by Mr. Watson, went to Broach. In the fight that ensued, General Wedderburn was killed, but in the end, Broach fell in the hands of the English on 18th November 1772.

### III.

The next subject of my notes is a visit to the well-known Kabirvad (*i.e.* the Kabir banyan tree) growing on an island formed by the sacred Nerbudda. About 130 years ago, Forbes said that the tree

with its 350 large and over 3,000 small stems occupied a space of about 2,000 ft. in circumference and sheltered about 7,000 men under it<sup>1</sup>. Bishop Heber considered it to be “one of the most noble groves of the world.” A writer in the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay said that the tree struck him “with an awe similar to what is inspired by a fine Gothic cathedral.” Some of these later writers refer to the fact that the different trunks of the tree are being washed away by the floods of the river. I saw it on the morning of 2nd January 1907, and I may say, that in no sight-seeing in my travels was I so much disappointed as in the case of the Kabir vad. From a spectacular point of view, the tree, as it now stands, is not worth a visit after a long drive. The idea that I formed of the tree on seeing it, fell too short of the ideal that I had formed of its greatness from what I had read of it. We happen to see more lovely groves of banyan trees in other parts of the country. Again, the state, in which the ground on which it stands and spreads, is kept, adds to our disappointment. If it be cleared of the short brushwood growth and kept clean, the disappointment would not be so great, and the ideal not so ruthlessly spoilt. As it is, there are not even a few yards which would attract you to rest and shelter there for a few hours after a dusty journey of about 2 to 3 hours.

Tradition says that Kabir, the great poet, philosopher, and moralist, happened to be at this place. The tree grew out of the twigs of a banyan tree with which he cleaned his teeth and which he threw there. The Kabirpanth is said to have a large number of followers, and one would naturally expect to see a large number of them at this place connected traditionally with his name. But that is not the case. Very few people of his sect are seen here. Even the temple there, known as the shrine of Kabir, is served by priests of sects other than the Kabir faith.

It was the sacredness of the Nerbudda that had drawn Kabir to its banks, and it is this sacredness that gives further sanctity and importance to this Kabirvad and its shrine.

We hear the following verse about the Nerbudda and three other sacred rivers of India :—

મંગા પાણી.  
જમના સ્નાને.  
નર્બદા દર્શને.  
તાપી સ્મરણે.

<sup>1</sup> Gazetteer, p. 156,

- i.e.* The Gangâ (Ganges) gives sanctity by its water,  
 The Jamna by its baths,  
 The Nerbudda by its sight,  
 The Tapti by meditation (on its banks).

The shrine of Kabirjee near the Kabir *vad* is one of the several *tiraths* or shrines on the banks of the Nerbudda. The following is the list of such *tiraths* as dictated to me by the priest of a Luxmi Narayen temple at Sukal-tirath :—

1. Survaneshwar સુવર્ણેશ્વર. It has an image of Mahadev. It is about 15 miles from Chandod.
2. Kunbeshwar કુંભેશ્વર. It has an image of Hanumân. It is on the other side of Kaniâri.
3. Kumesomnâth કુમે સોમનાથ at Kaniari.
4. Shekh Sohiji Mahâraj શેખ સોહીજી મહારાજ near Chandod.
5. Sukhdev સુખ દેવો.
6. Vyâs વ્યાસ.
7. Gangnath ગંગ નાથ near Chandod.
8. Hansoyâ Mâtta હાંસોયા માતા near Ambawi.
9. Bhandareswar Mahadeo ભંડારેશ્વર મહાદેવો near Senore.
10. Gunpati ગુનપતી at Senore.
11. Karticksvami કાર્તીક સ્વામી near Sisodrâ.
12. Kubereshwar કુબેરેશ્વર near Kotal.
13. Kabirji કબીરજી. It has an image of Kabir and it is under the shelter of the Kabir *vad*.
14. Vadrâsu વદ્રાસુ near Mangleshwar.
15. Sukal-tirath.

Of all the *tiraths* or the shrines on the bank of the Nerbudda near Broach, that of Sukal-tirath is the best known. In the Vâyu Purâna, it is spoken of as the best of all the Tiraths in the northern banks of the Nerbudda ( सर्व तीर्थेष्वनुत्तमम् )<sup>1</sup>. It is about 10 miles from

॥ श्री मार्कण्डेय उवाच ॥

अतःपरं प्रवक्ष्यामि सर्व तीर्थेष्वनुत्तमम् ॥

रेवाया उत्तरे कूके शुक्ल तीर्थ युधिष्ठिर ॥ १ ॥

(as quoted in the *विनंती पत्र* of the temple)

*i.e.*, Mârkanḍ Rishi says : O Raja Yudhishtira. Hear the account that I give you of the Tirath of Shikaltirath which is situated on the northern bank of the Nerbudda and is the best of all *tiraths* ( रेक Revâ is a name of the Nerbudda ).

Broach. The place itself has three tiraths or shrines, of which the holiest is that of Hunkareshwar हुन्काशेश्वर. The image in this shrine carries in its four arms the four emblems of Vishnu. In its two right arms it carries the padma, *i.e.*, the lotus and gada, *i.e.*, the sceptre or mace. In its two left arms it carries the chakra, *i.e.*, the wheel or the disc, and the sankh, *i.e.*, the shell.

Tradition tells the following story about its discovery as a *tirath* :—

Chânakya, the King of Ujjain, was attacked with leprosy. It was thought to be the result of his sin.<sup>1</sup> So he thought of purifying himself of that sin, hoping that such a purification would cure him of his leprosy. In order to find out the most holy place, the pilgrimage of which could free him of his sin and cure him of his disease, he asked the crows, who had in those early times white feathers and not black feathers, to go to the death-god Yama and to tell him that king Chânakya was dead. On hearing this news, Yama gave instructions as to where his soul was to be led by his (Yama's) attendants for purification. The crows heard the instructions and returning to Chânakya said that the place of purification was somewhere on the Nerbudda, that he must sail down the Nerbudda in a boat with black sails, and that the place where the sails turned from black to white, might be taken as the place of purification. The king did accordingly, and while sailing down the Nerbudda, when he came down to the village of Sukaltirath, the sails immediately turned white. The king got out on the shore and bathed at that place in the sand and in the water of the Nerbudda and was purified of his sin and cured of his leprosy. When the death-king Yama knew of the trick played upon him by the crows at the instance of Chânakya, he punished the crows by cursing them and by changing to black their feathers, which were up to then white. It is for this reason that we have the black colour of the crows.<sup>2</sup>

This story of Yama, sin, leprosy, and the crows reminds us of the belief of the ancient Persians about leprosy. Herodotus says of the Persians (Bk I. 138) :—

“ Whosoever of the citizens has the leprosy or scrofula, is not permitted to stay within a town, nor to have communication with other Persians ; and they say that from having committed some offence against the sun a man is afflicted with these diseases. Every stranger that is seized with these distempers, many of them even drive out of the country ; and they do the same to white pigeons, making the same charges against them.”

<sup>1</sup> According to Herodotus (I. 138), the ancient Persians also considered leprosy to be the result of sin.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* the Broach Gazetteer, p. 568.

We see from this passage of Herodotus that the ancient Persians also connected leprosy with sin. The white doves of this passage remind us of the white crows referred to in the above description of Sukaltirath. Again, the Yama in the above story of Sukaltirath is the Yima of the Avesta, the Jam of the Palhavi books and the Jamshed (Yima Khshaeta) of the later writings. It is in the second chapter of the Vandidad, which treats of a *vara* or stricture of Yima, that we find a reference to leprosy.

The Persians were so much afraid of the lepers, that we learn from the Classics, that Magebazus, a Persian satrap who was sentenced to be banished, took advantage of this fear prevailing among his countrymen and made his escape, pretending to be a leper.

We went to the opposite bank of the Nerbudda where the Kabirvad stands on an island, from Mangleshwar (मंगलेश्वर). Here, at Mangleshwar, I met a Rajput, whose story showed us that there are many persons in India, persons of poor means, who travel thousands of miles along the whole country of India, from the Himalayas in the North to Rameshwar in the South, out of devotion to visit sacred places *tiraths* and to purify themselves. Mansing Rajput, of whom I speak, had travelled up to Badrinath, the well-known place of pilgrimage in the Himalayas. He had brought with him the sacred water of the Gangootri. He had kept the water in a sealed bottle and proposed to go one day to Rameshwar with that water. The sacred water of the Gangootri near Badrinath, when thrown by a pious devotee over the image of Mahadeo at Rameshwar, raises a little the size of the image, and that is a sure sign of the acceptance of the prayers of the devotee. Hundreds and thousands are said to travel the whole distance on foot. Again, there are many more hundreds and thousands who travel by train. They, at times, carry the sacred water with them in their bottles. But that is not the most acceptable way of devotion. The water is not to be taken in the train by which people of all faiths and of all kinds of impurities travel. So, they say there are professional carriers who travel to and fro from Badrinath. They receive sealed bottles of the sacred water from different pilgrims with labels of their names attached to them, and, travelling on foot, carry the bottles to the destinations of the different travellers. They charge a certain rate per bottle for their work.

#### APPENDIX.

In the body of my paper I have referred to the visit of Mr. J. E. Rendien, the Dutch Consul in Bombay to the Dutch tombs at Broach. In reply my letter referred to above, Mr. Bendien has kindly sent me

copies of the issues of the Dutch journal "Neerlandia" of the months of January and February 1907, wherein he has published an account of his visit to the towns of Surat, Broach and Ahmedabad, each of which had a Dutch factory in the 17th and 18th centuries. In his letter to me, dated 4th April 1907, Mr. Bendien says about the tombstones: "The majority of the tombstones bear no inscriptions: particularly of the larger monuments, nothing can be deciphered, as the inscriptions, if they still do exist, partly are buried under cement or whitewashed."

When I had read my paper, I had submitted copies of the inscriptions as I had copied them in a hasty visit; but, as I find, that Mr. Bendien has given them in the above Dutch journal, I give his copies below. Mr. Bendien has kindly translated them for me, and I give his translation also. I thank him for the help he has given me.

#### INSCRIPTION I.

Hier rust Johannis Groenevelt,  
 Die desen naam, voor Hem bestelt  
 Niet lange Droegh, vermits D'Doodt  
 Hem in ons aller Moeder schoot  
 Diedt draagen: En Syn leven al  
 Was maar 2 uyren in 't Getal  
 Obyt en wiert geboren in Brootsch  
 Den 10 Sept: 1666.

*Translation.*—Here lies Johannis Groenevelt who did not bear very long this name which was ordered for him, as Death carried him to the lap of Mother Earth, and his life was only hours 2 in number. Died and was born in Broach on the 10th September 1666.

Mr. Bendien thinks that perhaps this was the first child of Mr. Groenevelt who first founded a regular factory at Broach and was its first director. We find his name on the sun-dial with the date 1700 A.D.

#### INSCRIPTION II.

"Hier rust Anna Marrianne Van Brondhout (? ) 22 Maenden en 10 Daagen. Obyt 23 Augusty 1654."

*Translation.*—Here rests Anna Marrianne Van Brondhout 22 months, 10 days. Died 23rd August 1654.

**Tombs in the Dutch Cemetery, Broach.**

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By J. J. Modi.

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## INSCRIPTION III.

“ Hier onder rust Antoni Christiaan, oud 23 Maanden en 12 Daagen. Obit den 20 May, Anno 1702.”

*Translation.*—Here rests Antoni Christian, old 23 months and 12 days. Died 20th May, year 1702.

Mr. Bendien observes in the above journal, that “It is not surprising that only the inscriptions on the children’s tombs are preserved. They were the largest in number in the cemeteries of Europeans in India.

## INSCRIPTION IV.

“ Hic ( ? Hier) Jacet Jan Willem Six. In Zijn leven Secundo Alhier. Obyt den 32 (sic) Maart, Anno 1744.”

*Translation.*—Here lies Jan Willem Six. In his lifetime he was Second<sup>1</sup> here. Died the 32 (?) March, year 1744.

There is another inscription on an obelisk, on which Mr. Bendien can only read the name “ Martinus.”

Secundo means second merchant, *i.e.*, a junior merchant. Stavorinus seems to refer to merchants of this class as junior merchants. (*Vide* above, p 299.)

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**ART. XX.—*The Parāsariya Dharma Sâstra.***

**BY THE LATE MR. SHAMRAO VITHAL.**

**( COMMUNICATED BY THE PRESIDENT.)**

**(*Read 26th September 1907.*)**

**INTRODUCTION.**

Before entering upon my task of reviewing the Parāsara Samhitā it would not, I think, be out of place to make a few observations on the Hindu Dharma-Sâstra generally.

**DHARMA.**

The word Dharma is derived from the root धृ to hold or support and is defined to mean that which has the characteristic of enjoining or ordaining some duty or act which leads to prosperity in this world and to supreme felicity in the life to come. The term Sâstra is derived from the root Sâs( शास् ) to command or teach and in its primary sense signifies a command, a rule religious or civil. In its extended sense it includes any religious, scientific, philosophic or legal treatise or any sacred book or composition of divine or standard authority.

Dharma as defined above consists of two branches, one dealing with what is called the *Pravritti-Mârga*—the path of active or worldly life, the other with what is called the *Nivritti-Mârga*—the path to the soul's final liberation from existence and exemption from re-birth by withdrawing or separating oneself from the world.<sup>1</sup>

The Dharma-Sâstra with which we are concerned here deals chiefly with the *Pravritti-Mârga* and lays down rules for the conduct of man both religious and secular.

**THE SOURCES OR PROOFS OF DHARMA AND THEIR  
RELATIVE AUTHORITY.**

According to orthodox opinion of the present day the sources or proofs of Dharma are fourfold, viz., (1) the Veda or Śruti, (2) the Smṛiti otherwise called Dharma-Sâstra, (3) the Purānas, and (4) Âchâra—Usage.

## THE ŚRUTIS.

The Aryan Scriptures known as the Veda (the true or divine knowledge) consist of four principal divisions, namely, the Rig-Veda, Yajur-Veda, Sâma-Veda and Atharva-Veda with six supplementary compositions called the six Vedângas (Members of the Vedic body of scriptures) added to them. These six Vedângas are :—

- 1 Śikshâ (Pronunciation).
- 2 Kalpa-Sutras (Ritual).
- 3 Vyâkaranam (Grammar).
- 4 Nirukta (Word explanation or etymology).
- 5 Chandas (Metre).
- 6 Jyotisha (Astronomy).

The four Vedas and the six Vedângas together are called the Parâ Vidyâ or supreme knowledge.

Recently a controversy has arisen as to what constitutes the Veda strictly so called, the late Dayananda Saraswati, the founder of the Arya Samaja, being the originator of this controversy. Each of the four Vedas is composed of two parts, the first consists of the Mantras (hymns) and the second the Brâhmanas. According to Dayananda Saraswati, the first part constitutes the real Veda—Śruti or revelation, and the Brâhmanas are simply a commentary produced by the Rishis on the Mantras. He maintained that the word Brâhmana is synonymous with Itihasa, Purana, Kalpa, Gatha and Nârâṁsi ; that no Rishi except Katyayana has recognised the Brâhmanas as revelation pure and simple ; that the Mantras alone form the true Veda directly revealed by Iśvra ; that they are the foundation of all knowledge ; and that the Brâhmanas and other Angas (Members) of the Veda are authorities, only because they are derived from and agree with the Vedas. We may here passingly remark that according to Bhatta Yagñeswara Śarmâ the Rig-Veda is the Veda *par excellence*.<sup>1</sup>

The Aryâs recognise the Śruti as described above as the root and foundation of all knowledge. Manu declares the whole Veda to be the source of Dharma and that its authority on questions of Dharma is transcendent and absolute.

Where there is a conflict between two Śrutis “both are held to be law ; for both are pronounced by the wise (to be) valid law.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> तथा चैतरेय ब्राह्मणस्य प्रथमाध्यायस्य चतुर्थखण्डे श्रूयते । “एतदे यज्ञस्य समृद्धं यद्रूपसमृद्धं यत् कर्मक्रियमाणमृगमिवदति” इति ॥ कृष्णयजुर्वेदेऽपि श्रूयते । “यदेतत्सामान्य-जुषा क्रियते तच्छिषिकम् यदृचा क्रियते तत् इहम्” इति । एतेन ऋग्वेदस्य सर्वतोऽभ्यर्हि-तत्वमवगम्यते । इति आर्यविद्या सुधाकरे ॥

<sup>2</sup> Manu II, 6, 14.

### THE SMRITIS.

The word Smriti is derived from the root स्मृ to remember and it designates what was only remembered and handed down by human authors such as Manu, Yājñavalkya and other great sages. The following description of the Smritis given by Mr. Colebrooke may be accepted as substantially correct :—

“ The laws of Hindoos, civil and religious, are by them believed to be alike founded on revelation, a portion of which has been preserved in the very words revealed and constitutes the Vedas esteemed by them as sacred writ. Another portion has been preserved by inspired writers who had revelation present to their memory, and who have recorded holy precepts for which a divine sanction is to be presumed. This is termed Smriti, recollection, (remembered law), in contradiction to Śruti, tradition (revealed law).

“ The Vedas concern chiefly religion and contain few passages directly applicable to jurisprudence. The law civil and criminal, is to be found in the Smriti, otherwise termed Dharma-śâstra including duty, or means of moral merit. So much of this as relates to observances may be classed together with ancient and modern rituals (bearing the designation of Kalpa or Paddhati) as a separate branch ; and forensic law is more particularly understood when the Dharma-śâstra is treated of.

“ That law is to be sought primarily in the institutes or collections (Samhitas) attributed to holy sages ; the true authors, whoever these were, having affixed to their compositions the names of sacred personages, such as Manu, Yājñavalkya, Vishnu, Parâsara, Gautama, &c.”

### THE ORIGIN OF THE SMRITIS.

Bhatta Kumârila in his Tantra-Vârtika says :—

शास्त्रानां विप्रकीर्णत्वात् पुरुषाणां प्रमादतः ।

नाना प्रकर्णस्थत्वात् स्मृतेर्मूलम् न दृश्यते ॥

The origin of the Smritis cannot be traced on account of the Śakhas lying scattered here and there, on account of human carelessness or error and on account of the variety of topics with which they (the Smritis) deal.

Mâdhavâchârya in his Jaiminiya Nyâyamâlâ-Vistâra gives a more reasonable explanation. He says that the Smritis are digests in which the Vedic ordinances which lie scattered in the several Vedas are epitomised or collected in one place.

The late Mr. Prossonno Coomar Tagore in the Preface to his Translation of the Vivâda-Chintâmani ascribes, on the authority of Raja Ramamohan Roy, the origin of the Smritis to a revolution which led the people of India to withdraw the legislative power from the hands of the executive authorities and entrust it exclusively to the holy sages. This theory appears to rest on the rules which are contained in the Manu and other Smritis for the constitution of what are called *Parishads* or councils to determine points of law.<sup>1</sup> But one grave difficulty in the way of our accepting this opinion is the radically inconsistent orthodox belief given expression to over and over again in Sanskrit writings that all law emanates from God and that the Smritis, the so called Codes of Manu and other sages, derive their sanction only because they (the authors of the Smritis) "had revelation present to their memory." If that is so, it is evident that there could be no legislative power in the executive to be withdrawn and entrusted to the sages.

Another view as to the origin of the Smritis which has found favour with some later oriental scholars is, that after Buddhism had declined, or commenced to decline, the metrical Smritis including the Code of Manu came into existence during, what Dr. Bhandarkar calls, the Kushan-Gupta period, extending over 250 years from about the middle of the third to the end of the fifth century after Christ, as a part of the process adopted by the Brahmanas to give a new and more popular shape to the literature of their creed with the object of widening their influence and rendering it permanent.<sup>2</sup>

I do not think that this explanation can be accepted as an adequate solution of the question.

It seems to me to rest on too narrow a basis. It first of all supposes that before Buddha appeared as a teacher nothing occupied India but animal sacrifices, Vedic ritual and the propitiation of the Brahmanas at the cost of the other classes of the community. It next assumes that Brahmanism, which had suffered for several centuries from neglect and contempt, was able not only to recover lost ground but also to conjure up new gods and re-establish its supremacy by producing such a vast amount of literature as that represented by the metrical Smritis,

<sup>1</sup> Manu, XII. 108—115.

Yâjnavalkya, Introduction, 9.

Vishnu III, 20.

Baudhayana, I, 8.

Gautama, XXVIII, 49.

Parâsara, VIII, 2-29.

Mahâbhârata, VII, Ch 36, V. 20

<sup>2</sup> A Peep into the Early History of India. The Journal of the B. B. of the R. A. Society Vol. XX, No. LVI, p. 356.

the Bhâshyas, Purânas and other branches of learning including poetry, within two hundred and fifty years. Lastly, it ignores the important element of civil law with which the Codes of Manu, Yajña-  
valkya, Nârada, Brihaspati and others deal, and by implication, if not directly, suggests that Indian civilisation began with Buddhism.

I take this opportunity to give expression to a view which the perusal of the contributions of oriental scholars and their Indian followers to the early history of India has forced upon my mind, namely, that the lines on which the investigations of these *savants* have proceeded are not calculated to guide the critical spirit of the day correctly and judicially. The method of dividing the subject into what are designated the Vedic period, the Buddhistic period, the Brahamanic period, the Hindu period and any number of other periods—a method which was originally introduced on grounds of convenience—has engendered a spirit of theorising and partisanship which is prejudicial to the discovery of truth pure and simple. It has led to the vicious habit of treating each of these subjects as distinct from the other. It makes the student or investigator forget that there is a principle of continuity running through the life of a nation and that a nation's development for good or for worse proceeds according to certain fixed and general laws.

I should hold that the Indian Vaidiks, Buddhists and the Brahmanas together form essentially one people, the periods going by their names representing only different phases of thought, and that a history of their civilisation, which ignores this fact and isolates any one from the other periods as if it were entirely independent of what preceded and followed it, proceeds, in my opinion, on erroneous lines. Again a work which deals with a particular period should, I think, be strictly confined to the collection of materials relating to the condition of society during that period. It should not go further and generalise on those partial data.

The changes through which Aryan thought in India has passed from the earliest Vedic period to the present day are due to the operation of natural causes and not to causes personal to this class or that class. It is not historically true to say that the Rishis and their descendants invented the Vedic sacrifices, the Vedic ritual and the system of caste with motives of individual aggrandisement. It is equally wrong to say that Buddhism was the result of caste oppression. As truly observed by Professor Oldenberg, for hundreds of years before Buddha's time, movements were in progress in Indian thought which prepared the way for Buddhism. Buddha was not a social reformer. He did not abolish caste and place Indian society on a democratic basis as is

generally supposed. He let the state and society remain what they were. To quote again Professor Oldenberg, the conception of Buddha as the victorious champion of the lower classes against a haughty aristocracy of birth and brain is historically untrue.

It is stated by some writers, who have taught themselves to regard Brahmanism as the source of all the evil we see in India, that the Brahmans were deadly opposed to Buddhism and that it was owing to their persecution that Buddhism left India to seek shelter in more tolerant lands. We quote another deep student of the Buddhistic literature to show how unfounded this assertion is. Mr. Rhys Davids in his *American Lectures on Buddhism* says: "It is very interesting, as evidence of the wonderful toleration which prevailed at that time through the valley of the Ganges, that a teacher, whose whole system was so diametrically opposed to the dominant creed and logically so certain to undermine the influence of the Brahmans, the parsons of that day, should nevertheless have been allowed to carry on his propaganda so ceaselessly and so peacefully through a considerable period of time. It is even more than that. Wherever he went, it was precisely the Brahmans themselves who often took the most earnest interest in his speculations, though his rejection of the soul theory and of all that it involved was really incompatible with the whole theology of the Vedas and therefore with the supremacy of the Brahmans. Many of his chief disciples, many of the most distinguished members of his order, were Brahmans. \* \* On the whole he was regarded by the Hindus of that time as a Hindu. We hear of no persecution during his life, and of no persecution of his followers till many centuries afterwards. And it is a striking result of the permanent effect which this spirit of toleration had, that we find the great Buddhist Emperor Asoka, in his famous edicts inculcating reverence to the Brahmans and to the teachers of rival sects as much as to the leaders of his own persuasion. \* \* \* But this is only one proof out of many of the fact we should never forget that Gautama was born and brought up and lived and died a Hindu. His teaching, far-reaching and original as it was, and really subversive of the religion of the day, was Indian throughout. Without the intellectual work of his predecessors his own work, however original, would have been impossible. \* \* \* Buddhism is essentially an Indian system."<sup>1</sup>

In fact the decline of Buddhism in India was due to its own inherent weaknesses and it was complete before the time of Bhatta Kumârila and Śankarâchârya who are said to have flourished at the end of the

<sup>1</sup> There was absolutely nothing new in Buddha's teaching. His doctrines were identical with the corresponding Brahminical doctrines. Only the fashion in which Buddha proclaimed and disseminated his principles was something altogether novel and unwonted. Weber's *History of Indian Literature*. Third Edition, pp. 288-290.

7th century and about the latter part of the eighth century after Christ respectively.

To return to my subject from this rather long digression, I think that the same causes which in former times led and which at the present day lead to the codification of laws among advanced nations were the origin of our Codes of Manu, Yâjñavalkya and other law-givers, namely, the growth and expansion of society and the necessity for consolidation. Originally there were no priests among the Indian Aryas. The patriarch or head of the family presided at and performed the ceremonies prescribed by the Veda ; but in course of time three causes brought about a change in their mode of life and led to the creation of a special class to attend to the singing of hymns and officiate at the performance of the ritual connected therewith, namely, 1st, the constant struggles with the aborigines to establish Aryan supremacy ; 2ndly, when this had been accomplished, internal dissensions or civil wars sprang up among the Aryan tribes, the chief or king of one tribe contending with that of another for superiority ; and 3rdly, the elaboration of the sacrificial literature and the establishment by the Kurus, the Pāṇchālas, the Videhas, Kosalas and Kâsis, of powerful kingdoms in the country between the Jamuna and the Ganges and the regions to the east of the Ganges, the effect of which is summed up by Mr. R. C. Dutt in his *Ancient India* as follows :—“Manners changed, society became more refined and polished, learning and art made considerable progress. Kings invited wise men in their polished courts, held learned controversies with their priests, formed elaborate sacrifices according to the dictates of religion, led respectable and trained armies to the field, appointed duly qualified men to collect taxes and to administer justice and performed all the duties of civilised administrators. \* \* \* \* The priests multiplied religious rites and observances, preserved the traditional learning of the land and instructed and helped the people in their religious duties.”

As a consequence of this social and political development, condensation of the large mass of scattered Vedic literature became necessary to avoid overburdening the memory and certain Rishis composed manuals giving a collective and concise summary of the law systematically arranged under the heads of Śrauta (sacrificial), Grihya (domestic) and Smârta or Dharma (legal). These manuals, which are called the Sûtras<sup>1</sup> and which form the third stage in the sacred literature of the Hindus, led to the formation of what are called Sûtra Charanas or Vedic Schools. These schools, in their turn, produced the different Smritis called after the names of their founders.

<sup>1</sup> Sûtra, literally a thread, means a short rule or precept, an aphorism (in morals, religion and science).

From very early times India has been a trading country. Besides a large home trade, it had an extensive commerce with foreign countries both by land and by sea. With the rise of the Buddhistic spirit India's intercourse with foreign nations became wider, and this circumstance naturally was followed by a rise in its trade. Hence a necessity must have arisen for the codification of the rules regulating mercantile usages and contactual relations between parties to commercial transactions. It is, I think, in this way, and in this way alone, that those portions of the Code of Manu which relate to civil jurisprudence can be explained.

If we find in it a large element of sacerdotalism asserting the supremacy of the Brahmana, we also find side by side with it a degree of self-denial imposed upon him which is scarcely equalled by any other system of priesthood in the world, ancient or modern.

There are other reasons also why I cannot accept Dr. Bhandarkar's view as regards the date at least of Manu. I think it a farfetched idea to say that the restrictions put by Manu upon the use of meat as food was due to the desire to effect a compromise between Brahmanism and Buddhism.<sup>1</sup> To me it seems more reasonable to ascribe those restrictions to a feeling that had been slowly growing against the free use of flesh as an article of food, particularly among the higher classes, and that this feeling worked itself out fully when the Buddhistic school of thought became predominant. I am inclined to hold that even the limited liberty which Manu's Code allows in favour of the use of animal food is strong evidence against the theory that the Code was framed at a later period than Buddhism.

There is a passage in the Manu Smriti (X. 43, 44) which says that certain tribes of Kshatriyas, such as the Pundrakâs, the Dravidâs, the Yavanâs, the Śâkâs and the Pahlavâs had gradually sunk to the level of Śudrâs by reason of their omission, in disregard of the Brahmanas, to observe the Vedic rites. This passage, it is argued by Dr. Bhandarkar, falsely invests the tribes it refers to with a Kshatriya origin with a view to increase Brahmanic influence, and that therefore it proves the Manu Smriti to belong to a period when the foreign domination of the Yavanâs, &c., had come to an end, and the Brahmanas had won their victory completely. Dr. Bhandarkar has tried to support his view by passages quoted from a certain chapter of the Ânuśâsanika Parva of the Mahâbhârata in which the Brahmanas are portrayed as mightier than gods and the self-same tribes as are

<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact the doctrine of अहिंसा (non-injury) is a Vedic doctrine, and it is a question how far Buddha was strict in the use of meat as food. It is said that he died of dysentery brought on by eating pork *Vide* Hopkin on Religions of India (1896), p. 370.

referred to in Manu are said to have become Śudrâs for the self-same reason as that given in Manu. Coupling the two together the learned Doctor comes to the conclusion that the particular chapter in the Ânuśâsanika Parva and the Manu Smriti were written about the same time and with the same motive, namely, to secure the patronage of the non-Aryan rulers for Brahmanism by flattering them with a fictitious nobility of origin.

With great deference to the learned Doctor, I say, I cannot agree with him. I do not think he has succeeded in establishing his proposition. My reasons are briefly these :—

First :—The learned Doctor admits that about the time when, according to him, the Manu Smriti was written, Brahmanism had fully won its victory.

Secondly :—The non-Aryan tribes, Yavanâs, Śâkâs, Pahlavâs, &c., had established their war-like character and capacity to rule, some of them before and others very early after the Christian era. Therefore they must have established themselves in popular estimation as kingly races before the end of the fourth century A. C.

Thirdly :—The non-Aryan conquerors fought for the overlordship of the country and not for the distinction of being known as the descendants of the Kshatriyas “ who had sprung from the arms of Him the most resplendent One.”

Fourthly :—The passage in question far from being calculated to humour the pride of the non-Aryan rulers carries a sting in it. What is given by its first part is taken away by the second. It elevates and lowers them in the same breath. Moreover, how far a fictitious label of ancient noble origin can reconcile one to degradation in the present and make him a patron and friend of his degraders is a question.

Fifthly :—The passages from the Ânuśâsanika Parva of the Mahâbhârata such as those which declare that “ one whom they (the Brahmanas) praise prospers, one whom they reproach, becomes miserable ” &c., &c., have no evidentiary value. They are simply Arthavâda—laudatory expressions. We can point out similar passages in other parts of the Mahâbhârata. They cannot acquire a special value by reason of their being found in company with passages describing Yavanâs, Śâkâs, Pahlavas, Dravidâs as Kshatriyas. The whole fabric of Aryan society in India rightly or wrongly is founded upon the superiority of the Brahmanas as counsellors and upon the supremacy of the Kshatriyas as rulers.

Sixthly :—In the Śânti-Parva, which immediately precedes the Ânuśâsanika Parva, it is stated that the Ândhrakâs, Guhâs, Pulindâs,

Śabarâs, Chuchukâs and Madrakâs in the south and the Yavanâs, Kâambojâs, Gândhârâs, Kirâtâs and the Barbaras in the north are degraded out-caste tribes, unfit to rule.<sup>1</sup> Is this passage also an interpolation designedly made after the overthrow of Buddhism and the re-establishment of Brahmanical supremacy? Again in another part of the same Parva, Bhishma, while instructing Yudhishtira on the duties of a Kshatriya is stated to have quoted a discourse between the Kshatriya king Mândhâtri and Indra.<sup>2</sup> In this discourse Mândhâtri asks the question "What duties should be performed by the Yavanâs, the Kirâtâs, the Gândhârâs, the Chinas, the Sabarâs, the Barbaras, the Śâkâs, the Tushâras, the Kankas, the Pahlavâs, the Ândhras, the Madrakas, the Pundras, the Pulindas, the Ramathas, the Kâambojas, the several castes that have sprung up from Brahmanas and Kshatriyas, the Vaiśyas and the Śudras that reside in the dominions of (Arya) kings? What are those duties again to the observance of which kings like overselves should force those tribes that subsist by robbery?"

Indra answers :—All the robber tribes should serve their mothers and fathers, their preceptors and other seniors and recluses living in the woods. All the robber tribes should also serve their kings. The duties and rites inculcated in the Vedas should also be followed by them. They should perform sacrifices in honour of the *Pitris*, dig wells (and dedicate them to universal service), give water to thirsty travellers, give away beds and make other seasonable presents unto Brahmanas. Abstention from injury, truth, suppression of wrath, supporting Brahmanas and kinsmen by giving them their dues, maintenance of wives and children, purity, peacefulness, making presents to Brahmanas at sacrifices of every kind, are duties that should be practised by every person of this class who desires his own prosperity. Such a person should also perform all kinds of Pâka-Yajñas with costly presents of food and wealth. These and similar duties, O sinless one, were laid down in olden days for persons of this class. All these acts which have been laid down for all others should be done by persons of also the robber class, O king!

Mandhatri says :—In the world of men, such wicked men may be seen living in disguise among all the four orders and in all the four modes of life.

Indra answers :—Upon the disappearance of kingly duties and of the science of chastisement, all creatures became exceedingly afflicted, O sinless one, in consequences of the tyranny of kings."

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<sup>1</sup> Moksha Dharma, Ch. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Raja Dharma, Ch. 65.

What do these passages show ? They appear to me to record a fact of great importance not only historically but also sociologically and ethnologically. They may, I think, be taken as proving beyond all doubt that the Vedic Aryan society had long before the Christian era lost its pristine purity by the admission into its pale, openly or secretly, forcibly or peacefully, of people of foreign and non-Aryan war-like races and that there was no special or new end to be gained by the author of the Code of Manu describing them as belonging to the Kshatriya caste.<sup>1</sup>

Seventhly :—We have evidence of a definite character to place the Institutes of Manu much earlier than the period imagined for it by Dr. Bhandarkar. Patanjali, who flourished in the second century B. C., in the *Vyakaranamahâbhâshya* VI, I, 84, adduces Manu II, 120, without any variant. Dr. Bühler in his Introduction to the Manu Smriti has summed up the whole of the evidence including the passages relied upon by Dr. Bhandarkar and has come to the conclusion that the remotest limit assignable to the Manu Smriti is the third century B. C. and the lowest limit cannot be later than the second century A. D. To me this date seems to be more acceptable than that fixed by Dr. Bhandarkar.

Eighthly :—Assuming that the passage in Manu does indicate the special motive assigned to it by Dr. Bhandarkar, that circumstance alone cannot make the whole of the Smriti a production of the Kuśan-Gupta period. It is believed by Dr. Buhler and other Sanskrit scholars that the Manu Smriti contains interpolations. If this is true, the passage in question may be one of such interpolations.

Ninthly and lastly :—The Manu Smriti is remarkably free from that sectarian spirit which taints a large number of other extant Smritis.

I have in dealing with Dr. Bhandarkar's view as to the date of the Smritis confined my observations to the Code of Manu as it occupies the first and foremost place in the list of works of that class.

#### MANDLIK ON THE SMRITIS.

The late Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik has, in his work on Hindu Law, recorded a large amount of information on the subject of the Smritis and his conclusions may be shortly stated as follows :—

(1) There are no guides to the Smritis like the *Anukramanikas* nor *Sarvanukramas* of the Rigveda, and with the materials at present

<sup>1</sup> The following text quoted by Madhavacharya from the Vana-Parva also points to a confusion of the castes in the Kali age.

ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्याः सज्जिरंतः परस्परम् । शूद्रतुल्या भविष्यन्ति तपःसत्य  
विवर्जिताः ॥ स्वभावात् कूर कर्माणश्चान्योन्यमविषं किताः । भवितारोनराः सर्वे  
सम्प्राप्ते युगसंक्षये ॥

available it is not possible to determine their extent or antiquity either positive or relative.

(2) The number of Smritis is very great. Many have been lost. Some exist as fragments ; others are only known from quotations in other Smritis or Digests of more modern writers. Their number is differently stated by different ancient writers. Yâjñavalkya and the Agni-Purâna name twenty, Viramitrodaya names fifty-seven, Paithinasi thirty-six, the Garuda Purâna eighteen, the Mahabharata about twenty-five ; Hemâdri in his *Dâna-Khanda* quotes texts of fifty-five Rishis and in his *Vratakhanda* twenty-eight.

Mâdhavâcharya in his commentary on Parâśara, after alluding to Manu, cites a passage from Paithinasi which gives names of thirty-six Smritis and says there are many more among whom he names Vatsa and ten others. The twelve Mayukhas contain extracts from ninety-seven different Smritis. In the Nirnaya Sindhu, Kamalâkara refers to 131 Smrits and Ananta Deva in the Samskâra-kaustubha quotes 104. Besides these other Smriti passages are given but their authors are not named.<sup>1</sup>

(3) There are several works under the name of the same reputed author with titles but slightly changed, e.g., Manu, Vriddha-Manu, Brihan-Manu. The words Brihat and Vriddha are used synonymously. On the question whether works appearing under one name with Vriddha or Brihat sometimes prefixed to it are works of different authors or have any common basis, Mr. Mandlik differing from Sulpâni and Mitramisra is of opinion that such works are productions of different individuals and that their being named after the same author is due to the one being an expansion or an epitome of the other. As regards their date he says there are no data for deciding whether the epitomes or the larger works are of a later date than those whose expansions or epitomes they appear to be ; but he states that in several instances the larger works appear to be the subsequent productions.

(4) As regards the composition (contents?) of the Smritis nothing can be yet definitely pronounced. Some take Smritis as Śrutis preserved by tradition. Others consider them as supplements to Sutras.

<sup>1</sup> Their (of the Smritis) number is great ; the sages reputed to be the authors being numerous—according to one list eighteen ; according to another twice as many ; according to a third many more—and several works being ascribed to the same author, his greater or less institutes (Vrihat or Laghu) or a later work of the author when old (Vridha). (Colebrooke quoted by P. C. Tagore in his Preface to the Vivâda-Chintamani). See also West and Bühler on Hindu Law. Third Edition, pp. 26—27, where after giving a list of 88 Smritis the authors state: “ Even this list most likely does not comprise all the ancient works on Dharma and a more protracted search for Mss., and a more accurate investigation of the modern compilations, will, no doubt, enlarge it considerably.

Others again hold them to be dissertations or compilations of approved usages and customs promulgated at different times by or under the sanction of eminent sages or their followers. Some are evidently sectarian works; some are compilations from other writers ; while others, as they now stand, are confined to particular subjects or branches of particular subjects.

(5) The Smritis are works explanatory of Dharma as received by tradition ; and where the tradition has been lost or has become obsolete, the Smriti becomes useless.

(6) The rule, that in cases where there is a conflict between the Śruti and Smriti the former is to be obeyed, is not always followed in practice. In like manner, the rule, that in a conflict between the Smritis and the Purânas the latter should give way, has lost its force and practically the Smritis have hardly much scope left.

(7) The present Âchâra (practice) is more influenced by the Purânas than by the Smritis.

With reference to the above account, it may be remarked that the Rao Saheb's view that the rule as regards the relative priority between the Śrutis and Smritis is not always followed in practice and that the Smritis have been practically superseded by the Purânas cannot be received in its entirety. It is no doubt a fact that for a long time past—for over a thousand years according to Mr. R. Dutt (Ancient India, Vol. I, p. 133)—the Purânas have exercised a large influence on the religious life of the Hindus. But it cannot be said for this reason that the authority of the Smritis has disappeared altogether. The Grihya ceremonies are still performed according to the Sutras and Smritis. The courts of law still consult Manu, Yâjñavalkya, Nârada, Brihaspati and other well-known law-givers. On questions of Âchâra no conscious departure is allowed from their precepts ; and, whatever authority the Purânas enjoy is based upon the theory that they follow the Śruti and Smriti in what they lay down. It may be further stated that the critical spirit which contact with western thought has given rise to must in the long run succeed in displacing the Purânas from the high place which they have filled in the sacred literature of the Hindus as authorities on question of Dharma.

#### THE AUTHORITATIVENESS OF THE SMRITIS AND THEIR INTERPRETATION.

We have stated above that, according to the theory of the Indian Aryas, the Vedas are eternal and that they are the foundation and root of all knowledge. But, in the progress of intellect, a time came when new schools of thought sprang up and boldly questioned the claims

of the Vedas to divine revelation. They argued with great force that the Vedas were not eternal, that they were full of contradictions and unintelligible dicta and that the system of ritual and sacrifices built upon them was opposed to principles of right reasoning.

This revolution in thought, which seriously threatened the safety of the conservative Vedic school, led to the formation of the method of exegetics known as the Mimâmsa of Jaimini, which is one of the fourteen sources of knowledge referred to by Yâjnavalkya.<sup>1</sup> Vijñâneswara explains Mimâmsa to mean the investigation of Vedic texts. This system was founded by Jaimini and it lays down rules in the form of Sûtras or aphorisms for the interpretation of the texts of the Vedas and Smritis. It recognises only one method of proof—namely *Śabda Pramâna* ( शब्दप्रमाण ), word-proof, *i.e.*, the proof derived from revelation or Vedic precepts, and does not admit the validity of the methods of proof by perception, inference and analogy, on questions of Dharma.

After establishing as a fundamental proposition that the Vedas are eternal and not of human origin, it makes a classification of sentences or texts into principal and subordinate. A principal text ( विधिवाक्यम् ) is mandatory in its nature and prescribes or prohibits any particular act or conduct. Mandatory texts are of four kinds; 1st, texts ( अपूर्वविधिः, or उत्पत्तिविधिः ) which contain absolute and unconditional commands which are independent of any other cause; 2ndly, texts of the character of restrictive injunctions ( नियमविधिः ) which merely regulate the time, place and manner of performing an act towards which a person may be inclined instinctively or of his own accord; 3rdly, texts of the nature of exclusive specification ( परिसंख्याविधिः ). These last are, as one writer has described them, injunctions in form, but prohibitions in purport. As an example of this kind of texts, we may mention the precept “Man shall eat the flesh of the five clawed animals.” This cannot be an *apûrvavidhi*, because men may eat the flesh of such animals of their own accord without any injunction to that effect. Nor is it a *Niyama-Vidhi*, as no time or place or manner is prescribed. The conclusion, therefore, is that man shall not eat the flesh of any other clawed animal than the five specified ones. Fourthly, texts which repeat an injunction previously declared ( अनुवादः ).

The class of subordinate texts are called Artha-vâda, Stuti-vâda, or Guna-vâda ( अर्थवादः, स्तुतिवादः, गुणवादः ). They have not the force of law. They are to be taken as explanatory statements confirming or strengthening the signification of the principal propositions or mandatory texts.

<sup>1</sup> Yâjnavalkya, I, 3.

The authority of the Smritis stands next to that of the Śrutis. The theory is that every rule prescribed by a Smriti is drawn from a Vedic precept and that, therefore, a Smriti text which conflicts with a Śruti text must be absolutely rejected as no authority whatever.

This theory is carried to such a length that the existence of a Vedic text in support of a Smriti text must be presumed even when one cannot be actually produced. According to this theory of their origin, all the Smritis are of equal antiquity and of equal authority. There ought to be no conflict between them. The fact, however, is that they differ on many points; and the following principles, some of which we find laid down in the Smritis themselves, are to be observed in determining which of the two conflicting Smritis should be preferred. Yājñavalkya declares that, where there is a conflict between two Smritis that which is reasonable according to *Vyavahāra* shall be preferred. Mitākshara explains the word *Vyavahāra* to mean (वृद्धव्यवहारः), the usage observed by the elders or the wise from time immemorial.

The commentators, however, follow a different method which is called the method of *Ekavākya* or *Vishaya-Vyavasthā*—the principle of unanimity or the adjustment of contradictory passages. This method requires that in interpreting the Smritis you should bring them all into harmony as far as possible and prevent a conflict arising between them. It is assumed, in the words of Mr. Mayne, that the Smritis constitute a single body of law, one part of which supplements the other, and every part of which, if properly understood, is capable of being reconciled with the other.

The commentators, accordingly, try to maintain this position by assuming that texts, seemingly in conflict with each other, really provide for different cases or different sets of circumstances or for different ages. By way of illustration, we shall take the case of the right of females to take property by succession. Baudhāyana denies such right to women on the ground of a Vedic text; while Yājñavalkya and others recognise the right of the widow, the daughter, the mother and grandmother to inherit. The commentators explain this conflict by supposing that the Vedic text quoted by Baudhāyana refers to women other than those expressly mentioned in the Yājñavalkya and other Smritis. To take another instance, Nārada says:—If, among several brothers, one childless should die, the others shall divide his property, making a provision for his women till they die, in case they remain faithful to the bed of their husband. While, Yājñavalkya declares that the faithful widow, the daughter, the daughter's son, the parents, the brothers, the brothers' sons, the Gotrajas, the

Bandhus, the fellow student, each, in default of the other, shall inherit the property of a man dying sonless. The Mitâkshara explains this conflict by holding that the text of Nârada refers to the succession to an undivided or reunited co-parcener, and that the text of Yâjñavalkya refers to succession to a separated brother. Again, Manu favours unequal division between brothers by allotting a double share to the eldest, while Yâjñavalkya enjoins that the division shall be equal. This conflict is explained by Vijñânesvara by stating that Manu's text relates to a different age. To give a fourth instance, Manu prohibits gambling and betting, while Nârada and Brihaspati allow it. Mitramiśra in the Viramittrodaya explains this conflict by stating that Manu's prohibition relates to cases where false dice are used or the permission of the king has not been obtained.

The Mimâmsa, in the section on the authority of the Smritis, lays down two special rules which are worth mentioning. One of these is to the effect that, where there are two contradictory Smriti texts, one of which has direct support from a Śruti text and the other lacks such support, the former should be followed and the latter rejected, the rule, that from a Smriti text the existence of a Śruti text shall be inferred, being explained away by the argument that a Śruti text which is actually known to us has priority over what may have been known to another, but of which we are not cognisant.<sup>1</sup>

The other rule is that, as the Veda cannot err, a Smriti text, which can be traced to an objectionable motive consistently with actual experience, has no binding force, although there is no contradictory Vedic text actually forthcoming. This proposition is thus illustrated. In the Jyotishstoma sacrifice it is ordained that when the sacrificial animal is brought to the altar an oblation called the '*Vaisarjana homa*' should be performed and the animal let loose. On that occasion the sacrificer, his wife, sons and brothers are covered with new clothes, to the end of which the handle of the sacrificial ladle is tied and the oblation performed. There is a Smriti text which says that these clothes of the *Vaisarjaniya homa* are taken by the officiating priest. Now, this text is not binding, although there is no actual Śruti text against it, because it is possible to infer an origin for it in a selfish motive on the part of the officiating priest, as we know by actual observation that priests employed in consideration of receiving a fee are avaricious.<sup>2</sup>

With all the ingenuity which our authors and commentators have exercised in establishing a harmonious relation between the different Śrutis and Smritis, we can only exclaim in the words of Yudhiṣṭhira :—

तर्कोऽप्रतिष्ठः श्रुतयोविभिन्ना नैकोऽप्यस्य मतंप्रमाणम् ।

धर्मस्यतत्त्वं निहितंगुहायां महाजनो येनगतः स पन्थाः ॥

<sup>1</sup> Purva Mimamsa, Ch. I, Part III, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Purva Mimamsa, Ch. I, Part III, 4.

Logic has not basis, the scriptures are divided ; there is not one seer whose opinion is authoritative. The truth about right is hidden in a cave ; the only path is that pursued by the Majority. (Mahābhārata Vana Parva, chapter 313, v. 107.)

### PURĀNAS.

We will now proceed to consider the subject of Purānas as proof on questions of Dharma.

The word Purāna signifies belonging to ancient or olden times as opposed to *Nutana* or new, and the characteristic of a true Purāna, as determined by authority, is that it deals with five topics ; *vis.*, the creation of the universe, its destruction and renovation, the genealogy of gods and patriarchs, the reigns of the Manus and the history of the solar and lunar races.

The existing works which bear the name Purāna are of two classes—the *Mukhya* or the principal and the *Uṇa* or secondary. All the authorities agree in fixing the number of both at eighteen. There are other Purānas besides ; but they are not of importance to us here. A list of all these Purānas, the authorship of which is ascribed to the sage Vyāsa, is given in the late Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik's Introduction to his work on the Vyavahāra Mayukha and Yājñavalkya Smṛiti.

The Rao Saheb says that their extent and time of composition are uncertain. He, however, gives them an antiquity and position which is neither supported by the authorities he relies upon nor by the results of the investigation of Sanskrit scholars. The Rao Saheb identifies the eighteen Purānas with those referred to in the Śruti and Smṛiti writings. He says that they are distinctly alluded to in the Vedas and Sūtras and that, from the order in which they are directed to be recited, they appear to rank after histories, like the Mahābhārata, and before the Kalpa Sūtras. Against this view attention has first to be drawn to the conviction entertained by the late Dayānand Saraswati whose knowledge of the Sanskrit sacred literature was of a very high order. He maintained that the Purānas which are referred to in the Vedic writings and which are entitled to recognition as proof on questions of duty, are the same as the Brāhmanas, and not the works in Anuṣṭubha Śloka which now pass under that name. He argued, I think rightly, that the words Itihāsa, Purāna, Kalpa, Gāthā and Nāraśamsi, as used in the old Vedic writings, are synonymous and that nothing more was meant by them than the Brāhmanas either in their entirety or in parts. This view is fully supported by the definition of Purānas given by Mādhavāchārya in his commentary on Taittiriya Āranyaka. Manu does not recognise

the eighteen Purânas as a source of law. Yâjnavalkya, having included them in the fourteen sources of knowledge enumerated by him, declares that the Śruti, Smriti, the approved customs, what is agreeable to one's conscience and a perfectly lawful and well considered desire are the roots of law. The latter text is almost identical with the text of Manu declaring the sources of law. Hence, on a consideration of the two texts of Yâjnavalkya, it would appear that the sage intended to declare the eighteen Purânas as a source of knowledge only and not of law.<sup>1</sup> Further, Jaimini makes no mention whatever of the eighteen Purânas in his system of Mimâmsa.

We have next the authority of Professors Bühler<sup>2</sup> and Weber which almost entirely agrees with the view propounded by Dayânanda Saraswati. Professor Bühler, in his Introduction to Apastambâ's Dharma-Sutras in the Sacred Books of the East Series, fully subscribes to what he calls the opinion held by the most illustrious Sanskritists that, in general, the existing Purânas are not identical with the works designated by that title in Vedic works. Professor Weber makes the point clearer. He says (History of Indian Literature, Third Edition, 190):—"Side by side with the Itihâsas we find the Purâna mentioned in the Brahmana as the designation of those cosmogonic inquiries which occur there so frequently and which relate to the 'agra' or beginning of things. When in course of time distinct works bearing this name arose, the signification of the term was extended ; and these works came to comprehend also the history of the created world and of the families of its gods and heroes as well as the doctrine of its various dissolutions and renovations in accordance with the theory of the mundane periods (yugâs). As a rule, five such topics are given as forming their subject, whence the epithet *Pancha-lakshana* which is cited in Amara's lexicon as a synonym of Purâna.

सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वंतराणिच।

भूम्यादि चरितं चैव पुराणं पंचलक्षणम्॥

These works have perished and those that have come down to us in their stead under the name of Purânas are the productions of a later time, and belong all of them to the last thousand years or so. They are written in the interests of and for the purpose of recommending the Śivâ and Vishnu sects ; and not one of them corresponds exactly, a few correspond slightly, and others do not correspond at all,

<sup>1</sup> Yajnavalkya, I. 3. 7.

Professor Wilson observes that the Purânas are not authorities in law. They may be received in explanation or illustration, but not in proof. H. H. Wilson's Works, Vol. V., p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> Bühler's Manu, Introduction, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXV, p. 55.

with the description of the ancient Purânas preserved to us in the Scholiasts of Amara and also here and there in the works themselves."

This statement of Professor Weber is followed by a quotation from Lassen as follows :—" For the old narratives, which are in part abridged, in part omitted altogether, have been substituted theological and philosophical doctrines, ritual and ascetic precepts and especially legends recommending a particular divinity or certain shrines."

According to the author of "Ancient India" the Purânas which exist now were composed in the Purânîk Period, which he dates from 500 A. D. to 1194 A. D. (Ancient India, Vol. I, 32 ; Vol. III, 35) and they have been since altered and considerably enlarged during many centuries *after* the Mahomedan conquest of India.

The most conclusive argument on the point, in my opinion, is furnished by the Manu Smṛiti. This work, which mentions the Purânas among the sacred writings which an Aryan house-holder should recite in the presence of his guests at a sacrifice in honour of the manes, is perfectly free from all sectarian influence and nowhere teaches the performance of other rites than those prescribed in the Vedic writings, and nowhere inculcates the exclusive worship of any of the deities of the Purânîk sects.

Further, Mr. Mandlik himself admits that the Purânas mentioned in the Śrutis and Smṛitis rank before the Kalpa Sūtras. If that is so, it is clear that these Purânas cannot be the same as the eighteen works which pass under the name Purâna.

There is another most important fact to be noticed in this connection and it is this:—The popular theory regarding the origin of the eighteen Purânas is that they were composed by the sage Vyâsa chiefly for the instruction of Śūdras and women in the Kali age to whom the study of the Vedas was forbidden. The conclusion, therefore, is irresistible that the eighteen Purânas are not identical with the Purânas mentioned by Manu, Yājñavalkya and other Rishis.

The posteriority of the Purânas, as they now stand, to the Smṛitis is shown by the fact that the first and third books of the Yājñavalkya Smṛiti have been incorporated in the Garuda-Purâna and the second book in the Agni-Purana.<sup>1</sup> The author of the Bhaviṣya-Purâna has largely drawn on the first three chapters of the Manu-Smṛiti.<sup>2</sup>

Assuming that they have a place as proof on questions of duty, that place is admittedly below that of the Smṛitis. In other words, when there is a conflict between Smṛiti and Purâna the former prevails.

<sup>1</sup> Jolly's Tagore Law Lectures on Partition and Adoption (1883) 32.

<sup>2</sup> Bühler's Manu, Introduction, CX, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXV

## ÂCHÂRA OR USAGE.

The word Âchâra is derived from the root *char* to walk, to conduct oneself, and is used in the general sense of acting.<sup>1</sup> Âchâra, Charana, Charitra and Sila are convertible terms.<sup>2</sup>

As regards the authority of Âchâra, we often hear it urged by those who are disposed to maintain existing institutions which have no sanction in the Śruti and Smriti that custom overrides the written law and they quote as an authority the familiar maxim “शास्त्राद्विर्लीयसी” —usage is stronger than the Śâstra. I have not found this maxim used by the authors of the Smritis, Manu, Yājñavalkya and other known law-givers in considering the efficacy of conduct. The maxim, I think, expresses in different words the rule of grammar which says that *रुढिर्योगमपहरति*, popular usage overpowers etymological meaning, and has nothing to do with custom as an authority for a rule of conduct not sanctioned by the Śâstra.

Jaimini in his Mimâmsa Sûtras denies to local customs any authority as a source of law independently of the Śruti and Smriti. He rejects the idea of reasonableness and adjustment and the only test which he prescribes as to the lawfulness of a particular act or conduct is whether it is justified by a scriptural statement. On this point the following observations of Sir Henry Maine may be appropriately quoted.

“The theory upon which these schools of learned men (*i.e.*, Brahmanas) worked, from the ancient, Âpastamba and Gautama to the late Manu and the still later Nârada, is perhaps still held by some persons of earnest religious convictions, but in time now buried it affected every walk of thought. The fundamental assumption is, that a sacred or inspired literature being once believed to exist, all knowledge is contained in it. The Hindu way of putting it was, and is, not simply that the Scripture is true, but that everything which is true is contained in the Scripture. From very early times, the Hindu doctors appear to have been conscious of difficulties in the interpretation or application of their theory. Sometimes books of authority contradicted one another. Sometimes they failed to supply a basis for received doctrines or for immemorial religious practice. One of the earliest of expedients was to suppose the loss of passages in the most ancient portion of the Scriptures. ‘If you ask,’ says Âpastamba, ‘why the decision of the Aryas presupposes the existence of a Vedic passage, then I answer, all precepts were originally taught in the Brahmanas, but these texts have been lost. Their

<sup>1</sup> The word Âchâra is sometimes used in the narrow sense of observance of the rites and ceremonies prescribed by sacred texts.

<sup>2</sup> Sankarâchâryas Bhâshya on the Vedânta Sûtras, CH. III. P.I., Sûtras 9, 20, 21.

former existence may, however, be inferred from usage. It is not, however, permissible to infer the former existence of a Vedic passage where pleasure is obtained by following the custom ; he who follows such usage becomes fit for Hell.' ”<sup>1</sup>

To pass on to a more detailed examination of the authorities on the subject :—

Âchâra is defined in the Institutes of Manu (Ch. II, 18) as follows :—  
“ The custom handed down in regular succession (since time immemorial) among the (four chief) castes (Varna) and the mixed (races) of that country, (Brahmhâvarta and Brahmarśi Deśa) is called the conduct of virtuous men.”<sup>2</sup>

This text should be read with the tenth verse of the same chapter which declares :—

“ But by Śruti (revelation) is meant the Veda and by Smriti (tradition) the Institutes of the sacred law ; those two must not be called into question in any matter, since from those two the sacred law shone forth.”

The latter of the two texts quoted above clearly indicates that a custom which is opposed to Śruti and Smriti cannot be valid. The same inference arises from Manu, Chapter I, verses 107, 108, 109 and 110.<sup>3</sup>

Kulluka also puts the same construction upon the last mentioned text and says that custom which is opposed to Smriti should be rejected.

In the Chapter (VIII) on civil and criminal law, custom is again referred to by the author of Manu's Code in verses 41, 42 and 46, but not as a positive and recognised source of Dharma, but only as an element to be considered by the king in declaring the law. The commentators also interpret the words “ the laws of castes of districts, of guilds and of families ” to mean law not opposed to the Veda.

When we turn to Yājñavalkya<sup>4</sup> the same conclusion is arrived at, namely, that custom, to be valid, should not be antagonistic to Śruti

<sup>1</sup> Early Law and Customs, Ch. I. pp. 16-17.

<sup>2</sup> तस्मिन् देशे य आचारः पारंपर्यक्रमागतः । वर्णानां सांतरालानां स सदाचार उच्यते ॥ १८ ॥ श्रुतिस्तु वेदो विज्ञेयो धर्मशास्त्रं तु वै स्मृतिः । ते सर्वार्थेश्वरीमांस्ये ताभ्यां धर्मो हि निर्बभौ ॥ १० ॥ म० अ० २.

<sup>3</sup> Medhātithi divides Smriti (tradition) into written and unwritten. What is written goes by the name Smriti and what is not written by the name Achâra. Both are the remembrances of the revealed law and, therefore, authoritative.

<sup>4</sup> यस्मिन् देशे य आचारो व्यवहारः कुलस्थितिः । तथैव परिपाल्योऽसौ यदा वक्षमुपागतः ॥ टीका । यदि शास्त्रविरुद्धो न भवति. Ch. I., 343.

and Smriti. Likewise, Gautama, Vaśistha and Âpastamba teach the same doctrine.

“ The laws of countries, castes and families which are not opposed to the (sacred) records have also authority. (Gautama XI, 20.)

“ Whether in matters connected with this or the next world, in both cases, the Dharmas inculcated by the Śâstras are to be observed ; where there is an omission in the Śâstras, their approved custom is the authority. Manu has declared that the (peculiar) laws of countries, castes, and families (may be followed) in the absence of (rules of) the revealed texts. Vaśistha, Ch. I.

“ The authority for acts productive of merit which form part of the customs of daily life is the agreement of those who know the law, (and the authorities for the latter are) the Vedas alone. Âpastamba, Ch. I, P. I. K. I.

“ As Smriti is not to be accepted when it is opposed to the Vedas, so custom is not to be respected, when it is at variance with a Smriti.” A Smriti quoted in the Prayogapârijât.

“ Those that wish to know what Dharmas are, for them the Vedas are the highest authority, the Smriti the second and what is accepted by society<sup>1</sup> (or the world) the third.” (Mahâbhârata, Anusâsana-Parva).

“ Where there are no direct sanctions or prohibitions laid down in the Veda or Smriti, the Dharmas are to be ascertained from an observation of the custom of the country and of the family.” (Skanda-Purâna.)

The gist of the foregoing texts may be shortly stated thus in the words of Medhâtithi. Âchâra as used in Manu and the other Smritis means the practices followed as a duty by Śistas—virtuous men conversant with the Vedas—in cases where there are no Śruti or Smriti texts to the contrary.

<sup>1</sup> The text is लोकसंग्रहः which is another word for सदाचारः

The Roman law defined custom thus :—“When certain persons have by common consent purposely followed a certain rule, and have, whether by acts or forbearances (*consuetudo affirmativa, negativa*), recognised such rule as binding upon them, there arises from this common will so evidenced a law which obliges every individual who can be reckoned as one of these persons, provided the custom be not unreasonable and provided also it relates to those matters to which the written law does not apply (*consuetudo constitutiva*). Customs which are opposed to written law (*correctoriae derogatoriae*) are held by Roman Jurists to be invalid, unless they have been specially confirmed by the supreme power of the State or have existed immemorially ; and it is immaterial whether they consist in a mere non-observance of the written law (*desuetudo*), or in the observance of new principles opposed to such law (*consuetudines abrogatoriae*); and it is also immaterial whether the customs have or, have not been confirmed by judicial decision (Lindley on Jurisprudence).

On the other hand, Âśvalâyana, Baudhâyana, Nârada, Brihaspati and Kâtyâyana would seem to place custom higher than Śastra.

Âśvalâyana in his Grihya-Sutras when describing the marriage ritual says :<sup>1</sup>—

“ Now various indeed are the customs of the (different) countries and the customs of the (different) villages : those one should observe at the wedding.”

“ What, however, is commonly accepted that we shall state.”

This passage, I do not think, can be taken as recognising usage contray to the Śastras as a source of Dharma. It has reference to a particular ceremony and permits the observance of practices of an indifferent character prevailing in different localities. Medhâtithi in his commentary on Manu's Chapter II, verse 6, gives instances of such practices one of which is the tying of a yellow ribbon round the wrist as a sign of auspiciousness at marriages.

As regards Baudhâyana<sup>2</sup> it is enough to note that in considering the validity of customs he begins by stating that there is a dispute regarding certain five practices in the south and in the north, and concludes by admitting that his own view that they may be observed by the people of the country where they prevail is contrary to the law laid down by Gautama.<sup>3</sup>

The texts of Nârada, Brihaspati and Kâtyâyana on the subject of custom have been considered by Mâdhavâchârya: in the opening section of his work on Vyavahâra where he discusses the characteristics of a law-suit as defined by those sages. The texts that are relevant here are those which divide law-suits into four classes according to the nature of the procedure followed in determining the question at issue. This procedure is dscribed as having four feet. Thus Nârada says :—

धर्मश्च व्यवहारश्च चरित्रं राजशासनम् । चतुष्पाव्यवहारोऽयं उत्तरः पूर्व बाधकः ॥

Professor Jolly translates this thus :

Virtue, a judicial proceeding, documentary evidence, and an edict from the king are the four feet of a law-suit. Each following one is superior to the one previously named. The word चरित्रम् is rendered by the translator into “documentary evidence on the authority of Asahâya, the commentator on Nârada. But he points out that other commentators explain the term Charitra in conformity with the text

<sup>1</sup> Adhyaya I, Kandika VII, Sutras 1 and 2.

<sup>2</sup> Baudhayana, Prasna I, Adhyaya I, Kandika II, Texts 1-6.

<sup>3</sup> Gautama XI, 20.

of Brihaspati, namely “ Whatever is practised by a man, proper or improper, in accordance with local usage is termed Charitra, Custom.<sup>1</sup>”

Brihaspati describes the four parts of a law-suit thus :—

पूवः पक्षः स्मृतः पादोद्वितीयश्चोत्तरः स्मृतः ।

क्रिया पादस्तृतीयस्तु चतुर्थो निर्णयः स्मृतः ॥

Translation :—The plaint is called the first part ; answer is the second part ; the trial is the third part ; and the judgment is the fourth part.

Brihaspati describes the fourth part, namely the judgment as four-fold according to the means by which it is arrived at.

धर्मेण व्यवहारेण चरित्रेण नृपाज्ञया । चतुष्प्रकारोऽभिहितः संधिग्धेऽर्थे विनिर्णयः ॥

Translation :—The judgment in a doubtful matter is declared to be of four sorts, according as it is based, on moral law, or on the issue of the case or on custom or on an edict from the king<sup>2</sup> (Brihaspati Ch. II, 18.)

शास्त्रमेव समाश्रित्य क्रियते यत्र निर्णयः ।

व्यवहारः स विज्ञेयो धर्मस्तेनापनीयते ॥

देशस्थित्यानुमानेन नैगमानुमतेन च ।

क्रियते निर्णयस्तत्र व्यवहारस्तु बाध्यते ॥

विहाय चरिताचारं यत्र कुर्यात् पुनर्नृपः ।

निर्णयं सा तु राजाज्ञा चरित्रं बाध्यते तया ॥

Translation ;—“When a sentence is passed exclusively according to the letter of the law, it should be considered as (a decision based on) the issue of the case. Moral law is overruled by it.

“When a decision is passed in accordance with local custom, logic, or the opinion of the traders (living in that town) the issue of the case is overruled by it.

“Where the king, disregarding established usage, passes sentence (according to his own inclination), it is (called) an edict from the king and local custom is overruled by it.”

The texts quoted from Kātyāyana are :—

दोषकारी तु कर्तृत्वं धनस्वामी स्वकं धनम् । विवादे प्राप्नुयाद्यत्र स धर्मेणैव निर्णयः ॥

स्मृतिशास्त्रं तु यत्किञ्चित्प्रथितं धर्मसाधकैः । कार्याणां निर्णयाद्धेतोः व्यवहारः स्मृतो हि सः ॥

यद्यदाचर्यते येन धर्म्यं बाधर्म्यमेव वा । देशस्याचरणं नित्यं चरित्रं तद्विकीर्तितम् ॥

न्यायशास्त्रविरोधेन देशदृष्टैस्तथैव च । यद्धर्मं स्थापयेद्वाजा न्याय्यं तद्वाजशासनम् ॥

<sup>1</sup> S. B. E. Vol. XXXIII, 285.

<sup>2</sup> Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXXIII, 7.

<sup>3</sup> Brihaspati, Ch II, 25, 26 27, S. B. E. Vol. XXXIII. pp. 286, 287.

Freely translated these texts mean that, when a judgment is passed on the the admission of the defendant who, in obedience to the moral law, confesses his guilt or pays the plaintiff what is due to him, that judgment is judgment passed according to the moral law ; when in the presence of both parties the Dharma Śâstra is propounded by competent and learned judges and judgment is pronounced in accordance therewith, that is termed a judgment on the issue in the case ; whatever is practised by one as obligatory by custom, whether the same is sanctioned by the sacred law or not, that is called *Charitra*, and a judgment given in accordance therewith is termed a judgment based on custom ; lastly that is called a judgment by an edict of the king which is passed in conformity with what the king declares to be lawful setting aside both the Nyâya Śâstra and usage.

Mâdhâvachrya next quotes the text of Brihaspati declaring that a judgment passed according to the letter of the law overrules the moral law ; that a judgment based on usage overrules the written law and that a judgment by the edict of the king overrules local custom.

Nârada and Brihaspati further declare :—

“ When it is impossible to act up to the precepts of the sacred law, it becomes necessary to adopt a method founded on reasoning, because evidence ( व्यवहारः ) in a law-suit has priority over the law” (i.e. Dharma<sup>1</sup>).

“ Holy law has a subtile nature, and is occult and difficult to understand. Therefore (the king) must try causes according to the visible path.” (Nârada, Ch. I, 40, 41.)

“ The judgment in a doubtful matter is declared to be of four sorts, according as it is based on moral law, or on the issue of the case or on custom or on an edict from the king.”<sup>2</sup>

“ The time-honoured Institutions of each country, caste and family should be preserved intact ; otherwise the people would rise in rebellion ; the subjects would become disaffected towards their rulers and the army and treasure would be destroyed. (Brihaspati, Ch. II, 18, 28.)<sup>3</sup>

The above texts possess a peculiar interest to the jurist as showing the stages through which juridical thought in its growth passed among the ancient law-givers of India in spite of the theory of the divine origin of law. They not only give a high place to approved

<sup>1</sup> धर्मशास्त्रविरोधेतु युक्तियुक्तो विधिः स्मृतः । व्यवहारोहि बलवान् धर्मस्तेनावही-यते ॥

<sup>2</sup> धर्मेण व्यवहारेण चरित्रेण नृपाज्ञया । चतुष्प्रकारोऽभिहितः संदिग्धेऽर्थे विनिर्णयः ॥

<sup>3</sup> यद्यदाचरते येन धर्म्यं वाऽधर्म्यमेव वा देशास्याचरणं नित्यं चरित्रं तद्विकीर्तितम् ॥

usages introduced in supercession of Smṛiti texts but also clothe the king with power to modify both written law and usage where he should consider it right to do so. As instances of local usage contrary to the texts of the sacred law, Brihaspati<sup>1</sup> refers to certain practices prevailing in the South, in the central country, in the East, in the North and in Khasa and concludes by saying "thus has legal procedure with its manifold ramifications been represented by the sages."

Mādhavācharya also refers to two customs among others, the first of which permits a man in the Karnātak to marry a daughter of his maternal uncle or of his paternal aunt and the second which permits the marriage of a girl after the age of purbety in the country of Kerala. He further states that these local customs are found embodied in document and other royal decrees published in the countries concerned.

Thus stands the state of original authorities as to the force of usage. However great the veneration attached to the names of Manu, Yājñavalkya, Gautama and other earlier law-givers the broader views of Nārada, Brihaspati and Kātyāyana as to the sources of law could not but impress their successors. It can be safely presumed that the boldness exhibited by Vijñānesvara, Jimûtavāhana, Vāchaspati-Miśra, Mitra-Miśra and Mādhavācharya in not strictly adhering to the theory of the divine origin of law was due to the influence which the Institutes of Nārada, Brihaspati and Kātyāyana must have exercised on the minds of those whose function it was in later times to propound the law and administer justice.

The skill with which Vijñānesvara found his way through the meshes of the divine origin theory and familiarised the Hindu mind with the distinction between religious and secular law is worthy of all praise. In his commentary on the texts of Yājñavalkya relating to the impartibility of a man's self-acquired property Vijñāneshwara says in the clearest terms that, the rules laid down by Yājñavalkya on the subject of Vyavahāra are based upon popular customs.<sup>2</sup> It was he who among the earlier commentators had the freedom of thought and boldness of spirit to advocate, in matters of civil rights, adherence to the principle "practise not that which though legal is disapproved by public opinion".<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Brihaspati. Ch. II. v. 2, 30, 3, 132. S. B. E. Vol. XXXIII, p. 287.

<sup>2</sup> लोकसिद्धस्यैवानुवादकान्येव प्रायेणास्मिन्प्रकरणे वचनानि.

The Panchayat Courts which preceded the British Courts of Justice guided themselves almost entirely by customary law.

<sup>3</sup> कर्मणा मनसा वाचा यत्नाद्धर्मं समाचरेत् । अस्वर्ग्यं लोकविद्विष्टं धर्म्यमप्याचरेन्न तु ॥ Yājñavalkya, Ch. I, v. 156.

It is a matter for regret that the later commentators perhaps with one or two exceptions were not men of the same robustness of thought as Vijñāneshwara and Jimutavāhana and the principle of progressive interpretation of the laws introduced by the latter was not carried further. Devānanda Bhatta, the writer of the Smṛiti-Chandrikā, and Mādhavāchārya, the commentator on the Parāśara Smṛiti, who respectively belong to the 13th and 14th centuries after Christ may be mentioned among the most celebrated authors that succeeded Vijnāneśvara and Jîmutavâhana. I suppose that both of them, and particularly the great Mādhavāchārya, are responsible to a large extent for the illiberal spirit which at present prevails in Hindu society and impedes its advance.

The Smṛiti-Chandrikā has, according to Dr. Jolly, a whole chapter on Deśa-Dharma, in which the author is stated to have maintained that those usages only shall be recognised which are not opposed to the teaching of the Vedas and other authoritative books.<sup>1</sup>

As regards Mādhavāchārya, he is a puzzle. He is in places so inconsistent that it is difficult to follow him. In his Jaiminiya-Nyāyamālā-Vistāra he does not concede to Āchāra any authority apart from the Śruti and Smṛiti. He there observes:— It cannot be argued that as both the Smṛitis and Āchāra are derived from the Veda, they are therefore of equal authority. From the practice of virtuous men a Smṛiti only may be inferred and not a Śruti. Therefore the authority of Āchāra is remote by two degrees from that of the Vedas.<sup>2</sup> In the Vyavahāra-Kanda, however, he adopts the view of Nārada, Brihaspati and Kātyāyana and approves of usages clearly derogatory of the Smṛitis.

In his introduction to the commentary on Parāśara Smṛiti he calls himself the patron<sup>3</sup> of the Purāṇik system and gives the Purāṇas a prominence which they previously did not enjoy and supports by his high authority the texts of the Purāṇas which say that “the wise” have abolished certain practices as unsuitable to the Kali age. These prohibited practices include sea-voyage, the remarriage of widows and many other useful customs sanctioned by Manu, Parāśara and other law-givers.

One would have expected from a commentator of the position and learning of Mādhavāchārya some explanation as to who the wise that

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Jolly's Tagore Law Lectures on Partition and Adoption (1881), p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> आचारतुस्मृतिं ज्ञात्वा स्मृते श्वश्रुतिकल्पनम् । तेन व्यंतरितं तेषां प्रामाण्यम् विप्रकृष्यते ॥

<sup>3</sup> The original is सकल पुराण संहिता प्रवर्तकः which literally means the promoter of the collection or compilation of all the Purāṇas.

abolished these practices were, and why and when they abolished them. But he is totally silent on these points. What is most strange is that he has recognised Purânîk texts as authorities superior to the precepts of the Smritis!

Before closing this part of our subject, I may, I think, draw a comparison between the lines on which the development of law proceeded in Greece and in Aryâvarta. In his *Ancient Law* Sir Henry Maine makes mention of what in Greece were called Themistes, the sentences or orders of Zeus as having preceded the conception of law. These Themistes, we may take, filled the same place among the Greeks as the Śrutis did among the Indian Aryâs. The transition from the Themistes in Greece was, first, to various established customs which the Themistes were believed to sanctify and then to written codes; while among the Indian Aryâs the Smritis or the codes followed the Śrutis and Âchâra or custom followed the Smritis, both the Smritis and Âchâra being regarded as based on the sacred authority of the Śrutis.<sup>1</sup> Overtopping all these three sources of law, Śrutis, Smritis and customs, came the edict of the king of the law prescribed by the supreme power in the State. Thus although there is a close analogy between the ideas as to the origin of law in the West and East their progressive development in India was checked by various causes an enquiry into which must be reserved for another more appropriate occasion.

### THE PARÂŚARA DHARMA SAMHITÂ.

Starting with a definition of *Dharma* I have so far considered its sources or proofs, their nature, origin and relative authoritativeness on questions of duty.

Now I pass on to the main theme of my discourse—the Institutes of the great Rishi—Parâśara. His authority as a lawgiver of the Âryas is unquestionable. He fills a prominent place in the rank of the well-known sages of ancient times. He is described in the Rigveda as the son of Vaśîsthâ and Śakti. He is the seer of hymns 65-73, Book I of the same Veda. His name occurs in the Gaṇapâtha of Pânini. He is one of the twenty Rishis named in the Yājñavalkya Smṛiti as Śâstra-Prayojakas or law-givers. He figures prominently in the Mahâbhârata, Vishnu Purâna and other sacred books of the Indian Âryâs. He is one of the fifty-three Rishis who formed part of the

<sup>1</sup> The view now generally received is that the Smritis are a record of usages which prevailed in different localities at different periods. The late Sir Henry Maine in his *Early Law and Custom* says: "Indian law may, in fact, be affirmed to consist of a very great number of local bodies of usage, and of one set of customs reduced to writing, pretending to a diviner authority than the rest, exercising consequently a great influence over them and tending, if not checked, to absorb them."

august assembly in which the great Bhishma instructed Yudhishtira in the science of Government (Mahābhārata, Shānti Parva, Ch. 47). It is under the circumstances needless to enlarge upon the authority of Parāśara as a law-giver.<sup>1</sup>

The Parāśara Samhita almost exclusively deals with two heads of Dharma, namely, *Achāra* (rules of conduct) and *Prāyaschitta* (penances). On civil law (*Vyavahāra*) it lays down only the following general rules for the guidance of kings :—

“ A king of the Kshatriya caste should arm himself and have his army ; should protect his people ; should overcome the forces of a hostile king and rule the State in the way prescribed by law. (Ch. I, v. 61.)

“ Where such members of the regenerate caste, as are irreligious and illiterate, subsist on alms begged from house to house :—That village should be punished by the king ; for the village is a feeder of thieves alone.” (Ch. I, v. 61.)

“ A garland maker gathers flowers only without cutting (the plants) in the garden by their roots. (So also the king should raise taxes.) He should not oppress his subjects in the manner in which a charcoal maker uproots the trees.” (Ch. I, v. 63.)

“ The penance (for a sin) should be prescribed (by a Parishad) with the approval of the king ; it should never be prescribed independently of the king ; but where the penance is trifling, it may be carried out (without such approval). (VIII, 28.)

“ If the king intends to lay down the law, disregarding what the Brahmanas say,—the sin is multiplied a hundredfold, and, so increased, affects the king.” (VIII, 29.)

The importance of the Parāśara Smṛiti rests on the ground that it declares the law for the Kali age. This special authority of Parāśara

<sup>1</sup> There are two astronomical treatises by Parāśara extant. “ Parāśara is reputed to be the oldest Indian Astronomer. • • • The name of Parāśara as well as that of Garga belongs only to the latest stage of Vedic literature, to the Āranyakas and the Sūtras ; in the earlier works neither of the two names is mentioned. The family of the Parāśaras is represented with particular frequency in the later members of the Vansas of the Śatapatha Brahmana : a Garga and a Parāśara are also named in the Anukramani as Rishis of several hymns of the Rik, and another Parāśara appears in Panini as author of the Bhikṣu Sūtra. i.e., a compendium for religious mendicants. The Parāśarino-bhikṣavah are mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya also, and besides a Kalpa by Parāśara. Weber's History of Indian Literature (Third Edition), pages 232 and 243.

<sup>2</sup> The edition published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in the Bibliotheca Indica Series contains the following additional verse : “ Royalty depends not on hereditary right : nor can it be transmitted by written deeds. It should be enjoyed after acquisition by means of the word ; the earth is enjoyed by heroes.”

is mentioned in verse 25, Chapter I of the Smṛiti itself. It runs as follows :—

For the Kṛita age are suited the laws of Manu ; for the Tretâ, those of Gautama (are) prescribed ; for the Dvâpara, those by Śāṅkha-Likhita ; for the Kali, those by Parâśara are prescribed.

The theory on which the doctrine that each Yuga has its peculiar laws is explained as follows. The world passes through four Yugas or cycles called Kṛita, Tretâ, Dvâpara and Kali. It has already passed through the first three and it is now passing through the fourth. In the first Yuga, which is otherwise called the age of truth or Brâhmanas, *Dharma* reigned supreme “in all its four parts” without any diminution; men performed their duties faithfully according to the Vedas and truth and righteousness throve in their full perfection. As each succeeding Yuga set in, *Dharma* diminished by one-fourth with a proportionate decay in truth and virtue until at last in the present Kali-Yuga there is only a fourth part of *Dharma* left and men have become devoid of that strength of character which is required for the faithful performance of their religious, moral and wordly duties according to the ancient Śâstras. In the Kṛita Yuga the laws of Manu prevailed ; but the gradual diminution in the observance of *Dharma* having rendered a diminution in the rigour of the laws necessary, Gautama legislated for the Tretâ Yuga, Śāṅkha and Likhita for the Dvâpara and Parâśara for the Kali. Accordingly, the laws of Gautama are supposed to be mild compared with those of Manu, the laws of Śāṅkha and Likhita milder and those of Parâśara the mildest.

This topsyturvy policy of legislation may provoke a smile. But we should remember that our ancient legislators chiefly dealt with religion and ritual, a department in which freedom of thought is always looked upon by the orthodox as a sign of moral decline and lawlessness ; and I think that in their anxiety to protect the Sanâtana Dharma our sages must have adopted an elastic policy of adjustment that could be followed without much social friction.

The commentators on the Codes of Manu, Yājñavalkya and Gautama not only do not draw any such distinction as that indicated by the theory noticed above, but further when we read Manu we find that he has taken into consideration the state of society in all the four Yugas in enacting his laws (Manu I, 81-86).

Professor Max Müller has characterised the theory as a fabricated tradition. This seems to me too strong language to apply to a belief universally entertained. Assuming that the belief has not a we'll

defined basis in practice, it has still a merit of its own which should not make us very particular about its origin ; for on a comparison of the Parāśara Smṛiti with those of Manu, Gautama, Sāṅkha, Likhita and others we do find in Parāśara's legislation ideas of a decidedly progressive character from a social point of view. I propose to briefly notice below what, in my opinion, may be considered important changes made by Parāśara in the older law,

First :—Parāśara has largely pruned the Grihya and Smārta ritual of a large number of its ceremonial and sacramental rites. This he has done in what seems to me to be a commendable manner. He has silently passed over what are called the *Āśrama*<sup>1</sup> *Dharmas*, i.e., the complicated, cumbrous and elaborate system of ritual and sacraments which fettered social life, insisting only upon what is essential for the preservation of the pure Vedic faith. In laying down the duties peculiar to the twice born, he makes no mention of the long series of *samskāras* or sacraments prescribed by his predecessors, although in another connection, which will be noticed hereafter, he refers to them passingly as desirable for the fullest development of a Brāhmaṇa's inherent virtue (VIII, 19). The six duties he prescribes to the Brāhmaṇas proceed upon a line different from that adopted by the previous law-givers. He lays them down in the following terms :—

“ A Brahmana who is given to observe the six<sup>2</sup> duties of his caste who worships the deities and hospitably receives the guests, whose meals consist of what remains after ( daily ) offerings made ( on the fire ), has never to suffer from misery or want. Ablution and prayer, inaudible recitation (of sacred words), burnt-offerings, the worship of gods, hospitality to guest unexpectedly come, and offerings made in the name of the Viśvadevas, these are six duties to be performed every day.” I, 38, 39.

The duty denoted by the word prayer points to the Gâyatri hymn which is regarded as the essence of the Vedas and the initiation into

<sup>1</sup> Mādhavāchārya in his commentary has added at the end of chapter ii a description of the Samskāras (sacraments) under the heading of *Āśrama Dharmas* stating that although following the method of the other Smṛitis, it was proper that Parāśara should have declared the *Āśrama Dharmas* after having declared the *Varna Dharmas*, yet he neglected them, as no question had been asked by Vyāsa regarding them. I think the omission may have been due to one of these two causes, namely, 1st, that Parāśara considered the enforcement of the Samskāra rites and of the Brahmacharya, Vānaprasta and Saṇyāsa Āśramas according to the old ritual as undesirable, and, 2ndly, that they had already to a great extent gone out of practice and Parāśara did not deem it necessary to revive them

<sup>2</sup> According to Mādhavāchārya the words “ six duties ” here mean those six duties which Manu and other older law-givers assign to Brāhmaṇas, viz., teaching and studying the Veda ; sacrificing for their own benefit and for others ; giving and accepting of alms. I do not think this interpretation correct. Parāśara has not left the point in doubt. He enumerates the six duties in the immediately following text.

which is a solutely necessary to invest a man with the character of a Dwija.<sup>1</sup>

It will be observed that the above enumeration does not include teaching the Veda, officiating at sacrifices performed for others and accepting alms. On the exclusion of mendicancy from the duties of a Brāhmana Parâsara is very strict and emphatic ; for he declares, 1st, that “ where such members of the regenerate caste as are irreligious and illiterate subsist on alms begged from house to house, that village should be punished by the king ; for the village is a feeder of thieves alone” (I, 66); and, secondly, “with the paddy from a field cultivated by himself or acquired by his own self-exertions he (the Brāhmana) should offer the five daily sacrifices and others.” (II, 6.).

With regard to the study of the Vedas and the student's duties Parâsara's rules are more indulgent than those prescribed by Manu and other law-givers. Manu says, for example, that “ the vow of studying the three Vedas under a teacher must be kept for thirty-six years, or for half that time or for a quarter, or until the student has perfectly learnt them. He further, as a mitigation of the severity of the above rule, declares :—“A student who has studied in due order the three Vedas or two or even one only without breaking the rules of studentship shall enter the order of house-holders”. Parâsara does not make a studentship of this sort obligatory on the Aryan youth. For the ordinary Brāhmana a knowledge of the Gâyatri, the Sandhya prayers and the great five<sup>2</sup> daily Yajnyas is all that he considers necessary.

In prescribing however, the qualifications of Brāhmanas who should be appointed members of a Parishad Parâsara is very strict. He declares that they should be men possessed of a competent knowledge of the Vedas and Śâstras (VI. 35. VIII, 2, 7, 11, 12, 13, 14.)

In the case of an ordinary Brāhmana, on the other hand, he is very lenient on this point of the study of the Vedic science. After declaring

<sup>1</sup> Chapter VIII, 3, 24.

<sup>2</sup> अध्यापनं ब्रह्मयज्ञः पितृयज्ञस्तुतर्पणम् । होमो देवो बलिर्भूतो नृयज्ञोऽतिथिपूजनम् ॥  
म० अ० ४, श्लो० २१ ॥ अध्यापन शब्देन अध्ययनमपि गृह्यते, इतिकुल्लुकः ।

Teaching (and studying) is the sacrifice offered to Brāhmana, the (offering of water and food called) Tarpana, the sacrifice to the manes, the burnt oblation the sacrifice offered to the gods, the Bali offering that offered to the Bhutas, and the hospitable reception of guests the offering to men. Manu III, 70.

बलिकर्मस्वधा होमस्वाध्यायातिथिसत्क्रियाः । भूतपित्रपरब्रह्ममनुष्याणामहामक्षाः ॥ बलिकर्म भूतयज्ञः । स्वधा पितृयज्ञः । होमो देवयज्ञः । स्वाध्यायो ब्रह्मयज्ञः । अतिथिसत्क्रिया मनुष्ययज्ञः । एते पञ्चमहायज्ञा अहरहः कर्तव्याः ॥ Yajnyavalkyat  
Ch. 1, Text 102.

in general words that those who do not cherish the house-hold fire, who are devoid of the daily conjunctional adorations and who do not study the Veda should be regarded as Śūdras, the great Rishi proceeds to provide :—

“Therefore for fear of being turned into a Śūdra every endeavour should be made particularly by a Brāhmana to study at least a portion of the Veda (every day) in case he is unable to study the whole.” (XII. 31, 32.).

The next great reform introduced by Parāśara is closely connected with the above in logical sequence. We may, I think, call him the apostle of Industrialism among Brahmanas. He seems to have taken to heart the moral and economical loss to society arising from a state of things which made the Brāhmanas and Kshatriyas an unproductive charge upon the common wealth, and encouraged a waste of resources in the observance of costly ceremonies and sacrifices not forming an essential part of the national Vedic faith. He accordingly attached greater importance to industrialism than to knowledge connected with ritualistic and sacrificial observances. In the matter of industrial pursuits, he largely departed from the line marked out by Manu and other Rishis and placed all the four castes on a footing of equality. In Chapter II, where he treats of their *Sādhāna Dharma*, or duties common to them all, he lays down :—

(a) “A Brāhmana who regularly performs the six ceremonies may also betake himself to agriculture.”

(b) “A Kshatriya likewise may practise tillage honouring the gods and the Brāhmana caste. A Vaishya or Sudra should always take to agriculture, practise arts and follow trade” (II, 2, 12.)<sup>1</sup>

Mādhavāchārya interprets the first of the above verses as giving the Brāhmanas liberty only to have the work of cultivation done by employing men of the lower caste and not to personally engage in ploughing. This interpretation, however, is contrary to the intention of the verse as shown by the context. Mādhavāchārya's interpretation is based upon the casual form of the verb कारयत् in the text. But in some copies the verb used is समाचरेत् I have in my possession a copy

Madhavacharya's commentary on this text runs as follows :—

विप्रस्येति कर्तव्यां कृषिमुक्त्वा वर्णान्तराणामपि तामाह ॥ क्षत्रियइति । यद्यपि वैश्यस्यकृषिः पूर्वाध्याये विहिता तथाप्यत्र इतिकर्तव्यता विधानाय पुनरुपन्यासः ‘तथा कुर्यात्’ इत्यतिदेशेन ब्राह्मणस्य कृषौविहितेतिकर्तव्यता सर्वाऽप्यत्र विहिताभवति कृषिवत् वाणिज्यशिल्पयोरपि कलौ वर्णचतुष्टयसाधारण्यं दर्शयितुं “वाणिज्यशिल्प कम ” इत्युक्तम् । इति ॥

of an edition of the Parâsara Smṛiti with a short commentary published at Lucknow in the Samvat year 1943-44. The verb used therein is समाचरेत्, and the commentator, whose name is given at the end as Dharanidhar, says that the prohibition against a Brâhmana's personally engaging in cultivation of land applies to the preceding Yugas.<sup>1</sup> It is noteworthy that Parâsara praises the gift of land to Brâhmanas as highly meritorious (XII, 49).

### CASTE.

The third improvement which Parâsara directed his attention to was to raise the status of the Śūdra. It has already been pointed out that, as far as agriculture and trade were concerned, Parâsara placed all the four castes on a footing of equality. As regards social intercourse and intermarriages, although his legislation is not equally liberal, still he has shown a strong inclination towards bettering the lot of the Śūdras. In matters of food, interdining between the three higher castes was never prohibited, and Parâsara also allows it. XI, 12.

Manu prohibited the Brâhmanas from eating cooked food given by a Śūdra. The only exception he made was in the case of the Brâhmana's labourer in tillage, a friend of his family, his cow-herd, his slave, and his barber. Food given by these the Brâhmana was permitted to eat. (Manu IV, 223, 253).

Parâsara has followed the same rule but with a slight relaxation of the restriction against the use of cooked food given by a Śūdra. He declares that "when a Śūdra gives a feast, a Brâhmana may eat any food cooked in some oily substance, provided he goes to the bank of a river to eat it. This is certainly an improvement. The condition as to place is obviously immaterial.

Mr. Baden-Powell in his book on the Indian Village Community observes that both the Brâhmana and Kshatriya castes from the first had the least possible connection with agriculture except as over lords of the soil and receivers of shares in the produce. As the result of his investigation he further states: "It may be safely asserted that all the upper classes of Aryan origin had little feeling for agriculture and that India does not owe to them either the introduction of settled cultivation or (directly) any particular policy or principle of land-ownership." This conclusion is far from correct.

<sup>1</sup> Manu—By practising handicrafts, by pecuniary transactions, by begetting children on Śūdra females only, by (trading in) cows, horses and carriages, by (the pursuit of) agriculture and by taking service under a king families sink low. III, 64. But a Brâhmana or a Kshatriya living by a Vaisya's mode of subsistence shall carefully avoid (the pursuit of) agriculture which causes injury to many beings and depends on others. Some dec are that agriculture is something excellent, but that means of subsistence is blamed by the virtuous; for the wooden implement with iron point injures the earth and the beings living in the earth. X, 83, 84.

Gautama—Agriculture and trade are also lawful for a Brâhmana, provided he does not do the work himself. Likewise, lending money at interest. X, 5, 6.

As indicating a desire on Parāśara's part to raise the position of the Śūdras and drawing the social relations between them and the higher castes closer, attention may be drawn to the following rules :—

“If a Śūdra be addicted to flesh—meat, spirituous drinks and constantly engaged in low occupations, he, like the member of a Svapaka caste, should be shunned by a Brāhmana from afar.

“A Brāhmana should never shun such Śūdras as are employed in the service of regenerate men, abstinent of spirit and flesh-meat and duly employed in their own occupation.” XI, 14, 15.

The prohibition against a Śūdra pursuing degrading occupations, such as selling wine and flesh-meat and using such things as drink and food, can have no other object than that of enforcing purity of conduct on their part as a means of raising them in the social scale.

### THE POSITION OF WOMAN.

It cannot be said that Parāśara made any material change in the old law respecting the position of woman. Two questions have for some years past occupied the minds of Hindu social reformers concerning women; 1st, the marriageable age of girls; 2ndly, the re-marriage of widows. On the first, Parāśara's legislation is as strict as that of his predecessors. He fixes the age of 12 years for a girl as the farthest limit for marriage, and enforces this limit strictly. (VII, 41, 5, 6, 7.) Manu, after declaring that “Reprehensible is the father who gives not his daughter in marriage at the proper time,” says “that a man aged thirty years shall marry a maiden of twelve, who pleases him, or a man of twenty-four a girl of eight years of age; if the performance of his duties would otherwise be impeded, he must marry sooner.” The words “proper time” in the former text are interpreted by Kulluka to mean “before the girl attains the age of puberty” according to Gautama (XVIII, 21), and as regards the latter text the same commentator says that the verse is not intended to lay down a hard and fast rule, but merely to give instances of suitable ages. However that may be, there are other texts in Manu which show that he did not consider that the marriage of a girl performed after the age of puberty would be invalid (Manu IX, 89, 90, 91). From this point of view Parāśara's rules would seem to be unduly harsh.

In the Sutta-Nipata there is a discourse between a Brāhmana called Kasibharadvaja and Gautama, from which it appears that Brāhmanas practised agriculture before the time of Gautama. Gautama going to Kasibharadvaja is addressed thus :—“I, O, Samana, both plough and sow, and having ploughed and sown, I eat; thou also, O, Samana, shouldst plough and sow, and having ploughed and sown thou shouldst eat.” S. B. E. Vol. X. Sutta-Nipata, p. 12. Professor Hopkins of the Yale University in his work on ‘India Old and New’ has given a brief, but very instructive, sketch of the Aryan literature on the subject of agriculture in the chapter on Land Tenure in India. He has shown how mistaken Mr. Baden-Powell was in his view referred to above.

On the second question Parāśara has shown a greater sense of justice. He declares "When a woman's husband is missing or is dead, or has renounced the world, or is impotent or has been degraded by sin—on any of these five calamities befalling a woman, law has ordained another husband for her." This text has enabled the Hindu social reformers of the present day to wage a war against the tyrannous custom of debarring widows among the higher castes from marrying again. How the custom of the Hindu widows in the Dvija communities remaining unmarried came into existence it is not difficult to understand. What is most extraordinary is that, in the face of the above rule declared by Parāśara in the clearest words possible, texts are found in the Purāṇas and such other modern religious books declaring that a second marriage is not permitted to even virgin widows. Our surprise becomes greater when we remember that, the law declared by Parāśara was not new. Nārada had declared it before him in exactly the same words on the highest authority, namely, Manu, the first and greatest law-giver of the Āryās.<sup>1</sup>

In this connection the provisions contained in verses 20, 21 and 22, Chapter IV, are of some importance. They strengthen by inference the legal status of sons begotten on a widow by marriage. These provisions mention expressly the Kunda, Golaka, Aurasa, Kshetrāja, and Kritrima sons. With what particular intention they are mentioned it is difficult to understand. The subject of sons is generally considered by other law-givers in the Chapters on inheritance and Śrāddha.

Neither of these topics is dealt with by Parāśara in the Chapter where the verses under notice occur. They, however, form part of a group of texts which deal with the duties of married woman towards her husband; and from this an inference may arise that Parāśara intended to point out that adultery in a married woman or widow leads to the introduction into the bosom of her husband's family children born of a stranger. Another view that suggests itself is that Parā-

<sup>1</sup> As bearing on the question of the remarriage of widows, it is proper that I should refer to the commentary of Asahāya on the following text of Nārada. "When it is impossible to act up to the precepts of sacred law, it becomes necessary to adopt a method founded on reasoning, because custom decides everything and overrules the sacred law." (Nārada, Ch. I, 40.) Dr. Jolly says, "According to Asahāya this verse inculcates the superiority of custom to written law. Thus both the practice of raising off-spring to a deceased or disabled brother, and the remarriage of widows are specially sanctioned in the sacred law books. Yet these two customs are opposed to established practice. Therefore subtle ratiocination is required. Asahāya quotes a verse to the effect that the immemorial usages of every province which have been handed down from generation to generation can never be overruled by a rule of the sacred law." (S. B. E. Vol. XXXIII, p. 15.)

With reference to this view of Asahāya, it is enough to state that it cannot have any force in the face of the text of Parāśara which expressly declares the law for the Kali age.

śara intended to give the Kunda, Golaka, Kshetraja, Datta, Kritrima and others the same legal status in the Kali age as in the preceding Yugas. This latter view seems to us to be the more correct view to take of Parāśara's intention. Mādhavāchārya in his commentary says that the mention of the six kinds of sons should be taken in a general sense so as to include the twelve kinds of sons spoken of by Manu, Yājñavalkya, Nārada, Gautama and other Rishis. None of these sons except the *Aurasa* and adopted are now recognised.

As Parāśara is the law-giver for the present Kali age, the denial to the sons other than the *aurasa* and *dattaka* their former status would seem to be illegal. But Mādhavāchārya in his Vyavahāra Kānda, after fully describing the substitute sons and the way in which they take the heritage according to Manu, Yājñavalkya, Hārta and other Rishis, says :—"The texts which go to prove that the other substitute sons besides the *datta* share in the inheritance, refer to some other age of the world ; because it is prohibited in another Smṛiti<sup>1</sup> to receive them as sons in the Kali age :—The receiving of others than the *datta* and *aurasa* as sons, the begetting of offspring by a brother-in-law and retiring to the forest, all these practices, the wise have said, should be avoided in the Kali age." The prohibitory texts quoted by Mādhavāchārya are to be found in the Institutes of Brihaspati and Āditya Purāna. In treating them as authority he forgets that Parāśara's legislation was specially intended for the Kali age and that it could not be superseded by even other Smṛitis and much less by Purānic texts. His treatment of this point cannot be accepted as satisfactory, because in another part of the same work he makes express provision for the shares to be allotted to sons of a man of a superior caste by a wife of an inferior caste in disregard of the prohibition contained in the Āditya Purāna against such intermarriages.

#### PENANCES.

The penances prescribed by Parāśara for sins are doubtless of a lenient character compared with those which the older law-givers prescribed, for instance, the penance for killing a cow prescribed by Manu requires the killer to perform certain acts of a painful nature for a period extending over three months. During the first month he shall drink a decoction of barley-grains, shave all his hair and covering himself with the hide ( of the slain cow ) he must live in a cow house. During the two following months he shall eat a small quantity of food without any factitious salt at every fourth—meal time and shall bathe in the urine of cows, keeping the organs under control. During the day he shall follow the cows and standing

<sup>1</sup> Brihaspati XXIV, V., 12-14

upright inhale the dust raised by their hoofs ; at night after serving and worshipping them he shall remain in the posture called Virāsana. He must stand when they stand, follow them when they walk and seat himself when they lie down. When a cow is sick or is threatened by danger from thieves, tigers and the like, or falls or sticks in a morass, he must relieve her by all possible means. In heat, in rain, in cold or when the wind blows violently, he must not seek to shelter himself without first sheltering the cows according to his ability. He should not say a word if a cow eats anything in his own or another's house or field or on the threshing floor, or if a calf drinks milk. After he has fully performed this penance he must give to the (Brahmahnas) learned in the Veda ten cows and a bull, or if he does not possess so much property he must offer to them all he has.<sup>1</sup>

While such is the severity of the penance prescribed by Manu, Parāśara's rule requires simply the performance of what is called Prājāpatya which is divided into four grades of varying severity according to the degree of the gravity of the offence.

The observance of the whole penance extends over only four days. For the first day the sinner should take only a single meal ; for the next day he should eat at night ; for the third day he should eat what unasked is given to him, and on the fourth day he should live on air. Such is the nature of the Prājāpatya of the first grade.

The next three grades are of the same nature with this difference, that one day is added in each to the respective parts of the observance. Thus in the second grade the sinner should for two days have only single meal a day and so on. When the penance is finished, Brāhmanas should be given a feast and a *dakshina* and they should inaudibly recite the purificatory sacred hymns.

The purification prescribed by Manu for the slayer of a Brāhman requires that the sinner shall make a hut in the forest and dwell in it during twelve years subsisting on alms and making the skull of a dead man his flag. There are also other alternatives prescribed of a more or less severity. Lastly Manu declares: " This expiation has been prescribed for unintentionally killing a Brāhmana ; but for intentionally slaying a Brāhmana no atonement is ordained."

On the other hand the penance prescribed by Parāśara for killing a Brāhmana intentionally or unintentionally is a visit to the bridge on the sea near Cape Comorin, and bathing in that sea. Parāśara prescribes the mode in which the sinner should perform his journey.

He must live by begging from the four castes, must not use an umbrella nor wear shoes. He is to proclaim himself thus :—" I am

<sup>1</sup> Manu XI 109-117

Manu XI, 73-87, 90

Parāśara VIII, 36-42.

a sinner ; I have committed a heinous sin ; I have killed a Brâhmana. I am standing at the door of the house, with the expectation of getting some alms. He should likewise dwell in the midst of cows within villages or cities, or in places of hermitage or of pilgrimage ; or near the sources of rivers." The above penance is prescribed expressly for a resident in the north of the Vindhya mountain. As regards sinners residing in the south the Smriti is silent. An inference may be drawn that they should make a pilgrimage to the Ganges.

On the question of voyages by sea Parâsara is silent. There can be no doubt he did not intend to prohibit them seeing that he allows a Brâhmana to follow the occupation of a Vaiśya which includes the carrying of merchandise by sea. There is no express prohibition in Manu against sea voyages. On the other hand we find him making the following rules regarding freight.

" Whatever rate men fix who are expert in sea voyages and able to calculate the profit according to the place, the time and the objects (carried), that has legal force in such cases with respect to the payment to be made."

" For a long passage the boat hire must be proportioned to the places and times ; know that this rule refers to passages along the banks of rivers ; at sea there is no settled freight." (Manu X, 157,406.)

That Brâhmanas also travelled by sea in the time of Manu appears from the fact that trade was permitted even by Manu to a Brahmana who was not able to gain his livelihood by the occupations declared lawful to him and from the list given in the Code mentioning the sorts of Brâhmanas who were, from the ritualistic point of view, unfit to take a place in the same line with the strict Vaidiks invited on the occasion of the Śradha ceremonies. This list excludes Brâhmanas who travel by sea. There are texts in the Smritis of Boudhâyana and Marichi which do not permit a Brâhmana to travel by sea. But when these texts and the texts in Manu are read together, as they should be, the conclusion is that the prohibition applies only to Vaidik priest and those Brâhmanas who keep the Agnihotra. As regards the Purânas the prohibition against a Brâhmana travelling by sea appears in the list of acts forbidden by them in the Kali Yuga, thereby implying the existence of sea faring Brâhmanas in the previous Yugas. We need not dwell here on the value of such a prohibition as a rule of law. I have already shown that the Purânas are no proof on law.

In the matter of drink and food Parâśara is strict. In prohibiting the use of spirituous liquors he has re-enacted the rule of Manu almost verbatim. As regards the use of animal food he goes much beyond Manu and Gautama and prohibits the use of it completely.

Such is a general description of the character of the laws of Parâśara. Upon the whole there is no doubt that he has shown himself to be more practical than the law-givers who preceded him as also those who came after him. Without openly dissenting from the older Smritis he has followed the principle laid down by Manu that each age has its own peculiar duties and laws.

One more point requires notice as having an intimate bearing on the authority of Parâśara.

Certain duties and actions which Parâśara has sanctioned expressly or by implication are forbidden in the Kali age by other Smritis and Purâṇas. This conflict is explained by Mâdhavâchârya on the principle of impracticability and practicability. He presumes that the general prohibitions in other Smritis in regard to certain duties and actions are founded on considerations of impracticability. Parâśara's rules to the contrary should be taken as exceptions governing cases where conditions of impracticability do not exist. He further observes that Parâśara has special priority over other law-givers in the Kali age and the prohibitory injunctions found in other Smritis have no force in cases in which Parâśara's ordinances must be accepted as absolute, *e.g.*, agriculture and such other matters. It should however be generally remarked that Mâdhavâchârya's commentary does not fully enter into the spirit of Parâśara's laws. It assumes that on points which are not noticed by Parâśara, the old law remains unaffected, an assumption which is not justified by the statement of the objects and reasons stated in the preamble to the Samhitâ.

Before concluding our remarks we would refer to text 37, Chapter II, in which Parâśara declares :—

चतुर्णाम् पिवर्णानामाचारो धर्मपालकः ।

आचारम्रष्ट देहानां भवेद्धर्म पराङ्मुखः ॥

“A blameless life that fosters righteousness is what is proper for all the four castes. Righteousness turns its back to those whose bodies are defiled by a blameable life.”

I take these words to signify what Buddha meant when he declared, “Not by birth is one a Brâhman, nor is one by birth no Brâhman ; by work (Kârmanâ) one is a Brâhman by work one is no Brahman” (Mahâvagga Vasettha Sutta, 57).

There is another work bearing the name of Parâśara. It is called the Brihat-Parâsariya Dharma Śāstram or the Great Dharmaśāstra of Parâśara, and appears to be a later expansion of Parâśara Samhitâ got up for sectarian purposes. It does not seem to have been regarded as an authoritative work because both Mâdhavâchârya and

a later commentator by name Nanda Pandita chose Parâśara Samhita to write a commentary upon. I may mention here as throwing some light upon the character of works like the Brihat-Parâśariya Dharma-Śāstram the fact discovered by the late Dr. Burnell that there is another work called the Uttara-bhāga of the Parâśara Smṛiti which inculcates the worship of Rama in twelve chapters.

### THE AGE OF PARÂŚARA.

We have now to fix the date of the Parâśara Smṛiti. This is not an easy question. Professor Oldenberg has well said "People in India have never had any organ for the when of things." It is not possible to determine the exact period when the Parâśara Smṛiti was composed. The form<sup>1</sup> in which we find the work indicates an author other than the Rishi whose name it bears. This suggestion receives some support from the view taken by the late Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik in his work on Hindu Law as to the origin of the Yājñavalkya Smṛiti. He says in a footnote to texts 4 and 5, Chapter I, thereof :— "The word in the original is [ प्रयोजकाः ] Prayojakāḥ which some lexicographers would render by law-givers.....But Prayojakāḥ signifies the causer or propounder, the person who causes another agent to act. \* \* \* And it seems that it would be better to consider Manu and the rest rather as the causers than as the actual writers of the Smṛitis which bear their names. For, to begin with the list : Manu himself is the *Prayojakā* or the causer, and Bhrigu, the author of the Smṛiti which bears Manu's name. Each chapter of Manu ends thus :—मानवे धर्मशास्त्रे भृगुप्रोक्तायां संहितायां अमुकाध्यायः which means "(Here ends) a certain Adhyaya (chapter) of the Samhita (text) composed by Bhrigu in the *Dharmasastra* of Manu." In the case of the *Parâśara* Smṛiti also, Suvrata is the author, and Parâśara is evidently the sage at whose command the work was composed thus :—त्रिभिः श्लोक सहस्रैस्तु त्रिभिर्वृत्तशतैरपि । पराशरोदितं धर्मशास्त्रं प्रोवाच सुव्रतः ॥ The meaning is :—The sage Suvrata composed the *Dharmasāstra* in 3,300 verses as propounded by Parâśara. "In the case of *Yājñavalkya* Smṛiti also, Yājñavalkya cannot be the author of the Smṛiti ; for, the writer begins it by invoking Yājñavalkya (see Sloka 1st), and in the above enumeration again, the fourth law-giver is stated to be Yājñavalkya. The author of the *Mitākshara* again in his comments puts him at the top of Sanaka and other Yogis of the *Kṛita* age. He therefore places him far into a remote antiquity. It seems therefore that the Smṛiti is the collection of the precepts of Yājñavalkya by a follower of his school.

<sup>1</sup> Vide Ch. I, vs. 10, 34 ; Ch. VI, v. 1.

This conclusion is also suggested by Mitramiśra in his work entitled *Vīramitrodaya*. Vijnānesvara in his commentary on the first verse says :—याज्ञवल्क्य शिष्यः कश्चित् प्रभोत्तररूपं याज्ञवल्क्यप्रणीतं धर्मशास्त्रं सङ्क्षिप्य कथयामास यथा मनुनोक्तं भृगुः । which means “some disciple of Yājñavalkya composed (the present treatise) by condensing the jurisprudence propounded (to him) by Yājñavalkya in the form of question and answer.”

Against the Rao Saheb's view we have to notice two facts ; 1st, that the name *Suvrata* appears in the colophon of the *Brihat-Parāśariya Dharmaśāstra*, and not in the *Parāśara Samhitā*; secondly, *Mādhavāchārya* the commentator of our *Parāśara Samhitā*, far from supporting the view of Mr. Mandlik gives a directly contrary opinion. He, in his commentary on verse 19, Chapter I, pointedly raises the question as to who is the author of the Śloka and explains that *Parāśara* himself is the author of it, and by way of proof relies upon what he calls the universal acceptance of Ślokas in the *Mahābhārata* and other works giving an account of *Vyāsa* as the composition of *Vyāsa* himself. Assuming, however, that Mr. Mandlik's view is more reasonable, our difficulty is not lessened, for who *Suvrata* was, where and when he lived, there is nothing in the *Brihat Parāśariya Dharmaśāstra* to show.

The Hindus claim on the one hand a great antiquity for their sacred literature, an antiquity sometimes measured by millions of years ; while on the other, modern scholarship proceeding on Western scientific lines uses a freedom of speculation which assigns a period to the most ancient of the Vedic scriptures not earlier than perhaps three thousand years. In fixing the date of the several well known Smritis such as *Manu*, Western scholars apply generally the following tests.<sup>1</sup>

(1) Preponderance or the entire absence of one or other of the three constituent elements which make up the substance of Indian law.

(2) The style of the language used.

(3) Whether the work mentions Greek Astrology and Greek coinage.

(4) Whether the Smriti contains any very archaic doctrines.

(5) Whether it contains indications of a sectarian origin.

The first three tests cannot help us, because the *Parāśara Samhitā* does not claim the same remote antiquity as *Manu*, *Gautama*, &c.

<sup>1</sup> Weber's *History of Indian Literature*, Third Edition, page 290.

The Smṛiti itself declares that its ordinances are for the Kali age and many of its texts appear to have been borrowed from Manu and other old works word for word. None of the other Smṛitis except one bearing the name of Vṛiddha Gautama, a sectarian treatise, refers to the Parāśara Smṛiti.

Applying the last two tests I am inclined to hold that the Parāśara Smṛiti should be assigned to a period earlier than the Purāṇik age, the beginning of which is placed subsequent to the fifth century of the Christian era. We find that the Parāśara Smṛiti recognises the twelve kinds of sons including the Kṣhetraja and this recognition is virtually tantamount to sanctioning the archaic doctrine of *Niyoga*. Similarly we do not find in it any indications of a sectarian origin.

Medhātithi, the commentator of Manu who is supposed to belong to the ninth or tenth century, quotes the Parāśara Smṛiti.<sup>1</sup> This circumstance may be taken as a proof of its comparatively early age. I think it probable that the work was written at a time when the Indian mind was passing through a struggle between what may be called the Vedic orthodoxy and the Buddhistic dissent. The whole scheme of the work seems to me to be an attempt made under Buddhistic influences to restore the Vedic creed purged of its extravagances and demoralising practices.

Now arises the question how are we to reconcile the belief that Parāśara was the last of the law-givers with the fact that his name is mentioned in the Smṛiti of Yājnyavalkya and other more ancient works as one of the Aryan law-givers. This question can be answered only by supposing that an earlier work of the real Parāśara existed and that on its lines the present one was composed in a later age by one of his descendants or followers. The family of Parāśara figures with a certain degree of prominence in Buddhistic literature. Mr. Rhys Davids in his *Buddhist India* says that in the *Majjhima* ( 3. 298 ) the opinions of a certain Parāśariya, a Brāhmaṇa teacher, are discussed by the Buddha, and that a school of Parāśaraiyas is mentioned by Panini and referred to in an inscription mentioned by Cunningham.<sup>2</sup> Mr. R. C. Dutt in his *Civilization of India* ( Ch. V., p. 63 ) refers to a work called Parāśara Tantra which professes to contain Parāśara's teachings and which belongs to the Buddhist age.

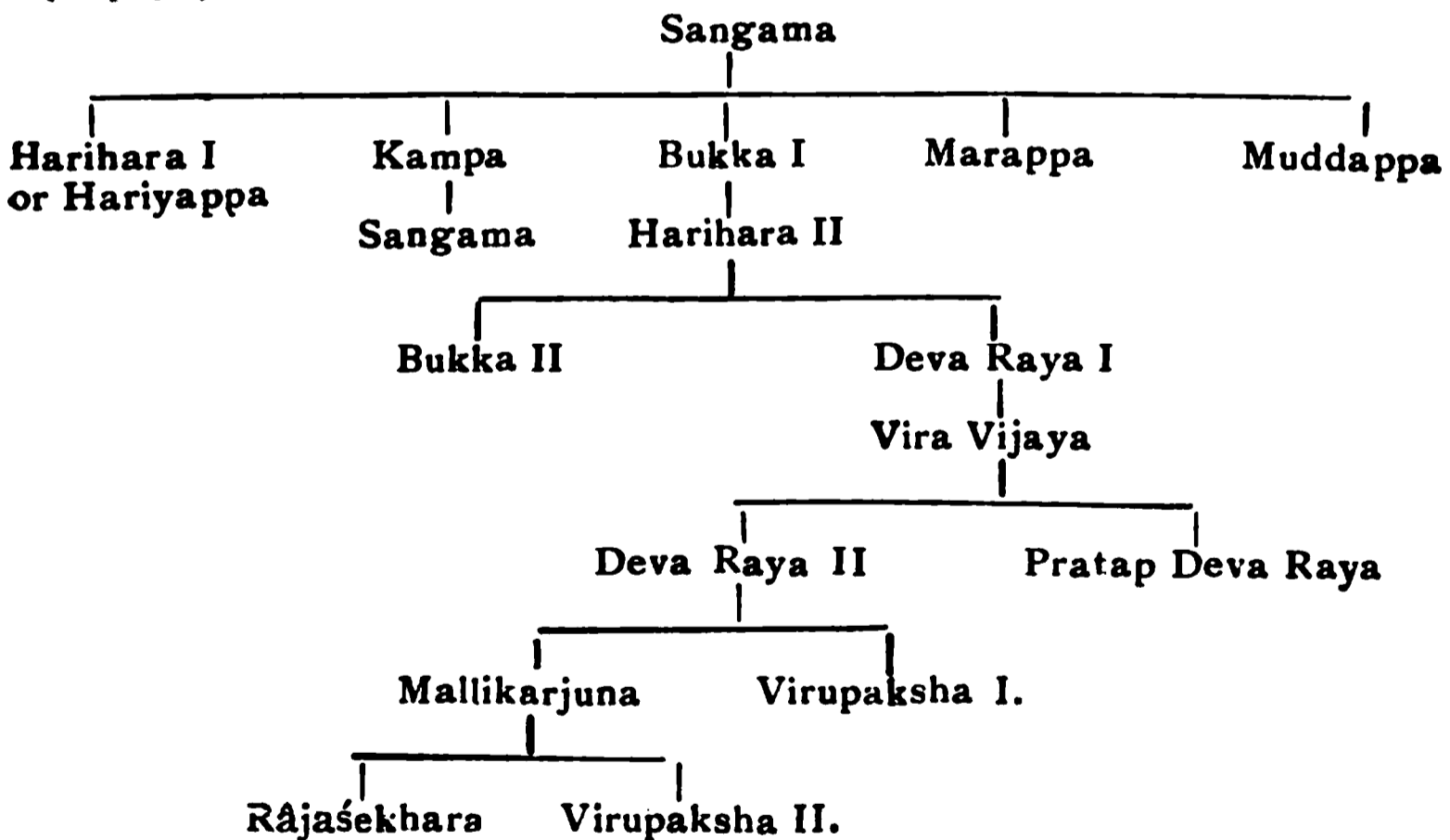
<sup>1</sup> Dr. Buhler's *Code of Manu* ( S. B. E. series ), Introduction, p. 222.

<sup>2</sup> *Buddhist India* by Rhys Davids, Ch. IX., p. 144.

## MÂDHAVÂCHÂRYA.

Mâdhavâchârya was descended from a family of Telugu Smârtha Brâhmans, who belonged to the Bhâradvâja Gotra and who were followers of the Baudhâyana Sutra of the Taittiriya Śâkhâ of the Yajurveda. He was born in the beginning of the fourteenth century A. C. The name of his father was Mâyana and of his mother Śrimati. He had two younger brothers named respectively Sâyana and Bhoganâtha. He acquired his learning and wisdom from three teachers, namely Sarvajnya Vishnu, Vidyâtirtha and Bhâratitirtha otherwise known as Śankarânanda. He was the chief minister of Bukka Raya I<sup>1</sup> and Harihara Raya II who ruled at Vijayanagara from about 1343<sup>2</sup> to 1399 or 1401 A. C. He was a patron of learned men. He wrote many works himself and encouraged authorship in others. About the close of his long<sup>3</sup> life he became a Sanyâsi and was raised to the exalted position of the head of the Math at Śringiri, one of the four<sup>4</sup> institutions established by the great Śankarachârya to look after the religious, moral and spiritual interests of the Indian Aryans. This is all that can be accepted as fully trustworthy in

<sup>1</sup> The geneology of the first Vijayanagara Dynasty as given in the Epigraphia Indica (iii, p. 36 ) :—



A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagara) by R. Sewell, M.C.S. (Retired), p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. pp. 27, 51, A History of the Deccan by J. D. B. Gribble, Vol. I, p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> Mâdhavâchârya is said to have died at the ripe age of ninety. [The Principles of Hindu Law by N. R. Narsimmiah and P. Sama Rao (1900) Introduction, p. 40.]

<sup>4</sup> Badrinâth in the North ; Sringiri in the South ; Dvârkâ in the West and Jagannath in the East.

the accounts which history and tradition have handed down concerning the life of Mādhavāchārya.<sup>1</sup>

There are several stories of a more or less legendary character current regarding the rise of the kingdom of Vijayanagara.<sup>2</sup> They all ascribe the selection of the site and the construction of the city to the inspiration of a hermit called Vidyāranya who, it is said, was no other than the celebrated Mādhavāchārya, the prime minister of Bukka Raya I.

Colonel Mark Wilks has described the origin of Vijayanagara thus :—

“Two illustrious fugitives, Bukka and Akka Hurrayhur, Officers of the Treasury of the dethroned king at Warankul, warned by one of those sacred visions which precedes, or is feigned to precede, the establishment of every Hindu empire, formed the project of a new government, to be fixed on the banks of the river Toombuddra, a southern branch

<sup>1</sup> In the Introduction to his commentary on the Parāśara Smṛiti, Mādhavāchārya describes himself as follows :—

सोऽहं प्राप्य विवेकतीर्थपदवीमाम्नायतीर्थेपरम् । मन्त्रसंजनतीर्थसंगनिपुणः स-  
द्वृत्ततीर्थश्रयन् ॥ लब्धामाकलयन् प्रभावलहरीं श्रीभारतीतीर्थतो । विद्यातीर्थमुपाश्रयन्-  
हृदिभजे श्रीकण्ठमव्याहृतम् ॥

सत्यैकव्रतपालको द्विगुणधीक्यर्थी चतुर्वेदिता । पञ्चस्कन्धकृती षडन्वयदृढः  
सप्तांगसर्वसहः ॥ अष्टव्यक्ति कलाधरो नवनिधिः पुण्यदशप्रत्ययः । स्मार्तोच्छ्रायधुरन्धरो  
विजयते श्री बुक्कणक्षमापतिः ॥

इन्द्रस्याङ्गिरसोनलस्यसुमतिः शैव्यस्यमेधातिथिः । बौद्धोधर्मसुतस्यवैन्यनृपतेः  
स्वौजानिमेगौतमिः ॥ प्रत्यग्दष्टिररुन्धतीसहचरो रामस्यपुण्यात्मनो । यद्वत्तस्य विभो-  
रभूत्कुलगुरुमन्त्री तथा माधवः ॥ प्रज्ञामूलमही विवेक सलिलैः सिक्ताबलोपघ्निका ।  
मन्त्रैःपङ्कविता विशाल विटपा सन्ध्यादिभिः षड्गुणैः ॥ शक्त्याकोरकिता यशःसुर-  
मिता सिद्ध्यासमुद्यत्फला । सम्प्राप्ताभुविभातिनीतिलतिका सर्वोत्तरं माधवम् ॥

श्रीमती जननी यस्य सुकीर्तिर्मायणःपिता । सायणोभोगनाथश्च मनोबुद्धिसहोदरौ ॥  
यस्य बौधायनं सूत्रं शास्त्रायस्यचयाजुषी । भारद्वाजकुलं यस्यसर्वज्ञः सहि माधवः ॥  
समाधवः सकलपुराणसंहिताप्रवर्तकः स्मृतिसुषमापराक्षरः । परावरस्मृतजगदीहिता-  
प्तये पराशरस्मृतिविश्रुतौ प्रवर्तते ॥

<sup>2</sup> The site of the ancient capital of the Vijayanagara kings is at present known as Hampi on the south bank of the Tungabhadra river, 36 miles north-west of Bellari in the Presidency of Madras. The vast ruins of fortifications, palaces, temples, tanks and bridges cover nine square miles including Anegundi, the later seat of the dynasty.

of the Kistna, under the spiritual and temporal guidance of the sage *Videyarannea*. This capital, named *Videyanaggur*, in compliment to their minister and preceptor, was commenced in 1336, and finished in 1343. Akka Hurrayhur reigned until 1350 and Bukka until 1378 <sup>1</sup>."

A variant of this story given in a chronicle written by a Portuguese merchant or traveller who visited Vijayanagar between the years A. D. 1535 and 1537 is as follows:—

"The King going one day a-hunting as was often his wont, to a mountain on the other side of the river of Nugumdym<sup>2</sup>, where now is the city of Bisnaga<sup>3</sup>—which at that time was a desert place in which much hunting took place, and which the king had reserved for his own amusement,—being in it with his dogs and appurtenances of the chase, a hare rose up before him, which, instead of fleeing from the dogs, ran towards them and bit them all, so that none of them dared go near it for the harm that it did them. And seeing this, the King astonished at so feeble a thing biting dogs which had already caught for him a tiger and a lion, judged it to be not really a hare but (more likely) some prodigy; and he at once turned back to the city of Nagumdym. And arriving at the river, he met a hermit, who was walking along the bank, a man holy among them, to whom he told what had happened concerning the hare. And the hermit, wondering at it, said to the King that, he should turn back with him and shew him the place, where so marvellous a thing had happened; and being there, the hermit said that the King ought in that place to erect houses in which he could dwell, and build a city, for the prodigy meant that this would be the strongest city in the world and that it would never be captured by his enemies, and would be the chief city in the kingdom. And so the King did and on that very day began work on his houses and he enclosed the city round about; and that done he left Nagumdym and soon filled the new city with people. And he gave it the name *Vidyajuna*, for so the hermit called himself who had bidden him construct it; but in course of time this name has become corrupted and it is now called Bisnaga. And after that hermit was dead the king raised a very grand temple in honour of him and gave much revenue to it."<sup>4</sup>

As far as the connection of a hermit with the origin of the city of Vijayanagar is concerned, the above tradition is very probably founded on fact; but the statement that that hermit was Mādhava-Vidya-

<sup>1</sup> Wilks' History of Mysore, Vol. I, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Anegundi.

<sup>3</sup> Vijayanagar.

<sup>4</sup> A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagara) by R. Sewell, Madras Civil Service (Retired), p. 299.

rannya cannot be correct. Mâdhavâchârya acquired the title of Vidyârannya<sup>1</sup> after he retired from worldly affairs and became a *Sanyasi*. This event took place after the year 1391 A.C., as will be shown hereafter, while Vijayanagar was built fifty-five years earlier, i.e., in 1336 when Mâdhavâchârya was probably still occupied with his researches into the ancient Aryan philosophical systems. It appears to me that the hermit, from whose inspiration the city and the empire of Vijayanagar sprang up, was Vidyâtirtha Muni who is invoked in the works written by Mâdhavâchârya during the period when he was minister, as the incarnation of Maheshwara and as the saint who favoured and inspired the great Bukka Raya and made his throne firm and his wisdom effulgent.<sup>2</sup>

This Vidyâtirtha was then, or subsequently became, the head of the Matha at Śringiri. His name appears in the list<sup>3</sup> of Swamis of that monastery immediately above that of Mâdhavâchârya described under his later name Vidyâranya.

Vidyâtirtha and Vidyâranya were related as master and disciple. Both were friends and counsellors of Harrihara and Bukka and their names were almost indistinguishable. It is, therefore, quite conceivable that the memory of Vidyâtirtha, with the lapse of time, was lost in the towering personality of Mâdhava-Vidyâranya, and the latter came to be associated with the establishment of the kingdom of Vijayanagar from its beginning.

According to tradition the bond which united Mâdhavâchârya with Bukka Râyâ was hereditary. Popular belief attributes the elevation of the family from which the first dynasty of the kings of Vijayanagar were descended to the exertions and guidance of the father of

<sup>1</sup> Vidyârannya literally means "the forest of learning."

<sup>2</sup> युक्तिं मानवतीं विदन्स्थिर धृतिर्भेदे विशेषार्थभा । गाप्तोहः क्रमकृत्प्रयुक्ति-  
निपुणः श्लाघ्यातिदेशोन्नतिः ॥ नित्यस्फूर्त्यधिकारवान्गतसदाबाधः स्वतन्त्रेश्वरो । जाग-  
र्तिश्रुतिमत्प्रसन्नचरितः श्रीबुक्कणक्षमापतिः ॥ यद्ब्रह्मप्रतिपाद्यते प्रगुणयसत्पञ्चमूर्तिप्र-  
थाम् । तत्रायंस्थितिमूर्तिमाकलयति श्रीबुक्कणक्षमापतिः ॥ विद्यातीर्थमुनिस्तदात्मनिलस-  
न्मूर्तिस्त्वनुग्राहिका । तेनास्यस्वगुणैरखण्डितपदं सार्वज्ञमुद्योतते ॥ Jaininiya Nyā-  
yamālā-Vistāra.

यस्यनिःश्वसितं वेदावेदेभ्योयोऽखिलंजगत् । निर्ममेतमहं वन्दे विद्यातीर्थमहेश्वरम् ॥  
तत्कटाक्षेणतद्रूपम् दधदबुक्कमहीपतिः । आदिशन्माधवाचार्यम् वेदार्थस्य प्रकाशने ॥

Introduction to the Commentaries on the Vedas.

<sup>3</sup> This list is to be found in a sketch of the life of Vidyâranya Swami written by Pandit Pitambarji and embodied in the introduction to his edition of the Panchadasi with a translation into Hindustani published by Mr. Sharif Sale-Mahammad of Bombay.

Mādhavāchārya.<sup>1</sup> How far this belief is founded in fact it is not possible to determine. There can, however, be no doubt that a close and real friendship existed between the two families. Sāyanācharya also filled at one time the position of minister at Vijayanagar.<sup>2</sup>

It appears that the brothers Harryhara I and Bukka I were Officers of the Treasury of the King of Telingana whose capital was at Varangal which was destroyed by the Mahomedans in the year 1323 A.C. On the destruction of Varangal the two brothers joined by the father of Mādhavāchārya proceeded to Anagundi and took service under the petty Raja of that place where circumstances favouring them, they rose in a few years to the position of the ruling chiefs.<sup>3</sup> This was an anxious and trying period to the people of Southern India. The condition of affairs is thus depicted by Mr. Sewell in his "List of Antiquities, Madras." "Delhi had been captured by the Ghazni Ghorians in 1193 and a dynasty established there which lasted till A. D. 1288. The Khiljis succeeded (1288-1320) and Alauddin Khilji despatched the first Mahomedan expedition into the Dakhan in A. D. 1306. Four years later the Musalman armies under Malik Kāfur swept like a torrent over the peninsula."

"Devagiri<sup>4</sup> and Orangal<sup>5</sup> were both reduced to subjection, the capital of the Hoysala Ballālas was taken and sacked, and the kingdoms both of the Cholas and Pandiayas were overthrown.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Burnell's Introduction to the Translation of the Chapter on Dāya-Vibhāga of Mādhavāchārya's Vyavahāra-Kānda of the Parāśara Mādhaviyam.

<sup>2</sup> A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagara) by R. Sewell, M. C. S. (Retired), p. 28.

On the death of Harihara I. the succession to the throne became the subject of a dispute between Bukka I and his cousin Sangama, and for sometime the latter got the upper hand and ruled the state with Sāyana as his minister. *Ib.*

When Mādhavāchārya became minister on the accession of Bukka Rāya, Sāyana was relegated to a subordinate position in the State. Sayana again became the chief minister on the retirement of Mādhava about the close of the reign of Harihara II. This appears from the colophons of certain portions of the *Veda-bhashyam*. The colophon of the Aitareyāranyaka Bhashyam runs thus:—

इति श्रीमद्विद्यातीर्थ महेश्वर परावतारस्य वैदिक मार्गप्रवर्तकस्य श्रीवीरबुक्कमहारा  
जस्य आज्ञा परिपालकेन सायणामात्येन विरचित माधवीये वेदार्थप्रकाशे ऐतरेयारण्य-  
ककाण्ड भाष्ये &c. &c.

The Colophon of the Bhāshyam on the Taitirīya Brāhman runs thus:—

इति श्रीमद्राजाधिराज परमेश्वर वैदिकमार्गप्रवर्तक श्रीवीर हरिहर भूपाल साम्राज्य-  
धुरन्धरसायणाचार्य विरचिते माधवीये वेदार्थप्रकाशे &c. &c.

<sup>3</sup> A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagar) by R. Sewell, M.C.S. (Retired), Ch. II., p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Devagiri, the ancient capital of the Yadava Dynāsty of the Dekhan.

<sup>5</sup> Orangal or Warangal, an ancient town 86 miles north-east of Haidarābād. It was the capital of the Hindu Kingdom of Telingana founded by the Narapati Andhras.

Anarchy followed over the whole South—Musalman Governors, representatives of the old royal families, and local chiefs being apparently engaged for years in violent internecine struggles for supremacy. The Ballālas disappeared from the scene and the kingdoms of Devagiri and Orangal were subverted. A slight check was given to the spread of the Mahomedan arms when a confederation of Hindu chiefs, led by the gallant young Ganapati Raja, withstood and defeated a large Mahomedan army; and the aspect of affairs was altered by the revolt of the Dakhani Mussalmans against their sovereign in A. D. 1347 which resulted in the establishment of the Bāhamani Kingdom of the Dakkan. But the whole of Southern India was convulsed by this sudden aggression of the Mahomedans and all the old kingdoms fell to pieces."

These troubled times required a political leader of the greatest ability and integrity. Such a leader the people of Southern India found in Mādhavāchārya who had attained to the highest eminence among his contemporaries both as a scholar and as a holy man. Whether he was married or not there is no evidence to show. The study of the ancient literature of his Aryan forefathers had kindled in his heart an intense patriotism which, it appears, led him to prefer the life of a celibate and take the noble resolution to dedicate himself wholly to the service of his country and of its gods and religion. When, therefore, the people appealed to him for light and leading in their struggle for independence, he readily came forward and by a bloodless revolution brought about the unification of the whole of Southern India with the fighting Kings of Vijayanagar at its head.<sup>1</sup> The task was a difficult one, but the ascendancy which his life of self-abnegation had given Mādhava over the minds of the people was so great, and the confidence which they felt in his judgment and integrity so implicit, that all the old states large and small in the south submitted voluntarily to a sort of federal union under the central government of Vijayanagar. Justice (नीतिः) and national prosperity (देशोन्नतिः) were the corner stone of this union. This circumstance, by giving to it a certain degree of coherence and stability, enabled it to successfully check the wave of foreign invasion for two centuries and a half.

Mādhavāchārya, as chief minister, ruled the destinies of the people of Southern India for nearly half a century. Although he upheld the old doctrine of the divine origin of kings, he recognised the principle that their authority should be principally limited to the maintenance of peace and punishment of crime only. In general administration

<sup>1</sup> A History of the Deccan by J. D. B. Gribble, Vol. I, p. 62.

A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagar), by R. Sewell, M. C. S., Retired, pp. 8, 374, 389.

he left matters civil and social to be determined according to usage and the sense of the community concerned. As an illustration of the way in which legislation on social matters was effected in the country subject to the authority of the Kings of Vijayanagara may be noted in the following case recorded by Mr. S. S. Râghavyangar, Dewan Bahadur, C.I.E., in his work on the Progress of the Madras Presidency.

“ There is an inscription at Virinjipuram, North Arcot district, dated during the reign of Veerapratapa Devaraja Maharaja of Vijayanagar, A. D. 1419, which shows that the practice of paying money to parents of girls to induce them to give them in marriage was widely prevalent in former times. The inscription states ‘ in the reign of the illustrious Veerpratapa Devaraja Maharaja, the great men of all branches of sacred studies of the kingdom drew up in the presence of Gop'nath of Arkapushkarini, a document containing an agreement regarding the sacred law. According to this if the Brahmans of this kingdom of Padaividu, *vis.*, Kannadigas, Tamirās, Telungas, Halas, &c., of all Gotras, Sutras and Śākhas, conclude a marriage, they shall from this day forward do it by Kanyâdânam (gift of girls). Those who do not adopt Kanyâdânam, *i.e.*, both those who give away a girl after having received gold, and those who conclude marriage after having given gold, shall be liable to punishment by the King and shall be excluded from the community of the Brahmanas. ’ ”

The literary activity of which Mâdhavâchârya became the centre as the prime minister of Bukka-Râya was exceptionally great and widespread. It covered almost all branches of Sanskrit literature. The exact number of works which are attributed to Mâdhavâchârya directly and indirectly is not known. But it is supposed to be very large. In Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* a list of about 109 works is given. Some oriental scholars are disposed to question the honesty of Mâdhavâchârya as a patron of letters. They suppose that he was guilty of passing works written by others as his own productions. But this charge is for the most part groundless. It chiefly relates to the authorship of the commentaries on the Vedas, and is based upon the circumstance that they, although really written by Sâyanâchârya, are popularly known as Vidyâranya-Bhâshyam. For this, it should be noted, Mâdhavâchârya cannot be held reponsible. I find that the fact that the commentaries were written by Sâyanâchârya is acknowledged in the colophons of many of the copies now in use. The true account of the origin of the commentaries is that Bukka-Raya wished Mâdhavâchârya to write them, and Mâdhavâchârya with the king's

<sup>1</sup> Memorandum on the Progress of the Madras Presidency during the last forty years of British Administration ( 1898 ), p. 45.

permission entrusted the task to Sâyanâchârya. This appears from the introduction to the Bhâshyam itself.<sup>1</sup>

The colophons almost invariably contain the words सायणाचार्य विरचिते माधवीये वेदार्थप्रकाशे which means "written by Sâyanâchârya for the Mâdhava series of commentaries on the Vedas" and which is analogous to "The Ordinances of Manu by A. C. Burnell for Trubner's Oriental Series" or "the Law of Manu translated by G. Buhler for Max Muller's Sacred Books of the East." Most of the works attributed to Mâdhavâchârya belong to the period during which he filled the office of minister of Bukka-Raya I and Harihar Raya II. This is indicated by the mention, in the prefaces, of Bukka-Raya and his patron saint Vidyatirtha. In works composed before and after that period their names do not appear. The Sarvadarshana Sangraha belongs to the former period and mentions the name only of Sarvajnya Vishnu from whom Mâdhavâchârya received his early education ; while certain works on Vedantism—Panchadasi being the most popular among them—were written after Mâdhavâchârya retired from political life and became a *Sanyasi*. His life of Śâṅkarâchârya also seem to belong to the last period. These works mention neither Sarvajnya Vishnu nor Bukka-Raya. They mention only Vidyatirtha and Bhâratitirtha, the spiritual masters of Mâdhavâchârya.

Madhâvâchârya was a staunch follower of Śâṅkarâchârya, "the greatest of all great Asiatic sages, whose learning and scholarship all scholars Eastern and Western honour, who bears a name revered by every learned Hindu all over the land where he preached and taught from his monastery at Badrinath in the north to that of Śringeri in the south, from Dwarka, the city of Krishna, in the west to Jagannath, once the Buddhist place of worship, now the common ground of assembly for all Hindus on the coast of Orissa in the East."

<sup>1</sup> तत्कटाक्षेण ( विद्या तीर्थरूप महेश्वरं कटाक्षेण ) तद्रूपमदधदुक्कमहीपतिः  
आदिशन्माधवाचार्यम् वेदार्थस्य प्रकाशने॥ सत्याहनुपार्तिराजन् सायणार्योममानुजः । सर्व  
वेत्यैषवेदानां व्याख्यातृत्वेनियुज्यताम् ॥ इत्युक्तोमाधवार्येण वीरबुक्कमहीपतिः । अन्व-  
शात्सायणाचार्यं वेदार्थस्य प्रकाशने॥ Introduction to the Veda-Bhashyam.

The colophon of the commentary on the Yajurveda-Brahmanam runs thus:—

श्रीमद्राजाधिराज परमेश्वर वैदिकमार्गप्रवर्तक श्रीवीर हरिहर भूपालसाम्राज्य धु-  
रन्धरेण सायणाचार्येण विरचिते माधवीय वेदार्थप्रकाशे यजुर्ब्राह्मणे &c., &c.

After a deep study of all the ancient systems of philosophy as shown by his earliest known work, the *Sarvaḍarsāna Sangrha*,<sup>1</sup> Mādhavāchārya, in the full maturity of his intellect and experience, declared his belief in the doctrines of Advaitism as containing the best possible solution of the “problem of the universe, and the enigmas of the world.”<sup>2</sup> It would be out of place to enter here upon a discussion of the Vedānta philosophy. Such a discussion is not within my present limits. I will only remark here that the life of Mādhavāchārya furnishes an answer to those who argue that the teachings of Vedānta are destructive of humility and benevolence, that they paralyse energy and enterprise and deaden all feelings of responsibility and independence.

Of the merits of Mādhavāchārya's works I am not a competent judge. But those who are qualified to pronounce an opinion on the point speak highly of them. One Pandit says of them that they are written in a style which, while it is simple and charming, is remarkable for its solemnity, boldness and depth. In his *Śankaravijaya* Madhava calls himself *Nava Kalidasa* (*i.e.* a new Kalidas). How far this claim for equality with the world-celebrated author of *Śakuntala* is justifiable I cannot say. There is, however, no doubt that, speaking generally, the work fulfils the conditions of high class poetry. The *Panchadasi*, considering the abstruse character of the matter which it treats of, shows a boldness of thought, mastery of expression and power of illustration seldom equalled by writers on metaphysics.

As regards the commentaries on the *Parāśara Smṛiti*, I am inclined to agree with Dr. Aufrecht's description of them, namely, that they are more diffusive than illustrative of the text.

Really speaking, the *Parāśara Mādhaviyam* is a Digest of the *Smṛitis* under the name of a Commentary on the *Parāśara Smṛiti*. The commentator, instead of elucidating in his own language the meaning of the text, has in many places mystified it by a cloud of quotations from other *Smṛitis* in a manner inconsistent with the declared object of *Parāśara's* legislation, namely, to curtail ritualistic and penitential ceremonies. Judging according to the experience of the present day, no small mischief has arisen to Hindu society from the prominence given by him to the Purānik doctrine of “prohibitions for the Kali age,” which, while condemning many objectionable practices, declared against certain useful institutions such as the freedom of travelling by sea.

<sup>1</sup> A concise account of fifteen Philosophical systems with the exception of the Vedānta.

<sup>2</sup> प्रमाणोत्पादिता विद्या प्रमाणं प्रबलविना न नश्यति न वेदान्तात् प्रबलमान मीक्षते ॥ *Panchadasi*, Ch. II, V, 108.

As regards Mādhavāchārya's original production on Jurisprudence (the Vyavahār-Kanda) I propose to deal with it elsewhere. Here I will only passingly remark that on methods of administering justice he generally follows the old law-givers such as Manu, Kātyāyana, Nārada and Brihaspati, while on the law of inheritance he follows the Mitākshara and Smṛiti Chandrika.

The exact date at which Mādhavāchārya's tenure of ministership came to an end cannot be ascertained. Judging from epigraphical evidence it must have terminated after the year 1391<sup>1</sup> A.C. or about the close of the reign of Harihara II who reigned till 1402.

Mādhavāchārya on becoming a Sanyasi was, as already stated, raised to the position of the head of the Matha at Śringeri. His place on the list of the Swamis of that Institution is a subject of much speculation. Some say he was the thirty-third successor of Śankarāchārya, some say he was the twenty-sixth, while others say he was the tenth or the eleventh.

Whether any one of these positions can be admitted as correct, and if so which, it is not possible to determine without fixing the date of Śankarāchārya. As regards Śankarāchārya's date there are two views, one represented by the late Mr. K. T. Telang who assigns the Ācharya to the middle of the sixth century of the Christian era,<sup>2</sup> and the other by the late Bhatta Yajneshwara Sastri and the majority of European Sanskrit scholars who place him in the year 788 A.C. With neither of these does any of the above positions agree.

<sup>1</sup> This is the date of a grant by Madhavacharya conferring 25 estates in the village of of Kochren in Goa upon 24 learned Brahmans named therein. The inscription states that the village was thenceforward named Madhavapura; that Madhava conquered Goa from the Turushkas and re-established there the worship of the ancient gods. (Journal of the Bombay Branch of the R. A. Society. Vol. 4, p. 115.)

<sup>2</sup> A Paper on the date of Sankaracharya by K. T. Telang published as an appendix to his edition of Mudrārākshasa.

Dr. Deussen accepts what he calls the Hindu tradition, which places the birth of the author of Shāriraka Bhāṣya in 788 A.D. The learned Doctor says that according to the statement of the late Yajnesvara Shastrī, with whom he discussed the passages which the Shastrī adduces in the Aryavidyasudhakara, p. 226, the Sampradaya referred to in his work is that of Śringeri, where also documentary evidence for its correctness is said to exist. Hence Dr. Deussen hesitates to accept Mr. Telang's conclusions. • Bühler's Code of Manu (S. B. E., Vol. XXV), • Introduction, p. 112. Some time ago I came across a book on "Shri Shankaracharya", published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. The author, Mr. Krishnasami Aiyar, discusses the question of the age of Shankara at p. 16-18, ch. II. He accepts provisionally 788 A.C. as the date of Shankara's birth, and holds that Mr. Telang's conclusion requires additional and more direct evidence.

Mr. Aiyar refers to a list of Shankara's successors. He says that the Śringeri Mutt has that list, and rejects it as imperfect for the reason, among others, that it assigns to Suresvaracharya, the immediate successor of the Guru, a period of 700 years or more. Mr. Aiyar does not give us the date with which the list ends nor does he state the number of Swamis mentioned therein.

On his entrance into the life of a Sanyasi, Mādhavāchārya did not rest from his literary labours. He is said to have written several works on the Advait Philosophy including Panchadasi which has been already referred to, and which is the most popular treatise on Vedant throughout India at the present day.

I have referred above, in a footnote, to a list given in an account of the life of Vidyarannya appended to an edition of the Panchadasi, edited by Pandit Pitambarji and published at Bombay by Mr. Sharif Salemahammad in the year 1876. According to this list, which, the Pandit says, is based upon the Sringeri Gurupaddhati and which was copied from an original on the records of the Sringeri Matha. Shankaracharya presided for thirty-two years ending with the year 107 of the Vikrama era corresponding with 51 A.C. This indicates the nineteenth year of the Christian era to be the date of Shankara's birth, a conclusion which, I need hardly say, is inadmissible according to the now generally accepted chronological adjustment of the leading events in Indian history previous to the Mahommadan period. Still this list of Pandit Pitambarji, when compared with Mr. Aiyar's list and Bhatta Yajnesvara Shastri's Sampradaya, has certain points in its favour which are worth noting. The list, which begins with the year 75 (19 A. C.) of the Vikrama era and ends with the Shalivahana Shak year 1782 (1860 A.C.), gives fifty-six names, including Shankaracharya, and shows how many years each of the Swamis presided and till what year.

Among the objections to the accuracy of this list I may mention two which are most difficult to explain. The first is that the length of Shankaracharya's tenure of office shown therein, namely, 32 years, covers the whole period for which, according to popular belief, Shankaracharya lived.

The second objection arises from the place assigned in the list to Madhava-Vidyarannya. The name of Vidyarannya appears twice; the first at number twenty-six and the second at number thirty-three. The former is shown to have presided for forty years ending with the Shak year 928 and the latter for forty-two years ending with Shak 1169 (1247 A.C.). Pandit Pitambarji identifies the second Vidyarannya with Mādhavāchārya a conclusion which, although it is corroborated by the circumstance that the two immediately preceding names in the list correspond with those of his Gurus Vidyatirtha and Bharatitirtha, is contradicted by the evidence derived from inscriptions and other sources connected with the Vijayanagara empire. This last mentioned evidence proves that Mādhavāchārya belonged to the fourteenth century of the Christian era and not to the thirteenth.

With these and other flaws in it, Pandit Pitambar's list, however, seems too circumstantial to be rejected as worthless without further inquiry.

Mr. Aiyar's list makes Suresvaracharya the immediate successor of Shankarāchārya. Pandit Pitambarji's list does not mention Suresvaracharya at all. According to it the immediate successor of Shankarāchārya was Prithvidharacharya who is shown to have ruled for sixty-five years ending with Shlivahana Shaka year thirty-seven.

Mādhavāchārya's Shankaradigvijaya upon which Mr. Aiyar's book is based does not name Suresvaracharya as the immediate successor of Shankaracharya at Śringeri.

Mr. Aiyar gives another reason for his provisional date. It is this: "Mādhavāchārya's book locates the Buddhists mainly in Kashmir or more generally in the Himalayan regions; and Magadha does not seem to have figured in Shankara's days as the stronghold of Buddhism or even as a province where the Buddhists were numerous though in the minority."

With reference to this it may be remarked that Mādhavāchārya's account of Shankara's life and achievements has no chronological value, and that there is no sufficient ground for the statement that, according to Mādhavāchārya, the Buddhists were confined to Kashmir and the snowy regions in Shankara's life-time. Mr. Aiyar's statement is probably based upon the last chapter of Mādhava's Shankaradigvijaya, where an account of

I regret that the materials at my disposal do not enable me to give a fuller account of the life of Mādhavāchārya. He was a great man in the true sense of the word. As a devoted student of Aryan literature and sciences, as an author, as a patron of learning, as a statesman who, with a rare self-sacrifice, laboured to create a spirit of nationality among his country-men, and, lastly, as a sage who was not blinded by worldly power and success to those high spiritual truths which are the peculiar inheritance of the Indian Aryans. Mādhavāchārya perhaps had no equal in India during the time he lived in, and it is a question whether the history of India during the last six hundred years discloses another personality of equal greatness. The life of such a man deserves to be studied and cherished as a model by every patriotic Aryan of India.

Shankarāchārya's visit to Kashmir, Badri and Kedar is given. This account, however, is interesting, not as helping us to fix the date of Shankara's birth, but as throwing some light on the opinion which the northerners entertained regarding the culture of the southerners in the good old times. It is as follows:—

While Shankara was sojourning on the banks of the Ganges a common report reached his ears to the effect that at Kashmir there flourished a Temple of Sarasvati with a seat in it called the *Sarvajñya-peetham*—a seat for those who were possessed of infinite learning; that a person who wished to obtain the highest honours in knowledge was required to ascend it after passing an examination before a college of learned men; that the Temple had four entrances for candidates from the east, west, north and south, respectively; that candidates from the east, west, and north had appeared and won the honour of ascending the seat of knowledge; but that no person had yet come from the south and the southern entrance had remained closed; that, on hearing this report, Shankara started for Kashmir with the determination of refuting the prevailing belief that there were no learned men in the south; that when he presented himself before the southern door he was opposed by an assembly of men skilled in the systems of Kanāda, Gautama, Kapila, Buddha, Jina and Jaimini and other Sastras, but that on his answering the questions put by them, he was received with respect and allowed to open the southern door and ascend the seat of infinite knowledge.

I need hardly say that the above account does not warrant the supposition that, in Shankara's time, the Buddhists were confined to the Himalaya regions.

There is a third view regarding Shankarāchārya's date. Professor K. B. Pathak in a Paper on Bhartrihari and Kumarila has stated his conclusion that Shankarāchārya lived between 750 and 838 A.D. (The Journal of the B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVIII, p. 213).

*Proceedings of the Bombay Branch, Royal  
Asiatic Society,  
1904-05.*

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THE Annual Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 17th March, 1904.

The Hon'ble Mr. E. M. H. Fulton, C.S.I., I.C.S., President, in the chair.

The Hon. Secretary read the following report of the Society for 1903.

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**The Annual Report for 1903.**

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**MEMBERS.**

*Resident.*—During the year under review 51 New Members were elected and 3 Non-Resident Members came to Bombay and were added to the list of Resident Members. On the other hand, 31 resigned, 11 retired from India, 4 died, and 9 having left Bombay, were transferred to the Non-Resident list. One was removed from the roll for non-payment of subscription. The total number at the end of the year was 265, including 16 Life-Members. Of these, 33 were absent from India for the whole year or portions of the year. The number at the close of the preceding year was 267.

*Non-Resident.*—15 Members joined under this class and 9 were transferred from the list of Resident Members. 9 Members resigned, 2 retired, 1 died, 3 were added to the Resident list, and the name of 1 Member was struck off the roll for non-payment of subscription. The total number at the end of the year was 78 against 70 in the year preceding. Of the 15 new Members, 9 have become subscribers to the Library under Article XVI of the Rules, by payment of an additional subscription.

**OBITUARY.**

The Members, Resident and Non-Resident, whose loss by death during the year the Society has to record with regret, were—

Mr. C. W. L. Jackson.

Mr. T. H. Moore.

Major H. R. F. Anderson.

Mr. Jametram Nanabhai.

Khan Bahadur Kharsetji Rastamji Thanawala.

## THE ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

The papers read before meetings of the Society and contributed for publication in its Journal, during the year were—

Oriental Congress at Hanoi. By Principal M. Macmillan, B.A.

Matheran Folk Songs. By Principal M. Macmillan, B.A.

Anquetil Du Perron's Notes on King Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana. By Mr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.

References to China in the Ancient Books of the Parsees. By Mr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.

The Cyropædia of Xenophon. By Mr. R. K. Dadachanji, B.A., LL.B.

Discovery of Ancient Bramhi Script in Kashmir. By the Rev. J. E. Abbott, D.D.

Shivaji's Swarajya. By Mr. Purshotamdas Vishram Maoji.

Omanese Proverbs. By Lt.-Col. A. S. G. Jayakar, I. M. S. (Retired).

A Sîlâr Grant of S'aka, 1049. By Prof. K. B. Pathak, B.A.

There was, besides, a lecture in French on Indian Cartography, delivered by Count F. L. Pullé.

## LIBRARY.

## ISSUES OF BOOKS.

The total issue during the year amounted to 36,051 volumes, comprising 23,519 volumes of new books, including periodicals, and 12,532 of the old; a daily average, excluding Sundays and holidays, of 121 volumes. The issue in the previous year was 37,104 volumes.

The issues of each month are noted in the subjoined table :—

					<i>Old.</i>	<i>New.</i>
January	...	...	...	...	1,008	2,198
February	...	...	...	...	980	2,123
March ...	...	...	...	...	960	2,028
April ...	...	...	...	...	1,032	1,910
May ...	...	...	...	...	861	1,863
June ...	...	...	...	...	915	1,708
July ...	...	...	...	...	1,243	1,903
August	...	...	...	...	1,058	2,071
September	...	...	...	...	1,074	2,282

					<i>Old.</i>	<i>New.</i>
October	...	...	.	...	1,151	1,848
November	..	...	...	...	1,193	1,942
December	...	...	...	...	1,057	1,643

The volumes of issues of old and new books arranged according to subjects are shown in the subjoined table :—

<i>Subjects.</i>	<i>Volumes.</i>
Fiction ... ..	12,413
Biography ... ..	1,340
Miscellaneous, Collected Works, Essays, &c. ...	1,259
Voyages, Travels, Geography, Topography ...	942
History and Chronology .. ...	897
Oriental Literature .. ..	656
Reviews, Magazines, Transactions of Learned Societies, &c. (in bound volumes) ...	601
Politics and Political Economy ...	372
Religion and Theology ...	357
Poetry and Drama ...	340
Naval and Military ...	273
Art, Architecture, Engineering, &c. ...	264
Philosophy .. ...	252
Philology, Literary History, &c. ...	248
Government Publications and Public Records ...	184
Natural History, Geology, Mineralogy ..	183
Archæology, Antiquities, Numismatics, &c. ...	168
Foreign Literature ...	166
Natural Philosophy, Mathematics, Astronomy ...	140
Classics and Translations ...	122
Law ...	106
Grammatical Works ...	95
Medicine, Surgery, &c. ...	84
Botany, Agriculture, Horticulture ...	66
Logic, Rhetoric ...	15
Periodicals in loose numbers ...	14,398

### ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The total number of volumes added to the Library during the year was 1,180. Of these, 807 were purchased and 373 presented.

Presents of books were as usual received from the Bombay Government, the Secretary of State for India, the Government of India, and the other local Governments, and a few from individual authors and donors.

The number of volumes of each class of books acquired by purchase and presentation is shown in the following table :—

<i>Subject.</i>	<i>Volumes purchased.</i>	<i>Volumes presented.</i>
Religion and Theology ... ..	19	1
Philosophy ... ..	14	2
Classics and Translations... ..	7	...
Philology, Literary History and Biblio- graphy ... ..	8	2
History and Chronology ... ..	30	...
Politics, Political Economy, Trade and Commerce ... ..	11	11
Law ... ..	1	3
Government Publications and Public Records ... ..	16	148
Biography ... ..	70	...
Archæology, Antiquities, Numismatics, Heraldry ... ..	8	1
Voyages, Travels, Geography and Topography ... ..	26	4
Poetry and Drama ... ..	12	1
Fiction ... ..	286	...
Miscellaneous, Collected Works, Es- says, &c. ... ..	42	4
Foreign Literature ... ..	2	...
Natural Philosophy, Mathematics, As- tronomy ... ..	8	1
Art, Music, Engineering, Architecture... ..	37	1
Naval and Military .. ...	22	...
Natural History, Geology, Mineralogy ... ..	9	1
Botany, Agriculture and Horticulture ... ..	3	1
Medicine, Surgery and Physiology ... ..	10	...
Annuals, Serials, Encyclopædias, Trans- actions of Learned Societies, &c. ... ..	149	150
Dictionaries and Grammatical Works ... ..	5	1
Oriental Literature ... ..	12	41

#### COIN CABINET.

The number of coins added to the Society's Cabinet during the year was 56. Of these, 4 were gold, 50 silver, and 2 copper. Of the total, 55 were received under the Treasure Trove Act, 14 from the Bombay Government and 42 from the Government, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and 1 was presented by the Collector of Broach.

They are of the following description :—

- 1 Gold Coin of the Egyptian King Ezzaher Jaqmaq, A.D. 1439.
- 1 Gold Coin of the Egyptian King El Ashraf Abun Naso Yenal.  
(These coins were unearthed while digging a foundation for  
a new building in the Crater, Aden.)

- 1 Silver, of Shàh Jahàn, Mogul Emperor.
- 1 Silver, of Aurangzib, do.
- 1 Silver, of Jahàndàr, do.
- 1 Silver, of Farruk-Siyar, do.
- 1 Silver, of Muhammad, do.
- 1 Silver, of Rafi-al-darajàt. do.
- 1 Silver, of Shah Alam I., do.

(Found in the Kalol Taluka, Panch Mahals District.)

- 1 Gold Coin, Padmatanka (Southern India).
- 1 Copper, of Ahmad Shah II. Bahamani.
- 1 Copper, of Ahmad Shah I. of Gujarat.

(Found buried in a field on the bank of the Tirolì Nalla near the  
village of Rehud, in Chandar Taluka, Nasik District.)

- 1 Gold Coin of Mamluk Sultan (13th Century A.D.)

(Found in the bed of a pond in the village of Bhojwa, Viramgam  
Taluka, Ahmedabad District.)

———*Presented by the Bombay Government.*

40 Silver Coins of Shah Alam, of different mints, found in the Kheri,  
Fategarh, Jaunpur, Benares, Lucknow, and Fyzabad Districts of the  
United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

- 2 Silver Coins of Shah Jahan.

———*Presented by the Government, United Provinces.*

1 Silver Coin of Aurangzib Alamgir ; found while making an excava-  
tion in the Town of Ankleshwar, Broach District.

———*Presented by the Collector of Broach.*

## NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS.

The papers, periodicals, and journals and transactions of Learned  
Societies subscribed for and presented to the Society during 1903, were  
as under :—

Literary Monthlies	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	15
Illustrated	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	18
Scientific and Philosophical Journals, Transactions of Learn- ed Societies, &c.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	35
Reviews	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	16

English Newspapers	...	...	...	...	...	16
English Registers, Almanacs, Directories	...	...	...	...	...	15
Foreign Literary and Scientific Periodicals	...	...	...	...	...	11
Indian Newspapers and Government Gazettes...	...	...	...	...	...	20
Indian Journals, Reviews, &c.	...	...	...	...	...	30

## JOURNAL.

Number 59, being the third and concluding number of Vol. XXI., is all but ready and will shortly be published. With it will be issued Index, Title Page and Contents of the Volume.

The following papers are published in the new number, together with an abstract of the proceedings of the Society for 1903, and a list of books, pamphlets, &c., presented to it during the year :—

Omanese Proverbs. By Lt.-Col. A. S. G. Jayakar, I.M.S. (Retired).

Oriental Congress at Hanoi. By Principal M. Macmillan, B.A.

A Silar Grant of Saka 1049. By Prof. K. B. Pathak, B.A.

Matheran Folk Songs. By Principal M. Macmillan, B.A.

References to China in the Ancient Books of the Parsees. By Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.

Notes of Anquetil du Perron (1755-6) on King Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana. By Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.

The Cyropædia of Xenophon. By R. K. Dadachanji, B.A., LL.B.

Discovery of Ancient Brahmi Script in Kashmir. By the Rev. J. E. Abbott, D.D.

The following is a list of Governments, Learned Societies, and other Institutions, to which the Journal of the Society is presented :—

Bombay Government.	Literary and Philosophical Society, Manchester.
Government of India.	Imperial Academy of Science, St. Petersburg.
Government of Bengal.	Smithsonian Institution, Washington.
Government of Madras.	Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen.
Punjab Government.	Royal Society of Edinburgh.
Government, United Provinces, Agra and Oudh.	Deutsche Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig.
Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces.	Literary and Philosophical Society, Liverpool.
Chief Commissioner, Coorg.	British Museum. London.
Resident, Hyderabad.	Royal Society, London.
Government of Burma.	
Geological Survey of India.	
G. T. Survey of India.	
Marine Survey of India.	

Bengal Asiatic Society.  
 Agricultural Society of India.  
 Literary Society of Madras.  
 Provincial Museum, Lucknow.  
 Bombay University.  
 Madras University.  
 Punjab University.  
 Mahabodhi Society, Calcutta.  
 Government Museum, Madras.  
 Indian Journal of Education,  
 Madras.  
 R. A. Society, Ceylon Branch.  
 R. A. Society, North-China  
 Branch.  
 The Asiatic Society of Japan.  
 Batavian Society of Arts and  
 Sciences.  
 Strasburg Library.  
 Geographical Society, Vienna.  
 London Institution of Civil En-  
 gineers.  
 Royal Geographical Society, Lon-  
 don.  
 Statistical Society, London.  
 Royal Astronomical Society.  
 Victoria Institution, London.  
 Royal Institution, Great Britain.  
 American Geographical Society.  
 American Oriental Society.  
 Hamilton Association, America.  
 Editor, Journal of Comparative  
 Neurology, Granville, Ohio,  
 U.S.A.  
 American Museum of Natural  
 History.  
 Societ  Asiaticque, Paris.  
 Geological Society, London.  
 Royal Academy of Sciences, Am-  
 sterdam.

Royal Asiatic Society, Great Bri-  
 tain and Ireland.  
 Academia Real das Sciencias de  
 Lisboa.  
 Societ  de G ographie Commer-  
 cial de Bordeaux.  
 Societ  de G ographie de Lyons.  
 Hungarian Academy of Sciences,  
 Buda Pest.  
 Sociedad Geografica de Madrid.  
 Royal Dublin Society.  
 Societ  G ographie de Paris.  
 Connecticut Academy of Arts and  
 Sciences.  
 United States Survey.  
 Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissen-  
 schaften, Vienna.  
 United Service Institution.  
 Minnesota Academy of Natural  
 Science.  
 India Office Library.  
 London Bible Society.  
 Vienna Orientalische Museum.  
 Boston Society of Natural History.  
 Musee Guimet, Lyons.  
 American Philological Association,  
 Cambridge.  
 Royal University, Upsala (Swe-  
 den).  
 Franklin Institute, Philadelphia.  
 University of Kansas, U.S.A.  
 Director, Missouri Botanical  
 Garden.  
 L'Ecole Fran aise de Extreme  
 Orient.  
 Royal Institute of Philology and  
 Ethnology of Netherlands India.  
 Imperial Library, Calcutta.

*Finance.*

A statement of accounts, detailing the items of receipts and expenditure for 1903, accompanies the report.

It will be seen from it that the total amount of subscriptions from Members during the year was Rs. 11,363-12-0. The subscriptions in the preceding year amounted to Rs. 10,880-6-8.

The balance to the credit of the Society at the end of the year was Rs. 786-10-8 and the arrears due on that date were Rs. 75.

The invested funds of the Society amount to Rs. 14,800.

### THE CENTENARY OF THE SOCIETY.

The centenary of the founding of the Society occurs in November 1904. With a view to determine in what manner the event should be celebrated, the Committee of Management appointed a Sub-Committee to consider the subject and prepare a scheme to be reported to the Committee.

The principal suggestions made by them were :—

That the centenary be celebrated by a meeting of the Society at which papers will be read ; by an evening *conversazione* ; and, in the event of the attendance of learned visitors, by an excursion to neighbouring places of historic interest.

That a memorial volume be published, as an extra number of the Journal, containing a summary of the results achieved since the foundation of the Society, in the study of Oriental literature, in history and archæology, including numismatics, and that original papers if it should seem desirable be also prepared and read.

It is also proposed to publish a Centenary Catalogue should sufficient funds be available.

The date proposed for the celebration is the middle of January, 1905.

### COUNT F. L. PULLÉ.

Count Pullé, a well known Italian Savant, visited Bombay about the beginning of the year.

He kindly complied with a request to address the Society and gave a learned discourse in French on Indian Chartography, a subject to which he has devoted years of close study. The discourse was illustrated by a large display of maps arranged in chronological order. The maps very clearly showed the gradual progress made by the world in the knowledge of Indian geography from the earliest records extant of Indian, Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Persian and Arabic origin to the time of the discovery by Vasco da Gama of the Cape route to India.

The President in the course of a brief speech, paid a tribute to Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, I. C. S., a retiring member of the Committee, whose services to the Society have been valuable. He referred briefly to the history of the Society and the distinguished men under whose auspices it was originally founded, and expressed a hope that in

connection with the celebration of its centenary next cold weather a fresh and enlarged interest would be aroused in the Society and in the various departments of literary and scientific work by which it endeavoured to promote the best interests of the community.

Mr. Macmillan in proposing the adoption of the report, remarked that they had a fairly successful year. The number of Members had rather increased than diminished, and their finances were in a satisfactory condition. They had the good fortune to secure as their President Mr. Fulton, from the exertion of whose influence they hoped that an extension of premises might be obtained from Government. Several interesting addresses had been delivered in the course of the year, including the lecture on "Indian Chartography" by Count Pullé, perhaps the most learned chartographer in the world, which was recorded in a special paragraph in the report. Worthy of special notice also was the account of Shivaji's Swarajya given by Mr. Purshotamdas Visram Maoji, an enthusiastic investigator of old Maratha Records. The coming year promised to be full of interest, for, as mentioned in the report, the centenary of the Society was to be celebrated in the end of the year. It was to be hoped that the celebration would be worthy of an institution which had been the centre of the intellectual life of Bombay since the days of Mountstuart Elphinstone and Mackintosh. For this purpose an appeal for subscription would have to be made to the Members of the Society, which would no doubt meet with a liberal response. The adequate celebration of the centenary might also do much to popularise the Society and induce increasing numbers of the citizens of Bombay to become Members.

The proposition being seconded by Mr. James MacDonald and supported by the Rev. Dr. Abbott, was carried unanimously.

On the motion of Mr. Camrudin Amirudin, seconded by Mr. Furdooji Jamsetjee, the following Committee and Auditors were appointed for 1904:—

#### COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT.

1904.

##### *President.*

The Hon'ble Mr. E. M. H. Fulton, C.S.I., I.C.S.

##### *Vice-Presidents.*

James MacDonald, Esq.

K. R. Cama, Esq.

M. Macmillan, Esq., B.A.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice N. G. Chandavarkar, B.A., LL.B.

*Members.*

Camrudin Amirudin, Esq., B.A.  
 F. R. Vicajee, Esq., B.A., LL.B.  
 Sir Bhalchandra K. Bhatavadekar, Kt.  
 Jivanjee Jamsetji Modi, Esq., B.A.  
 Rao Bahadur K. G. Desai, L.C.E.  
 Dastoor Darab P. Sanjana, B.A.  
 A. L. Covernton, Esq., M.A.  
 The Hon'ble Mr. D. R. Chichgar.  
 J. E. Aspinwall, Esq.  
 Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan, M.A., LL.D.  
 The Hon'ble Mr. Justice H. Batty, M.A., I.C.S.  
 Rev. J. E. Abbott, D.D.

*Honorary Secretary.*

Rev. R. Scott, M.A.

*Honorary Auditors.*

H. R. H. Wilkinson, Esq.  
 Rao Bahadur Ghanasham Nilkanth Nadkarni, B.A., LL.B.

A GENERAL MEETING of the Society was held on Monday, the 28th November, 1904.

Principal M. MACMILLAN, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair.

The proposals received from Members about periodicals and newspapers were considered and the existing list was examined, and it was resolved that the following be subscribed for from the beginning of 1905 :—

Photography.  
 Connoisseur.  
 American Review of Reviews.  
 Independent Review.  
 Scribner's Magazine.  
 British Medical Journal.  
 Englishman (Calcutta).

And that those named below be discontinued :—

Process Photogram.  
 Badminton Magazine.  
 Daily News.  
 Indian Statesman (Calcutta—).

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held on Friday, the 7th April, 1905.

The Hon'ble Mr. E. M. H. Fulton, C. S. I., I.C.S., President, in the chair.

The Honorary Secretary read the following report of the Society for 1904:—

## The Annual Report for 1904.

### MEMBERS.

*Resident.*—49 New Members were elected during 1904 and 2 Non-Resident Members came to Bombay, whose names were added to the list of Resident Members. 24 have withdrawn, 4 have retired, 3 have died and the name of 1 was removed from the roll for non-payment of subscription. This leaves 284 on the roll at the end of the year. The number at the close of the preceding year was 265.

*Non-Resident.*—20 Members joined under this class. 3 have resigned the membership, 2 died, 1 has retired and 2 having come to Bombay were transferred to the Resident list. The total number at the end of the year was 90 against 78 at the end of 1903. Out of the 20 new Members, 16 have become subscribers to the Library under Art. XVI of the Rules by payment of an additional subscription.

### OBITUARY.

The Society have to announce with regret the loss by death of the following Members, Resident and Non-Resident, during the year :—

J. R. Greaves, Esq.  
J. N. Tata, Esq.  
Fakirchand Premchand, Esq.  
Kumar Shri Baldeoji of Dharumpore.  
Captain G. Warneford.

### LIBRARY.

The total issue during the twelve months, excluding the use made of Reference and other works at the Library, was 38,636 volumes against 36,051 in the year preceding. The total comprised 24,131 volumes of new books and periodicals and 14,505 of the old, giving a daily average of 113.

The subjoined tables show in detail the issues by months and the subjects of the books issued :—

#### MONTHLY ISSUES.

					<i>Old Books.</i>	<i>New Books.</i>
January	...	...	...	...	1,028	2,298
February	...	...	...	...	1,308	2,069
March	...	...	...	...	1,270	1,890
April	...	...	...	...	1,288	2,023
May	...	...	...	...	1,116	2,426
June	...	...	...	...	1,077	2,095
July	...	...	...	...	1,085	2,274
August	...	...	...	...	1,213	2,076
September	...	...	...	...	1,423	1,719
October	...	...	...	...	1,194	1,991
November	...	...	...	...	1,139	1,869
December	...	...	...	...	1,364	1,463

## CLASSES OF BOOKS ISSUED.

<i>Subject.</i>	<i>Volumes.</i>
Fiction ... ..	12,870
Biography ... ..	1,478
Miscellaneous, Collected Works, Essays, &c. ... ..	1,393
Voyages, Travels, Geography, Topography ... ..	1,088
History and Chronology ... ..	1,048
Reviews, Magazines, Transactions of Learned Societies, &c. (in bound volumes) ... ..	968
Oriental Literature ... ..	843
Politics, and Political Economy ... ..	561
Poetry and Drama ... ..	500
Art, Architecture, Engineering, &c. ... ..	332
Religion and Theology ... ..	331
Philology, Literary History, &c. ... ..	225
Naval and Military ... ..	212
Natural History, Geology, Mineralogy, &c. ... ..	207
Classics and Translations ... ..	201
Foreign Literature ... ..	199
Archæology, Antiquities, Numismatics, &c. .. ..	181
Philosophy ... ..	177
Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, Mathematics, &c. ... ..	122
Grammatical Works, Encyclopædias, Dictionaries, &c. ... ..	119
Government Publications and Public Records ... ..	100
Medicine, Surgery, &c. ... ..	98
Law ... ..	85
Botany, Agriculture, Horticulture ... ..	59
Logic, Rhetoric ... ..	29
Periodicals in loose numbers ... ..	15,282

## ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The accessions to the Library during the year numbered 1,250 volumes. 909 of these were acquired by purchase and 341 by gift.

Books were presented chiefly by the Bombay Government, the Secretary of State for India, the Government of India and the other local Governments and a few by individual authors and donors.

The volumes of each class of books purchased and presented are shown in the subjoined table :—

<i>Subject.</i>	<i>Volumes purchased.</i>	<i>Volumes presented.</i>
Religion and Theology ... ..	13	...
Philosophy ... ..	4	...
Classics and Translations ... ..	4	...

<i>Subject.</i>	<i>Volumes purchased.</i>	<i>Volumes presented.</i>
Literary History and Biblio-		
... ..	9	1
Chronology ... ..	32	4
Political Economy, Trade and		
Commerce ... ..	13	2
... ..	2	5
Government Publications and Public		
Records ... ..	12	143
Biography ... ..	70	...
Archæology, Antiquities, Numismatics,		
Heraldry ... ..	42	7
Voyages, Travels, Geography and Topo-		
graphy ... ..	46	10
Poetry and Drama ... ..	18	...
Fiction ... ..	310	...
Miscellaneous, Collected Works, Essays,		
&c. ... ..	35	4
Foreign Literature ... ..	3	3
Natural Philosophy, Mathematics, Astro-		
nomy... ..	6	...
Art, Music, Engineering, Architecture ...	52	2
Naval and Military ... ..	18	...
Natural History, Geology, Mineralogy ...	5	...
Botany, Agriculture and Horticulture ...	5	5
Medicine, Surgery and Physiology ...	2	1
Annuals, Serials, Transactions of Learned		
Societies, &c. ... ..	187	123
Dictionaries and Grammatical Works ...	7	1
Oriental Literature ... ..	14	30

## NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS.

The newspapers, periodicals, and journals and transactions of Learned Societies, subscribed for and presented to the Society during 1904, were—

Literary Monthlies ... ..	15
Illustrated ... ..	18
Scientific and Philosophical Journals, Transactions of	
Learned Societies, &c. ... ..	35
Reviews ... ..	16
English Newspapers ... ..	16
English Registers, Almanacs, Directories, &c. ...	13

Foreign Literary and Scientific Periodicals	...	...	10
American Literary and Scientific Periodicals	..	...	11
Indian Newspapers and Government Gazettes	...	...	20
Indian Journals, Reviews, &c.	..	... ..	27

At a Meeting of the Society, held in November, under Article XX of the Rules, for the revision of the newspapers, periodicals, &c., purchased by the Society, it was resolved to subscribe to—

Photography.

Connoisseur.

American Review of Reviews.

Independent Review.

British Medical Journal.

Scribner's Magazine.

Englishman ( Calcutta ).

and to discontinue—

Process Photogram.

Badminton Magazine.

Daily News.

Indian Statesman ( Calcutta )

from the beginning of 1905.

#### COIN CABINET.

The Society's Coin Cabinet received an accession of 27 coins during the year under review. They were received from different Governments under the Treasure Trove Act.

From the Bombay Government	...	...	...	...	15
„ the Bengal Government	...	...	...	...	10
„ the Government, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh...					2

Of the total 27, 18 were Silver and 9 Copper.

A detailed descriptive list is subjoined.

#### *Presented by the Bombay Government.*

Copper Coins of the following Pathan Kings of Delhi :—

1 Jalal-ud-din Firuz Shah.

6 Firuz Shah.

1 With the conjoined names of Firuz Shah and his son Fateh Khan.

1 Muhammad bin Taghlak.

These coins were discovered while digging in the bed of the Shendi River, near the village of Vina, in the Nariad Taluka, Kaira District. They were spread about in the sandy bed.

## Silver Coins of the Moghul Emperors—

- 1 Aurangzib.
- 1 Farruk Siyar.
- 1 Muhammad Shah.
- 1 Ahmad Shah.
- 1 Alamgir II.
- 1 Shah Alam.

Found hidden in a wall in the village of Narayangao, Taluka Junnar, Poona District.

*Presented by the Bengal Government.*

Pathan Kings of Delhi. (Suri Dynasty.)

- 5. Shir Shah.
- 4. Islam Shah.
- 1. Muhammad Shah.

From the Malda District, found in a village called Belbar near the ancient Gaur.

*Presented by the Government, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.*

- 1. Silver Coin of the Moghul Emperor Jehangir, found in the town of Faridpur, Bareilly.
- 1. Silver Coin of the East India Company bearing the name of Shah Alam, found in the Gonda District.

The Society also received during the year a number of Indian Paleolithic and Neolithic stone implements, discovered in the Madras Presidency and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, which were presented by Mr. H. W. Seton-Karr.

## FINANCE.

A statement showing in detail the items of income and expenditure during the year is annexed to the report.

The actual total receipts by subscriptions from Members during 1904 amount to Rs. 11,692-15-0. The subscriptions in the year before amounted to Rs. 11,363-12-0. There was besides a sum of Rs. 620 on account of life subscription from one Resident and one Non-Resident Member, which has been duly invested in Government securities in accordance with Article XV of the Rules. There was also a collection of Rs. 1,815 from the special subscription started to defray the expenses in connection with the centenary of the Society.

The balance to the credit of the Society at the end of the year was Rs. 3,387-2-10, including the amount collected on account of the Centenary Fund.

Of this sum Rs. 1,124-6-9 have since been remitted to Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. in payment of their bills up to the end of December, and the greater part of the remainder will be required to meet the expenses of the printing of the Memorial Number of the Journal.

The arrears of subscription for 1904 were Rs. 100.

The invested funds of the Society amount to Rs. 15,400.

### IMPROVEMENT OF ROOMS.

On May 16 a letter was received from Government granting the use of the Durbar Room for book-cases. This will lessen the pressure due to insufficient space. Various minor improvements have been made for the convenience of readers, including an additional reading room on the west side, a better arrangement of Reference books and better lighting.

### CENTENARY.

The Hundredth Anniversary of the founding of the Society occurred on the 26th November. The event was duly celebrated in the third week of January 1905 from the 17th to the 20th inclusive. Twenty-two papers were read ; and a conversazione was held, presided over by His Excellency Lord Lamington, Patron of the Society. A detailed account of the proceedings is given in the Centenary Memorial Volume, which is in the press and will shortly be published.

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Mr. Sharp, in proposing the adoption of the report, said it reminded them that the centenary had been celebrated, and he thought the Rev. Mr. Scott was entitled to their best thanks, not only for the work he had done in connection with the Library, but also for having made the centenary gathering such a success.

Mr. S. T. Bhandare seconded the proposition, which was carried unanimously.

On the motion of Mr. James Macdonald, seconded by Mr. J. P. Watson, the following Committee was elected for the ensuing year :—

### COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT.

1905.

#### *President.*

The Hon'ble Mr. E. M. H. Fulton, C.S.I., I.C.S.

#### *Vice-Presidents.*

James MacDonald, Esq.

K. R. Cama, Esq.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice N. G. Chandavarkar, B.A., LL.B.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice H. Batty, M.A., I.C.S.

*Members.*

Camrudin Amirudin, Esq., B.A.  
 F. R. Viccaji, Esq., B.A., LL.B.  
 Sir Bhalchandra K. Bhatavadekar, Kt.  
 Jivanji Jamsetji Modi, Esq., B.A.  
 Dastur Darab P. Sanjana, Esq., B.A.  
 A. L. Covernton, Esq., M.A.  
 The Hon'ble Mr. D. R. Chichgar.  
 Rev. D. Mackichan, M.A., LL.D.  
 J. E. Aspinwall, Esq.  
 Rev. Dr. J. E. Abbott, D.D.  
 Rao Bahadur G. N. Nadkarni, B.A., LL.B.  
 L. C. H. Young, Esq., B.A.  
 W. H. Sharp, Esq., M.A.  
 S. R. Bhandarkar, Esq., M.A.

*Honorary Secretary.*

Rev. R. Scott, M.A.

*Honorary Auditors.*

H. R. H. Wilkinson, Esq.  
 S. T. Bhandare, Esq.

The Hon. Mr. Fulton said when he came to Bombay that morning he had not expected to be at the meeting or to have been called on to make a speech ; though it was a great pleasure to him to have been able to attend and to meet the members. He thought the report showed good progress, for whether they looked at the number of resident and non-resident members, to the issue of the books or to any other part of the report they found that some advance had been made ; which was very satisfactory at a time when they were entering on another century. When they looked round the room and saw the collection of books which had been made during the last one hundred years they might fairly ask themselves to what extent the Society would have grown in the year 2005. They would then require new rooms, but he hoped they would not have to wait quite so long as a century before some of them saw a new building begun. He regretted that his absence in England had prevented him giving that assistance at the Centenary meetings which one of the speakers had attributed to him, and thought that the success of that celebration was greatly due to their Honorary Secretary.

The Rev. Mr. Scott, having pointed out how the President had given valuable assistance by coming down from Poona to attend the preliminary meetings, said the Centenary would have been even a greater success had Mr. Fulton been able to be present.

A vote of thanks to the President concluded the meeting.

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A MEETING of the Society was held on Thursday, the 27th of July 1905.

K. R. CAMA, Esq., one of the Vice-Presidents, in the Chair.

Mr. R. K. Dadachanji read a paper on the Evolution of Primitive Religion as illustrated by the Avestic Doctrines of the Fravashees, &c.

On the proposition of Mr. J. J. Mody, seconded by Mr. S. T. Bhandare, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Dadachanji for the paper he had read.

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A MEETING of the Society was held on Wednesday, the 27th September 1905.

Mr. JAMES MACDONALD, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. R. P. Karkaria then read a paper on "Lt.-Col. T. B. Jervis (1796-1857) and his Manuscript Studies on the State of the Maratha People and their history, recently presented to the Society by his son."

Mr. R. K. Dadachanji moved and Mr. S. T. Bhandare seconded a vote of thanks to Mr. Karkaria for the highly interesting and valuable paper he had read.

Mr. K. R. Cama in supporting the motion stated that he remembered seeing Mr. Jervis when he was Secretary of the Bombay Education in this city.

The Chairman after some remarks put the motion to the vote and it was carried by acclamation.

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A GENERAL MEETING of the Society under Art. XX of the Rules was held on Thursday, the 30th November 1905.

The Hon'ble Mr. E. M. FULTON, President, in the Chair.

The following proposals about papers and periodicals were placed before the meeting.

By the Honorary Secretary—

That—

"American Review of Reviews,"

"Independent Review,"

"British Medical Journal,"

"Journal of Education,"

be discontinued.

Carried.

By the Hon'ble Mr. C. H. Armstrong—

That—

“Capital” be taken.

Seconded by Sir Perozshah M. Mehta.

Carried.

By Mr. R. S. Rustomjee :—

That—

(1) “Daily News,” London, be taken.

Seconded by Sir Perozshah M. Mehta.

Carried.

(2) “Hindustan Review” be taken.

Seconded by the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Dikshit.

Carried.

(3) “Oriental Review” be taken.

Seconded by Sir Perozshah M. Mehta.

Carried.

(4) “Calcutta Review” be discontinued.

Proposition withdrawn.

By Sir Perozshah M. Mehta—

That—

(1) “Statesman” be taken.

Seconded by Sir Bhalchandra Krishna.

Carried.

That—

(2) “India” be taken.

Seconded by the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Dikshit.

Carried.

That—

(3) “Indu Prakash” be taken.

Seconded by Sir Bhalchandra Krishna.

Carried.

It was resolved to discontinue the “Englishman” on account of expense.

By Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar—

That—

(1) “International Journal of Ethics,”

(2) “Nachrichten der Königlich Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zur Gottingen” be taken.

Mr. Bhandarkar not being present, the proposition as regards (1) was moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice N. G. Chandawarkar and seconded by Sir Perozshah M. Mehta and carried.



*Books, &c., Presented to the Society,*

1904-05.

*Titles of Books.*

*Donors.*

ACCOUNTS of Trade, by Rail and River in India, 1903-04.	Government of India.
ACTS passed by the Governor-General of India, 1903-04.	Government of India.
ADMINISTRATION Report, Baluchistan Agency, 1902-03-04.	Government of India.
————— Report, Bengal, 1902-03-04.	Bengal Government.
————— Report, Berar, 1902-03.	Commissioner, Central Provinces.
————— Report, Bombay Improvement Trust, 1904-05.	Chairman, Improvement Trust.
————— Report, Bombay Presidency, 1902-03-04.	Bombay Government.
————— Report, Burma, 1902-03-04.	Burma Government.
————— Report, Central India Agency for 1902-03-04.	Government of India.
————— Report, Madras, 1902-03-04.	Madras Government.
————— Report, N.-W. Frontier Province, 1902-03-04-05.	Chief Commissioner, N.-W. F. Provinces.
————— Report, Persian Gulf, Political Residency and Muskat Political Agency, 1903-04.	Government of India.
————— Report, Punjab, 1902-03-04.	Punjab Government.
————— Report, Rajputana States and Ajmer-Merwara, 1903-04.	Government of India.
————— Report, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, 1902-03-04.	United Provinces Government.
AGRICULTURAL Ledger, 1903-04.	Government of India.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
AGRICULTURAL Statistics of India, 1897-98 to 1901-02-03-04.	Government of India.
———— Statistics, India, 1898-99 to 1902-03.	Government of India.
AJMER Code, 3rd Edition.	Government of India.
ALBUM OF Philippine Types.	American Museum of Natural History.
A MANUAL of Musalman Numismatics by O. Codrington.	The Author.
AMERICAN Museum Journal, Vols. 1, 2 & 3.	American Museum.
ANCIENT Iranians (Gujarati).	Parsee Panchayat.
ANGEL of Misfortune. By Nagesh W. Pai.	The Author.
ANNALES du Musée Guimet, 1903-04.	The Musée Guimet.
ANNALS, Royal Botanic Garden, Calcutta, Vol. X., Part II.	Bengal Government.
ARDA VIRAF Nameh.	Parsee Panchayat.
AREA and Yield of certain Crops in India, 1891-92-03-04-05.	Government of India.
ASIATIC Papers. J. J. Modi.	The Author.
ARCHÆOLOGICAL Survey of India, New Imperial Series, Vol. XXIX (Southern India, Vol. X). South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. III.	Madras Government.
ATTEMPT to Analyse the Mahabharat. R. R. Bhagvat.	The Author.
AVESTA, Pahlavi and Ancient Persian Studies.	Parsee Panchayat.
B. B. & C. I. Railway Time Table.	The Railway Co.
BENGAL Code, 3rd Ed., Vols. I—III.	Government of India.
BOMBAY Port Trust, Papers on Indian Granites.	Bombay Port Trust.
———— Port Trust, Review of Operations, 1873-1905.	Chairman, Port Trust.

*Titles of Books.**Donors.*

BOMBAY Quarterly Civil List, 1904.

Bombay Government.

BOUDHAYANA Grihya Sutra.

Mysore Government.

BRHAD Devata, 2 Vols.

Harvard University.

BULLETIN de L'Ecole Française D'Extrême Orient, 1904.

Ecole, Française.

———— of American Museum of Natural History, 1903-04.

Smithsonian Institute.

———— Department of Land Records and Agriculture, Bombay, 1903,  
Nos. 22, 25.

Bombay Government.

———— International de L'Academie des Sciences De Cracovie  
1903-04.

Bombay Government.

———— of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. IV, V, VII—  
IX ; XIII—XVI, 1892.

American Museum.

———— of Medicine, Lloyd Library.

Lloyd Library.

CARTOONS from Hindi Punch, 1904.

Proprietor of the Hindi Punch.

CATALOGUE, Imperial Library, Calcutta, 2 Vols.

Council Imperial Library.

———— Library of Congress, U. S. A., 1904.

Smithsonian Institute.

———— of Greek Coins, British Museum.

Trustees, British Museum.

———— of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection, Glasgow.  
Vol. III.

Trustees, Hunterian Coin Catalogue Fund.

———— of Latin MSS., Berlin Library. The Library.

———— of Persian Manuscripts in the India Office Library, Vol. I.

Director of Public Instruction, Bombay.

———— of Sanskrit Manuscripts, India Office Library, Part VII.

Secretary of State for India.

———— of Sanskrit MSS., Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras.  
Madras Government.———— of two collections of Sanskrit MSS. preserved in the India  
Office Library.

Secretary of State for India

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
CENSUS of India, 1901, Vol. XX and XXa, Cochin.	Bombay Government.
CENSUS of India, 1901, Vols. XXVI, XXVIA and XXVIB., Travancore.	Bombay Government.
CENTRAL Provinces Code, 3rd Edition, 1905.	Government of India.
CUNEIFORM Inscription of Western Asia, Vol. III.	British Museum.
DESCRIPTIVE Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS., Calcutta Sanskrit College, Nos. 19, 20 and 21.	Bengal Government.
DIGAMBARA Jaina Iconography, by Dr. J. Burgess.	The Author.
DISPENSARY Report, Punjab, 1903.	Punjab Government.
DISTRICT Gazetteer, Bengal Presidency, Statistics, 1901-02. 15 Parts.	Government of India.
——— Gazetteers, United Provinces, Agra and Oudh, Vols. 3, 4, 5, 34, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 45, 46, 47 and 48.	Government of India.
EARLY Voyages to Spitsbergen in the Seventeenth Century. (Hak. Soc.).	Bombay Government.
EAST India. Accounts and Estimates, 1905-06.	Secretary of State for India.
—— India (Afghanistan) Treaty, dated 21st March 1905.	Secretary of State for India.
—— India, Home Accounts.	Secretary of State for India.
—— India. Income and Expenditure, 1893-94 to 1903-04.	Secretary of State for India.
—— India. Indian Financial Statement for 1904-05 and 1905-06.	Secretary of State for India.
—— India. Progress and Condition, 1903-04.	Secretary of State for India.
—— India, Reconstitution of Bengal and Assam.	Secretary of State for India.
—— India, Appeals, Revised Rules.	Secretary of State for India.
—— India (Forest Service) Correspondence.	Secretary of State for India.
—— India Army Administration.	Secretary of State for India.

*Titles of Books.**Donors.*

- ELEMENTS de Sanskrit Classique. V. Henry.  
Ecole Française D'Extreme Orient.
- EPIGRAPHIA Carnatica, Vol. VIII., Part II., Text and Translation.  
Mysore Government.
- Carnatica, Vol. XII.  
Mysore Government.
- Indica, Vol. VII, 1902-03.  
Government of India.
- ETUDES Grammaire Pehlvi.  
Librairie Orientale et Américaine.
- ÉTUDE sur l'ecconographie. Bouddhique de l'Inde.  
École des Hautes Etudes.
- FACTORY Report of the Presidency of Bombay, 1903-04.  
Bombay Government.
- FIFTEENTH Annual Report, Missouri Botanical Garden.  
St. Louis Board of Trustees.
- FINANCE and Revenue Accounts of the Government of India, 1902-03-04.  
Government of India.
- FALSE Clâims corrected. By Dr. G. W. Brown.  
The Author.
- FRESH Water Fishes of Mexico.  
Smithsonian Institute.
- FURTHER Papers, regarding the Administration of the Army in India.  
Secretary of State for India.
- Papers, Tibet No. III.  
Secretary of State for India.
- GADADHARA Paddhati, Vol. I (Bibliotheca Indica).  
Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- GANDHARA Sculptures. By Dr. Burgess.  
The Author.
- GENERAL Report, Census of India, 1901.  
Secretary of State for India.
- GEOGRAPHICAL account of countries round the Bay of Bengal, 1669 to 1679. (Hak. Soc.).  
Bombay Government.
- GLOSSARY of the Multan Language.  
Punjab Government
- HISTOIRE du Bouddhisme dans l'Inde. Par Kern. Tome II.  
Musée Guimet
- HISTORY of Epidemics in Britain, Vol. II. By Creighton.  
Cambridge University.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
IMPROVEMENT of Indian Cotton.	
INCOME-TAX Statistics, Bombay Presidency, 1902-03-04.	Secretary of State for India. Bombay Government.
INDIA (Aden); Papers relating to Aden Harbour, &c.	Secretary of State for India.
INDIA. Past and Present. By J. Murdock.	The Author.
INDIAN ART at Delhi, 1903.	
—— Law Reports. Allahabad Series, 1903-04.	Bombay Government.
—— Law Reports. Bombay Series, 1903-04.	Government, U.P.
—— Law Reports. Calcutta Series, 1903-04.	Bombay Government.
—— Law Report. Madras Series, 1903-04.	Bengal Government.
—— Meteorological Memoirs, Vols. XVI and XVII.	Government of India.
—— Universities Commission. Letters to the "Times of India" by C. H. Setalwad.	Government of India.
—— Weather Review, Annual Summary, 1903.	The Author.
INSCRIPTIONS on Copper-plates and Stones, Nellore District, Madras.	Government of India. Madras Government.
IRRIGATION in India.	
JEHANGIR Nameh by Herati.	Government of India.
JOURNAL, American Oriental Society, Vols. 24, 25 and 26.	Mr. M. Kanga.
—— Bombay Anthropological Society, Vols. 1-6.	The Society.
—— Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1888 (January) Part I; 1891 (January) Part I; 1896 (January) Part I; 1898 (July) Part III; 1901 (April) Part II; 1902 (July) Part III.	The Society.
—— Siam Society. Vol. I, Parts. 1 & 2.	Mr. F. Goldsmid.
	The Society.

*Titles of Books.**Donors.*

JOURNAL Statistical Society, Vol. 56, 1903.

The Society.

——— Straits Branch R. A. Society, No. 44, 1905.

The Society.

——— Victoria Institute, Vol. XXXVI, 1904.

The Institute.

JUDICIAL and Administrative Statistics, British India, 1902-03-04.

Government of India.

KANSAS. By Mrs. Robinson.

Mrs. Sara T. W. Robinson.

——— Conflict. By C. Robinson.

Mrs. Sara T. W. Robinson.

KHORDEH-Avesta Searched—I Mihr-Yast. By Prof. R. R. Bhagvat.

The Author.

LA VISITE d'un Parsi a la Ville de Constantinople. By J. J. Modi.

The Author.

LINGUISTIC Survey of India, Vols. II—VI.

Government of India.

——— and Oriental Essays, Series VII. By R. N. Cust.

The Author.

LIST of Sanskrit, Jaina and Hindi MSS., Sanskrit College, Benares.

Government, U.P.

MADRAS District Gazetteers, Bellary and Anantpur.

Government of India.

MAHABHARAT, Abridged. C. V. Vaidya.

The Author.

MAHABODHI, Vols. X and XI.

The Mahabodhi Society.

MSS. in 7 Vols. being Memoirs of the work of Lt.-Col. T. B. Jervis, Bombay Engineers, East India Company, 1826, containing interesting information bearing on the Administration, History, Surveys, and land tenures of Western India, in the early years of the last century.

Mr. W. P. Jervis.

MARKANDEYA Purana.

Asiatic Society of Bengal.

MATERIA Medica of India. By Dr. R. N. Khor.

The Author.

MEMOIRS, American Museum of Natural History, Vol. I., Part VIII.

Smithsonian Institute.

——— Geological Survey of India, Vol. XXXVI, Part I.

Government of India.

A vote of thanks to the President concluded the meeting.

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A MEETING of the Society was held on Thursday, the 27th of July 1905.

K. R. CAMA, Esq., one of the Vice-Presidents, in the Chair.

Mr. R. K. Dadachanji read a paper on the Evolution of Primitive Religion as illustrated by the Avestic Doctrines of the Fravashees, &c.

On the proposition of Mr. J. J. Mody, seconded by Mr. S. T. Bhandare, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Dadachanji for the paper he had read.

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A MEETING of the Society was held on Wednesday, the 27th September 1905.

Mr. JAMES MACDONALD, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. R. P. Karkaria then read a paper on "Lt.-Col. T. B. Jervis (1796-1857) and his Manuscript Studies on the State of the Maratha People and their history, recently presented to the Society by his son."

Mr. R. K. Dadachanji moved and Mr. S. T. Bhandare seconded a vote of thanks to Mr. Karkaria for the highly interesting and valuable paper he had read.

Mr. K. R. Cama in supporting the motion stated that he remembered seeing Mr. Jervis when he was Secretary of the Bombay Education in this city.

The Chairman after some remarks put the motion to the vote and it was carried by acclamation.

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A GENERAL MEETING of the Society under Art. XX of the Rules was held on Thursday, the 30th November 1905.

The Hon'ble Mr. E. M. FULTON, President, in the Chair.

The following proposals about papers and periodicals were placed before the meeting.

By the Honorary Secretary—

That—

"American Review of Reviews,"

"Independent Review,"

"British Medical Journal,"

"Journal of Education,"

be discontinued.

Carried.

By the Hon'ble Mr. C. H. Armstrong—

That—

“Capital” be taken.

Seconded by Sir Perozshah M. Mehta.

Carried.

By Mr. R. S. Rustomjee :—

That—

(1) “Daily News,” London, be taken.

Seconded by Sir Perozshah M. Mehta.

Carried.

(2) “Hindustan Review” be taken.

Seconded by the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Dikshit.

Carried.

(3) “Oriental Review” be taken.

Seconded by Sir Perozshah M. Mehta.

Carried.

(4) “Calcutta Review” be discontinued.

Proposition withdrawn.

By Sir Perozshah M. Mehta—

That—

(1) “Statesman” be taken.

Seconded by Sir Bhalchandra Krishna.

Carried.

That—

(2) “India” be taken.

Seconded by the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Dikshit.

Carried.

That—

(3) “Indu Prakash” be taken.

Seconded by Sir Bhalchandra Krishna.

Carried.

It was resolved to discontinue the “Englishman” on account of expense.

By Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar—

That—

(1) “International Journal of Ethics,”

(2) “Nachrichten der Königlich Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zur Gottingen” be taken.

Mr. Bhandarkar not being present, the proposition as regards (1) was moved by the Hon'ble Mr Justice N. G. Chandawarkar and seconded by Sir Perozshah M. Mehta and carried.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
PROCEEDINGS, Royal Geographical Society, Australasia, Vol. VII, 1903-04.	The Society.
PROGRESS of Education in India, 1897-98 to 1901-02.	Secretary of State for India.
RAJPUTANA DISTRICT Gazetteers, Vol. I, A and B.	Government of India.
RAMAYAN Abridged. C. V. Vaidya.	The Author.
RECORDS, Botanical Survey of India, Vol. II, No. 6.	Government of India.
— Botanical Survey of India, Vol. III, Nos. 1 and 2.	Government of India.
— of the Geological Survey of India, Vol. XXXI, 1904.	Supdt., Geo. Survey of India.
REMINISCENCES of Geo. R. J. Walker with Rescue of Kansas from Slavery. By Dr. G. W. Brown.	The Author.
REPORT. American Ethnology, 1888 to 1899-1900-01.	Smithsonian Institute.
— American Historical Association, 1903.	The Association.
— American Museum of Natural History, 1904.	The Museum.
— and Correspondence relating to Royal Indian Engineering College.	Secretary of State for India.
— Report, Archæological Survey of Western India, 1903-04-05.	Bombay Government.
— Archæological Survey, Punjab, 1904.	Punjab Government.
— Archæological Survey, Bengal Circle, 1904-05.	Bengal Government.
— Archæological Survey, Punjab and United Province, 1903-05.	2 vols. Government U. S. P.
— Archæological Work, Burma, 1904-05.	Burma Government.
— Australasian Association for the advancement of Science, 1904.	The Association.
— Board of Scientific Advice for India, 1902-03-04.	Government of India.

*Titles of Books.**Donors.*

REPORT. Bombay Chamber of Commerce, 1903 and 1904.	Chamber of Commerce.
——— Bombay Jail Department, 1904.	Bombay Government.
——— Bombay Millowners' Association, 1903-04.	The Association.
——— Bombay Port Trust, 1903-04-05.	Chairman, Port Trust.
——— Bombay Veterinary College, 1903-04-05.	Bombay Government.
——— Census of India, 1901 (India). Part I.	Government of India.
——— Chenab, Jhelum and Churian Colonies, 1903-04.	Punjab Government.
——— Chemical Analyser to Government of Bombay, 1903-04.	Bombay Government.
——— Civil Hospitals, &c., under Bombay Government, 1903-04.	Bombay Government.
——— Civil Justice in the Punjab, 1903-04.	Punjab Government.
——— Civil Veterinary Department, Bombay Presidency, 1902-03-04.	Bombay Government.
——— Department of Agriculture, Bombay Presidency, 1903-04.	Bombay Government.
——— Director of Public Instruction, Bombay Presidency, 1903-04.	Bombay Government.
——— Dispensaries, Jail, Hospitals and Vaccination, Central India Agency, 1902 and 1903.	Government of India.
——— Director General of Archæology, 1903-04.	Government of India.
——— Education, Punjab, 1903-04.	Punjab Government.
——— Excise Department (Abkari and Opium) Bombay Presidency— Sind and Aden, 1903-04-05.	Bombay Government.
——— Experimental Farms, Bombay Presidency, 1903-04-05.	Bombay Government.
——— External Land Trade, Sind and Baluchistan, 1904-05.	Bombay Government.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
REPORT, External Land Trade Punjab, 1903-04.	Punjab Government.
—— Forest Department, Bombay Presidency, 1902-03-04.	Bombay Government.
—— Forest Administration, Madras, 1902-03-04.	Madras Government.
—— Forest Administration, Punjab, 1902-03-04.	Punjab Government.
—— Government Museum and Connemara Public Library, Madras, 1903-04-05.	Madras Government.
—— Imperial Institute, Indian Section, 1904-05	Secretary of State for India..
—— Income Tax, Punjab, 1903-04.	Punjab Government.
—— Incumbered Estates, Sind, 1902-03.	Bombay Government.
—— Indian, Irrigation Commission, 1901—03, Parts I—IV.	Secretary of State for India.
—— Indian Police Commission.	Secretary of State for India.
—— Inspector of Mines in India, 1903-04.	Government of India.
—— Irrigation Works in the Bombay Presidency, 1902-03-04.	Bombay Government.
—— Land Records and Agriculture, Bombay Presidency, 1902-03-04.	Bombay Government.
—— Land Records and Agriculture, Punjab, 1903-04-05.	Punjab Government.
—— Land Revenue Administration, Punjab, 1903-04.	Punjab Government.
—— Library of Congress, U.S., 1904.	Smithsonian Institute.
—— Lucknow Provincial Museum, 1904-05.	Government, U. P.
—— Lunatic Asylums under the Government of Bombay, 1903-04.	Bombay Government
—— Lunatic Asylum, Punjab, 1903.	Punjab Government.
—— Maritime Trade, Sind, 1903-04-05.	Bombay Government.

*Titles of Books.**Donors.*

REPORT Meteorological Department, Government of India, 1904-05.	Government of India.
— Missouri Botanical Garden, 1905.	Missouri Botanical Garden.
— Municipal Commissioner, Bombay, 1903-04.	Municipal Commissioner.
— on the Excavation at Pataliputra (Patna.)	Bengal Government.
— on the search for Hindi MSS., U. P., for 1901.	Government, U. P.
— on the working of Municipalities in the Punjab, 1902-03-04.	Punjab Government.
— on the working of the Punjab Alienation of Land Act, 13 for 1903-04.	Punjab Government.
— Opium Department, Bombay Presidency, 1903-04-05.	Bombay Government.
— Police Town and Island of Bombay, 1903.	Bombay Government.
— on Public Instruction, Punjab, 1902-03.	Punjab Government.
— Rail-Borne Trade of the Bombay Presidency, 1902-03-04.	Bombay Government.
— Railways in India, 1903-04.	Government of India.
— Reformatory School, Yeravda, 1903-04.	Bombay Government.
— Registration Department, Bombay, Presidency, 1902-04.	Bombay Government.
— Registration Department, Punjab, 1903-04.	Punjab Government.
— Researches on Malaria. Dr. R. Ross.	Upsala University.
— Salt Department, Bombay Presidency, 1903-04-05.	Bombay Government.
— Salt Department, Sind, 1903-04.	Bombay Government.
— Sanitary Administration, Punjab, 1904.	Punjab Government.
— Sanitary Commissioner, Bombay Government, 1903-04.	Bombay Government.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
REPORT on Sanitary measures in India in 1901-02.	Secretary of State for India.
—— Sanitation, Dispensaries, Jails and Vaccination, Rajputana, 1903-04.	Government of India.
—— Sanskrit MSS., Southern India, No. III.	Madras Government.
—— Sea-Borne Trade and Customs Administration, Bombay Presidency, 1903-04-05.	Bombay Government.
—— Settlement operation, Punjab, 1903-04.	Punjab Government.
—— Smithsonian Institute, 1902-03.	Smithsonian Institute.
—— Stamp Department, Bombay, 1903-04.	Bombay Government.
—— Stamp Department, Punjab, 1904-05.	Punjab Government.
—— Survey of India, 1902-03-04.	Government of India.
—— Talukdari Settlement Officer, Bombay Presidency, 1902-03-04.	Bombay Government.
—— Thugi and Dacoity Department, 1903.	Government of India.
—— Vaccination, Bombay Presidency, 1902-03-04-05.	Bombay Government.
—— Vaccination, Punjab, 1903.	Punjab Government.
RESOLUTION on Reports of Local Boards, Bombay Presidency, 1902-03-04.	Bombay Government.
—— on Reports on Municipal Taxation and Expenditure, Bombay Presidency, 1902-03-04.	Bombay Government.
RETURN of the Wrecks and Casualties in Indian Waters, 1904.	Government of India.
REVIEW of Trade of India, 1903-04-05.	Secretary of State for India.
RIYAZU-S-sulatin.	Asiatic Society of Bengal.

*Titles of Books.**Donors.*

SANSKRIT MSS., 194 (Tapikar Puranic Collection), chiefly of works of Vedic and Sacrificial Literature.

Shrimant M. V. Kibe.

SATRUNJAYA Mahatmyam and Pilgrimage to Porsvanath in 1820. By J. Burgess.

The Author.

SEASON and Crop Report, Bombay Presidency, 1903-04-05.

Bombay Government.

SETTLEMENT Report of the Multan District, 1901.

Punjab Government.

SHAH Nameh (Gujarati).

Parsee Panchayat.

SMITHSONIAN Contribution to Knowledge, Vol. XXXIII.

Smithsonian Institute.

————— Miscellaneous Collection, 4 Parts, 1903-04.

Smithsonian Institute.

SPIRIT of the Gathas.

Parsee Panchayat.

STATEMENT, Moral and Material Progress of India, 1902-03.

Secretary of State for India.

————— Trade and Navigation, Bombay Presidency, 1903-04-05.

Bombay Government.

————— Trade and Navigation, Sind, 1903-04-05.

Bombay Government.

STATISTICAL Abstract, British India, 1893-94-95 to 1902-03-04.

Secretary of State for India.

STATISTICS of Mineral Production in India, 1894-05.

Government of India.

SUMMARISED Report of the Plague Research Laboratory for 1902-1904.

Bombay Government.

SWEDEN.

University, Upsala.

TABLES, Trade of British India, 1898-99 to 1902-03 and 1899-00 to 1903-04.

Secretary of State for India.

TECHNICAL Art Series, 1903, Plates 1-25.

Government of India.

THE Sketch of the Flora of British India. By Sir J. Hooker.

Government of India.

TIDE Tables for India, 1905.

Government of India.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
TRANSACTIONS and Proceedings, American Philological Association, Vol. 34, 1903-04.	The Association.
TWENTY-FOURTH Annual Report of the Director of U. S. Geological Society, 1902-03.	The Society.
Two Coins of Mesopotamia and Persia. By J. G. Covernton.	The Author.
U. S. GEOLOGICAL Survey Monographs, Vols. 44 and 45 ; Mineral Resources, 1903 ; Report, 1903-04.	Smithsonian Institute.
UNIVERSITY Calendar, Bombay, 1904-05-06.	The University.
———— Calendar, Madras, 1904-05-06.	Madras University.
———— Calendar, Punjab, 1904-05-06.	Punjab University.
UNREPEALED General Acts of the Governor General of India in Council, Vol. VII, 1899-1903.	Government of India.
VIEWS of the Government of India on the question of Preferential Tariffs.	Secretary of State for India.
VOYAGES of Quiros, 2 Vols. (Hak. Soc.)	Bombay Government.
YOUNG Man in the Battle of Life. By J. Murdoch.	The Author.



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*Proceedings of the Bombay Branch Royal  
Asiatic Society,*

1906.

A MEETING of the Society was held on Monday, the 29th January 1906.

Mr. K. R. Cama, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

A paper was then read by Mr. R. P. Karkaria on the "Death of Akbar," a Tercentenary study.

After a few remarks on the paper, a vote of thanks to Mr. Karkaria was proposed by Prof. O. V. Müller and seconded by Mr. S. T. Bhandare, which was unanimously carried.

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A Meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday, the 13th February 1906.

In the absence of the President and Vice-Presidents, the Honorary Secretary was voted to the chair, proposed by Mr. R. P. Karkaria and seconded by Mr. S. T. Bhandare.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. C. V. Vaidya then read a paper on the Races of Early India, with special reference to the origin of the Marathas.

On the proposition of Mr. J. J. Modi, seconded by Mr. S. T. Bhandare, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Vaidya for the interesting paper he had read.

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The Annual Meeting of the Society was held on Monday, the 26th March 1906.

Mr. James MacDonald, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair.

The Honorary Secretary read the Annual Report for 1905.

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**The Annual Report for 1905.**

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**MEMBERS.**

*Resident.*—During the year under review 57 new Members were elected and 3 Non-Resident Members having come to Bombay were added to the list of Resident Members. On the other hand, 16 withdrew, 5 died, and 5 having left Bombay were transferred to the Non-Resident List. This leaves 318 on the roll at the end of the year. The number at the close of the preceding year was 284. Out of the total number 57 were absent from India for the whole year or for portions of the year.

***Non-Resident.***—10 Members joined under this class during the year and 5 were transferred from the list of Resident Members. 4 Members resigned, 1 died and 3 were added to the Resident List. The total number at the end of the year was 97 against 90 at the close of 1904. Out of the 10 new Members, 5 acquired the privilege of taking out books from the Library under Art. XVI of the Rules, by payment of an additional subscription.

## OBITUARY.

**The Society has to record with regret the death of the following Members :—**

**RESIDENT.**

**Mr. Shamrao Vithal.**

**Dr. C. H. Cayley.**

**Mr. G. D. Marston.**

., Hardevram Nanabhai.

**Miss Aitkin.**

**NON-RESIDENT.**

**Mrs. Mitchell.**

## LIBRARY.

The total issue for the year excluding the use made of Reference and other works at the Library, was 42,926 volumes, comprising 27,184 volumes of new books including Periodicals, etc., and 15,742 of the old, a daily average, excluding Sundays and Holidays, of 140 volumes. The issue in the previous year amounted to 38,635 volumes.

The issues of each month are noted in the subjoined table—

					<i>Old Books. New Books.</i>	
January ...	...	...	...	...	1,150	1,802
February	...	...	...	...	1,242	2,205
March ...	...	...	...	...	1,475	2,495
April ...	...	...	...	...	1,445	2,195
May ...	..	..	...	...	1,238	2,754
June ...	...	...	...	...	1,166	2,679
July ...	...	...	...	...	1,426	2,705
August ...	...	...	...	...	1,341	2,349
September	...	...	...	...	1,377	2,269
October ...	..	...	...	...	1,377	2,032
November	...	...	...	...	1,140	2,114
December	...	...	...	...	1,365	1,585
					<hr/>	<hr/>
Total					15,742	27,184

The issues of old and new books arranged according to subjects are shown in the following table :—

<i>Subjects.</i>	<i>Volumes.</i>
Fiction ... ..	16,724
Biography ... ..	1,988
Miscellaneous, Collected Works and Essays ... ..	1,447
History and Chronology ... ..	1,475
Voyages, Travels, Geography, Topography ... ..	1,366
Reviews, Magazines, Transactions of Learned Societies (in bound Volumes) ... ..	861
Oriental Literature ... ..	761
Poetry and Drama ... ..	529
Naval and Military ... ..	439
Art, Architecture and Engineering ... ..	364
Philology, Literary History, &c. ... ..	307
Religion and Theology ... ..	279
Foreign Literature ... ..	209
Philosophy ... ..	224
Politics, Political Economy, &c. ... ..	265
Government Publications and Public Records ... ..	231
Natural History, Geology, Mineralogy ... ..	181
Classics and Translations ... ..	147
Archæology, Antiquities, Numismatics, &c. ... ..	149
Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, Mathematics ... ..	143
Grammatical Works, Encyclopædias, &c. ... ..	95
Botany ... ..	82
Law ... ..	81
Medicine ... ..	83
Periodicals in loose numbers ... ..	14,496

#### ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The additions to the Library during the year numbered 1,201 volumes. Of these 798 were purchased and 405 were presented to the Society.

For the gifts of books, the Society is indebted to the Secretary of State for India, the Government of India, the Bombay Government and other local Governments, the Trustees of the Parsi Panchayat Funds and Properties and to individual authors and donors.

Among the works presented to the Society special mention must be made of an important collection of Manuscript Memoirs of the work of Lt.-Col. T. B. Jervis, Bombay Engineers (East India Co.'s Service, 1812-1842) which the Society has received from his son Mr. W. P. Jervis. The MSS. are valuable, containing as they do

interesting information bearing on the administration, history and the social condition, &c., of Western India, in the early years of the last century. The MSS. are bound in 7 volumes and are in an excellent state of preservation. Another valuable donation is a small collection of Sanskrit MSS. chiefly of Vedic sacrificial and other literature, which have been presented by Mr. M. V. Kibe of Indore.

The volumes purchased and presented are shown in the subjoined table, according to classes :—

<i>Subject.</i>	<i>Volumes. purchased.</i>	<i>Volumes presented.</i>
Religion and Theology ... ..	15	...
Philosophy ... ..	14	...
Classics and Translations ... ..	7	1
Philology, Literary History and Biblio- graphy ... ..	7	17
History and Chronology ... ..	51	...
Politics, Political Economy, Trade and Commerce... ..	9	...
Law ... ..	4	7
Government Publications and Public Records ... ..	6	105
Biography ... ..	64	1
Archæology, Antiquities, Numismatics, Heraldry ... ..	5	11
Voyages, Travels, Geography, and Topography ... ..	39	29
Poetry and Drama... ..	13	...
Fiction ... ..	277	...
Miscellaneous, Collected works, Es- says, &c. ... ..	31	1
Foreign Literature... ..	1	...
Natural Philosophy, Mathematics, As- tronomy ... ..	1	...
Art, Music, Engineering, Architecture... ..	23	2
Naval and Military... ..	27	...
Natural History, Geology, Chemistry ... ..	10	...
Botany, Agriculture ... ..	3	2
Medicine, Surgery and Physiology ... ..	11	2
Annuals, Serials, Transactions of Learned Societies, &c. ... ..	148	87
Dictionaries and Grammatical works ... ..	5	...
Oriental Literature... ..	27	35

# NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS.

The Newspapers, Periodicals and Journals of Learned Societies subscribed for and presented to the Society during the year are as follows :—

Literary Monthlies...	...	...	...	...	...	14
Illustrated ...	...	...	...	...	...	18
Scientific and Philosophical Journals, Transactions of Learned Societies, &c. ...	...	...	...	...	...	35
Reviews ...	...	...	...	...	...	19
English Newspapers ..	...	...	...	...	...	16
English Registers, Almanacs, Directories, &c. ...	...	...	...	...	...	13
Foreign Literary and Scientific Periodicals ...	...	...	...	...	...	10
American Literary and Scientific Periodicals ...	...	...	...	...	...	11
Indian Newspapers and Government Gazettes ...	...	...	...	...	...	20
Indian Journals, Reviews, &c. ...	...	...	...	...	...	27

At a meeting of the Society in November called under Article XX of the Rules, for the revision of the Newspapers, Periodicals. &c., taken by the Society, it was resolved to discontinue the following from the beginning of 1906 :—

American Review of Reviews.  
Independent Review.  
British Medical Journal,  
Journal of Education.  
Englishman.

and to subscribe from the same date to :—

Capital.  
Daily News (London.)  
Hindustan Review.  
Oriental Review.  
Statesman.  
India.  
Indu Prakash,  
International Journal of Ethics.  
Indian Riview.

## COIN CABINET.

The accessions to the Society's Coin Cabinet during the year numbered 163 coins. Of these two were presented by the Dewas State through Captain Luard and the rest were acquired from different Governments under the Treasure Trove Act. Of the total number of coins added to the Cabinet 11 were Gold, 118 Silver and 34 Copper.

A detailed list is subjoined.

*Presented by the Bombay Government.*

- 3 Gold Coins of Pratap Deva Raya, Vijayanagar Dynasty, Southern India.
- 1 Round Gold Mohur of Akbar.
- 1 Square Gold Mohur of Akbar.
- 1 Gold Coin of Sulayman bin Selim, Ottoman Sultan.
- 1 Gold of Selim II bin Sulayman, Ottoman Sultan.
- 1 Gold of Murad bin Selim II, Ottoman Sultan.
- 1 Gold of Muhammad bin Murad III, Ottoman Sultan.
- 1 Small Silver coin of Akbar.
- 1 Do. of Selim Shah (afterwards Jahangir).
- 1 Silver of Jahangir.

All the coins were found while repairing the tomb of Kutbe-Alam in Watwa, a village in the Daskroi Taluka, Ahmedabad.

- 1 Silver coin of Ahmad Shah Bahadur found at Varsala, Taluka Vada, Thana.

*Presented by the Bengal Government.*

- 5 Silver coins of the East India Company in the name of Shah Alam. Found in the Dinajpur District.
- 5 Silver coins of Hassan Shah of Bengal.
- 2 Silver coins of Muhammad Shah of Delhi. Found in the Mursidabad District.
- 1 Silver coin of Islam Shah found in the Bhagalpur District.
- 1 Silver coin of Sikandar bin Ilyas ; found in the Nadea District.
- 1 Silver coin bearing names of Siva Singh Shah and Begum Pramatheswari Shah. Found near Gargaon in the Sibsagar District.
- 6 Silver coins of the French East India Company in the names of Ahmad Shah and Shah Alam ; found in the Rangpur District.
- 11 Silver coins of Alamgir II.
- 4 Mahommad Shah.
- 1 Shahajahan II.
- 1 Shah Alam I.
- 4 Ahmad Shah ; found in the Manbhum District.

*Presented by the Assam Government.*

- 11 Silver coins of Assam Kings—  
     Gaurinath Singh.  
     Rajeshwar Singh.  
     Pramatha Singh.  
     Lakshmi Singh.  
     Found in the Sibsagar District.

*Presented by the Government, U. P.*

- 2 Silver coins of Shah Alam II, found in a well in Mauza Rodan, Tahsil Ferozabad, Agra District.
- 1 Silver of Mahommad Shah, found at Tera Jakat, Tahsil Chibraman, Farrukabad District.
- 6 Silver coins of the East India Company in the name of Shah Alam, found in the Bahraich District.
- 5 Silver coins of Shah Alam, found in Kabirpur, Unao.
- 1 Copper Indo-Scythian coin, found in Bhitaura District, Fyzabad.
- 12 Copper coins of Akbar, found in the Barabanki District.

*Presented by the Government, N.-W. Frontier Provinces.*

- 1 Gold coin of Kedara King of the Kushans, found in the Peshawar District.
- 1 Gold coin, later Indo-Scythian, found in the Hazara District.

*Presented by the Madras Government.*

- 21 Copper coins of the English East India Company (Bombay Type, Bale mark and Scales of Justice), found in the Madras Presidency.

*Presented by the Government, Central Provinces.*

- 18 Silver coins of Aurangzeb. Found in the Bhandara District.
- 5 Silver Indo-Sassanian coins, found in the Jabalpur District.
- 16 Silver coins of Aurangzeb, found in the Saugor District.

*Presented by the Punjab Government.*

- 1 Silver coin of Jahangir, found in the Sialkot District.
- 1 Silver of Shah Suja Durani  
and
- 3 Silver of Muhammad Shah Durani, found in the Jhang District.
- 1 Silver of Shah Alam II, found in the Gaigaon District.

*Presented by the Dewas State.*

- 2 Silver coins of Muhammad Shah of Malwa.

News has reached the Hon. Secretary of a large find of silver coins of Nahapana, the 1st Western Kshatrapa (A. D. 119) in the Sinnar Taluka of Nasik District. These will be forwarded to the Society by Government in due course.

The Honorary Secretary has obtained the following objects of antiquarian interest, for the Museum from the Thana District :—

Two Stones bearing an inscription relating to land-grants by Kings of the Silahara Dynasty, from Salsette.

Three Hindu figures of black stone of about the 9th Century A. D. from Parjapur, Salsette.

Steps have also been taken to recover from Junnar in the Poona District an inscribed slab, recording an eclipse of the Sun in the year A. D. 1033, and enquiries are being set on foot with a view to the recovery of other objects of archæological interest which are known to be lying neglected in various parts of the Presidency.

#### JOURNAL.

Two numbers of the Journal were issued during the year.

The first was a special number, the Centenary Memorial Volume, containing a record of proceedings of the Centenary celebration, a paper on the history of the Society, other papers, reviewing the progress of Oriental Literature, Archæology and Natural History during the century and papers read at meetings held in connection with the Centenary.

The second was a regular issue ; number 60, the first number of Vol. XXII of the Journal. In this number are published some of the papers, read in connection with the Centenary, which were not included in the Centenary Memorial Volume, and two papers, one on the "Jervis MSS." read at a meeting of the Society during the year, and the other on "Shivaji's Swarajya" read before the Society in 1903.

#### IRANIAN BOOKS PURCHASE FUND.

With a view to commemorate the Centenary of the Society, Mr. K. R. Cama, Mr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi and Khan Bahadur Bomanji Byramji Patel raised a subscription among members of the Parsi community for the purchase of important works on Iranian Literature, history and philology, to be added to the Oriental Section of the Society's Library. The total amount collected, Rs. 855, has been handed over to the Society with a list of books recommended for purchase. The books which have been ordered and will be received in due course will prove of special interest to students of Iranian Literature in Bombay.

#### FINANCE.

A statement of accounts detailing receipts and disbursements for 1905 is appended.

The total amount of subscription from members during the year was Rs. 12,726-3-4. The subscriptions in the year preceding amounted to Rs. 11,692-15-0.

A sum of Rs. 620, on account of life-subscription, was also received from one Resident and one Non-Resident member, which sum has been duly invested in Government securities as required by the Rules. A sum of Rs. 754, representing the special subscription started in 1904 for defraying expenses in connection with the Centenary celebration of the Society and including proceeds of the Centenary tickets was also placed to the Society's credit.

The balance to the credit of the Society at the end of the year was Rs. 2,648-13-2.

The Invested Funds of the Society amount to Rs. 16,000.

### GENERAL.

The lighting of the Reading Room and of the side rooms, which was far from satisfactory, has been improved. Three new lamps of large size have been fixed over the principal Reading tables in the Library Room and the old lamps have been rearranged with the result that the rooms are now better lighted. It is hoped to make further improvements in this direction, as time goes on and funds permit.

For the convenience of Members who have to refer to the Catalogues of the Library a new sloping desk has been purchased, to accommodate all the volumes of the MSS. Catalogues. A book case with glass doors and a lock and key has also been made, in which it is intended to keep a number of valuable and rare books, together with the first editions of the works of several standard authors in the possession of the Society. This arrangement is considered necessary for the better preservation and the safe guarding of such books.

A small glass case for telegrams has been posted in the Reading Room in place of the former unsightly board, and table cloths have been provided for two of the tables on which costly illustrated books are exposed to view.

The two very important and valuable MSS. in the Library, "Dante's Divina Commedia" and a decorated and illuminated copy of the Koran were found to be in a dilapidated condition; and the 4 portraits of Presidents of the Bombay Geographical Society, hung in the Meeting Room of the Society, were out of repair and required attention.

The Dante MSS. has been rebound in calf gilt with an ornamental border on both sides, and the Koran has been repaired in the original binding and rebacked. The four portraits have been sent to the Principal of the School of Art to be thoroughly repaired and restored.

Rao Bahadur G. N. Nadkarni proposed and Mr. C. L. Young seconded that the report for 1905 be adopted.

The proposition was carried unanimously.

On the motion of Col. Bannerman, seconded by Mr. R. P. Karkaria, the following Committee was elected for 1906.

### COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT.

1906.

#### *President.*

The Hon'ble Mr. E. M. H. Fulton, C.S.I., I.C.S.

#### *Vice-Presidents.*

James MacDonald, Esq.

Kharsetji R. Cama, Esq.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice N. G. Chandawarkar, B.A., LL.B.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice H. Batty, M.A., I.C.S.

#### *Members.*

Camrudin Amirudin, Esq. B.A.

F. R. Viccaji, Esq., B.A., LL.B.

Sir Bhalchandra K. Bhatavadekar, Kt.

Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Esq., B.A.

Dastur Dorab P. Sanjana, Esq., B.A.

A. L. Covernton, Esq., M.A.

The Hon'ble Mr. Darasha R. Chichgar.

J. E. Aspinwall, Esq.

Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan, D.D., LL.D.

Rev. Dr. J. E. Abbott, D.D.

Rao Bahadur G. N. Nadkarni, B.A., LL.B.

L. C. H. Young, Esq., B.A.

S. R. Bhandarkar, Esq., M.A.

W. H. Sharp, Esq., M.A.

#### *Honorary Secretary.*

S. M. Edwardes, Esq., I.C.S.

#### *Honorary Auditors.*

H. R. H. Wilkison, Esq.

S. T. Bhandare, Esq..

The Honorary Secretary then proposed the following addition to Article XXXIX of the Rules as arranged by the Committee of Management.

“Nor such other works as the Committee may from time to time decide to be valuable and to require special care and safeguarding.”

Rao Bahadur G. N. Nadkarni seconded the proposal.

The rule, as altered, was then unanimously adopted.

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A meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 26th April 1906.

Mr. K. R. Cama, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. J. J. Modi then read the following papers:—

(1) The Arab Writer Macoudi on “Volcanoes.”

(2) The date of the death of Nizami.

On the proposition of Mr. R. K. Dadachanji, seconded by the Honorary Secretary, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Modi for the interesting papers he had read.

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A meeting of the Society was held on Monday, the 1st October 1906.

On the proposition of the Honorary Secretary, seconded by Mr. Tribhuvandas Mangaldas, Mr. G. N. Nadkarni was voted to the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. J. A. Saldanha then read a paper “The First Englishman in India and his work, especially his Christian Puran.”

The Chairman, with a few remarks, moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Saldanha for the interesting paper he had read.

The motion was seconded by Mr. S. T. Bhandare and carried by acclamation.

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A meeting of the Society was held on Friday, the 12th October 1906.

Mr. K. R. Cama, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. J. J. Modi then read a paper “Bombay as seen by Dr. Ives in 1754.”

The Chairman with a few remarks moved a vote of thanks to Mr. J. J. Modi, for the interesting paper he had read, which was carried by acclamation.

Mr. Modi was pleased to present to the Society his copy of “Dr. Ives’ Voyages,” the subject of his paper. The Chairman acknowledged the gift with the best thanks of the Society.

A General Meeting of the Society under Article XX of the Rules was held on Wednesday, the 21st November 1906.

Mr. James MacDonald, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the Chair.

The meeting perused the existing list of papers and periodicals taken by the Society and resolved that the following out of them be discontinued from the beginning of the next year :—

Photography.

International Journal of Ethics.

India.

Lancet.

Hindustan Review.

Indian Review.

The following proposals for additions to the list received from two members were also considered :—

From

Mr. J. E. Aspinwall,

That the “Ladies’ Realm” and the “Ladies’ Field” be taken.

*Carried.*

From

Mr. Trikamdas Lalji,

That the “Indian Trade Journal” be taken.

*Not carried.*

On the proposition of Mr. J. J. Modi, seconded by Mr. J. E. Aspinwall it was resolved that a memo showing the demand among members for the papers and periodicals taken by the Society be circulated in future together with the ordinary list of papers and periodicals accompanying the notice of meeting.

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*Books, &c., presented to the Society,*

1906.

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
ACCOUNT of Trade, carried by Rail and River in India, 1904-05.	Government of India.
ACTS, Governor-General of India, 1905.	Government of India.
ADMINISTRATION Report, Baluchistan Agency, 1904-05.	Government of India
————— Report, Ajmer-Merwara, 1904-05.	Government of India.
————— Report, Bengal, 1904-05.	Government of Bengal.
————— Bombay Presidency, 1904-05.	Bombay Government.
————— Report, Burma, 1904-05.	Government of Burma.
————— Report, Madras, 1904-05.	Madras Government.
————— Report, Punjab, 1904-05.	Punjab Government.
————— Report, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, 1904-05.	Government, United Provinces.
AGRICULTURAL Changes required by the times. By R. H. Elliot.	The Author.
————— Statistics, India, 1900-01 to 1904-05.	Government of India.
ANNALES Musee Guimet. Livre Sacres de Cambodge.	
————— Le Nepal, Vol. II. Musee Guimet.	
ARCHÆOLOGICAL Survey of Western India, Vol VIII, Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmedabad, Part II.	Government of India.
AREA and Yield of Certain Principal Crops in India, 1891-92—1905-06.	Government of India.
ASSAM District Gazetteers.	Government of India.
BENGAL Code, 3rd. Edition, Vol. III.	Government of India.

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
BIBLIOTHECA Chemica, Catalogue of the Collection of James Young of Kelly.	Trustees of the late Dr. James Young.
BOMBAY University Calendar, 1906-07.	The University.
——— Gazetteer. Supplementary Volumes, with Index.	Bombay Government.
BOOKS of Reference, in the Reading Room, British Museum.	The Trustees of the Museum.
BULLETIN, Bureau of American Ethnology No. 23.	The Smithsonian Institution.
CARTOONS from Hindi Punch, 1905.	Editor, Hindi Punch.
CATALOGUE, India Office Library. Vols. III, Part IV.	Director of Public Instruction, Bombay.
——— of Arabic and Persian MSS., in the Library of the Calcutta Madrasah.	Government of Bengal.
DEATH of Shivaji. By R. P. Karkaria.	The Author.
DESCRIPTION Geologique de L'Ile d' Ambon.	Government, Netherlands India.
DESCRIPTIVE Catalogue, Sanskrit MSS., Calcutta Sanskrit College Library.	Bengal Government.
——— Catalogue, Sanskrit MSS., in the Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras.	Madras Government.
DISTRICT Gazetteers, Bengal, Statistics.	Government of India.
——— Gazetteers, United Provinces. Vols. III, XLII, XLIII and XLIV.	Government of India.
EAST India, Accounts and Estimates, 1906-07.	Secretary of State for India.
——— India, (Army Administration) Further Papers, 1906.	Secretary of State for India.
——— India, Financial Statement, 1906-07.	Secretary of State for India.
——— India, Home Accounts, 1904-06.	Secretary of State for India.
——— India, Income and Expenditure, 1894-95 to 1904-05.	Secretary of State for India

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
EAST India, Mineral Concessions, 1889 to 1904.:	
—— India, Progress and Condition, 1904-05.	Secretary of State for India.
EPIGRAPHIA, Carnatica. Vols. IX & X.	
	Mysore Government.
ETHNOGRAPHIC Notes, Southern India.	
	Madras Government.
FACSIMILES from Early Printed Books, British Museum.	
	Trustees of the British Museum.
FACTORY Report, Bombay Presidency, 1905.	
	Bombay Government.
FINANCE and Revenue Accounts, Government of India, 1904-05.	
	Government of India.
GAZETTEERS (Statistical Appendix) Tinnevelly, South Canara, Kurnool, Chingleput, Madura, North Arcot, Trichinopoly, Nilgiri, Coimbatore, South Arcot and Cuddapah Districts.	
	Madras Government.
GENEALOGY of the Infantry Regiments, Bombay Army, 1905.	
	Bombay Government.
IMPERIAL Library, Calcutta, Catalogue.	
	Government of India.
INDIAN Law Reports, Allahabad Series, 1905.	
	Government, U. P.
—— Law Reports, Bombay Series, 1905.	
	Bombay Government.
—— Law Reports, Madras Series, 1905.	
	Madras Government.
—— Law Reports, Calcutta Series, 1905.	
	Government of Bengal.
—— Records Series, Bengal, 1756-1757.	
	Government of India.
—— Weather, Review, 1904.	
	Government of India.
JOURNAL of John Jourdain ( Hak, Soc.)	
	Bombay Government.
JUDICIAL and Administrative Statistics, British India, 1904-05.	
	Government of India.
L'ART Greco-Boudhique du Gandhara, Vol. I.	
	Ecole Francaise d' Extreme-Orient.

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
BIBLIOTHECA Chemica, Catalogue of the Collection of James Y of Kelly.	Trustees of the late Dr. James Y
BOMBAY University Calendar, 1906-07.	The Un
——— Gazetteer. Supplementary Volumes, with Index.	Bombay Gov.
BOOKS of Reference, in the Reading Room, British Museum.	The Trustees of the
BULLETIN, Bureau of American Ethnology No. 23.	The Smithsonian I
CARTOONS from Hindi Punch, 1905.	Editor, Hi
CATALOGUE, India Office Library. Vols. III, Part IV.	Director of Public Instructi
——— of Arabic and Persian MSS., in the Lib	Calcutta Madrasah.
DEATH of Shivaji. By R. P. Karkaria.	Government
DESCRIPTION Geologique de L'Ile d' Ambon.	Government, Net
DESCRIPTIVE Catalogue, Sanskrit MSS., Calcutta S	Library.
——— Catalogue, Sanskrit MSS., in the Gove	MSS. Library, Madras.
DISTRICT Gazetteers, Bengal, Statistics.	Mad
——— Gazetteers, United Provinces. Vols.	G
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EAST India, Accounts and Estimates, 1906-07.	
——— India, (Army Administration) Further Paper	Secreta
——— India, Financial Statement, 1906-07.	
——— India, Home Accounts, 1904-06.	Secreta
——— India, Income and Expenditure, 1894-95 to	Secreta

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<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
LINGUISTIC Survey of India, Vol. VII. Indo-Aryan Family Southern group, specimens of the Marathi Languages.	Government of India.
LETTERS received by the East India Company, Vol. 2-6.	Secretary of State for India.
LITTLE Clay Cart. Mricchakatika. Translated into English.	Harvard University.
LORD Curzon. R. P. Karkaria.	The Author.
MADRAS University Calendar, 1906-07.	The University.
MEMOIRS of the Department of Agriculture, India, Chemical Series, Vol. I., No. 1. Botanical Series, Vol. I, Nos. 1-4.	Government of India.
——— Department of Agriculture in India, Bombay Locusts.	Government of India.
——— Geological Survey of India, Palæontologia Indica, Series XV, Vol. V.	Director, Geological Survey.
——— Indian Meteorological Dept., Vol XX, Part I.	Government of India.
NOTE on Stamp Statements, Punjab, 1905-06.	Punjab Government.
NOTES on Dispensaries and Charitable Institutions, Punjab, 1905.	Punjab Government.
——— on Registration Returns, Punjab, 1905.	Punjab Government.
——— on Vaccination, Bombay Presidency, 1905-06.	Bombay Government.
NOTICES of Sanskrit MSS., Bengal, Extra Number.	Government of India.
PAHLAVI Dinkard, Book VII.	Trustees of the Parsee Panchayat Fund.
PAPERS relating to Original Survey, Ganeshgaon, Malsiras Taluka, Sholapur.	Bombay Government.
——— revision Survey Settlement, Chandgad, Belgaum.	Bombay Government.
——— revised Survey Settlement, Karmala, Sholapur.	Bombay Government.

*Title of Books.**Donors.*

- PAPERS** relating to revision Survey Settlement, Sho.apur.  
Taluka, Sholapur.  
————— revised Survey Settlement, Madha, Sholapur.  
Bombay Government.
- Revision Survey Settlement Kashmir and Jacoba-  
bad Talukas, Upper Sind Frontier.
- Sujwal Mirpur, Mānjhand and other Talukas,  
Karachi.
- Naushahro, Abro, Ghotki and Rohri Talukas,  
Sukkur.
- Tando Bago and Badin Talukas, Hyderabad.  
Bombay Government.
- PROCEEDINGS**, Agricultural Conference, Bombay, February, 1906.  
Bombay Government.
- Legislative Council, Government of Bombay. Vol XLIII,  
1905.  
Bombay Government.
- Royal Society, Canada, Vol XI, 1905.  
The Society.
- PANJAB** District Gazetteers, Statistical Tables.  
Government of India.
- RECORDS**, Botanical Survey of India, Vol. IV, No. 3.  
Government of India.
- of the Geological Survey of India, 1905-06.  
Director, Geological Survey.
- REPORT**, American Historical Association, 1904.  
The Association.
- Archæological Survey, Burma, 1905-06.  
Government of Burma.
- Archæological Survey Work, N.-W. Frontier Provinces and  
Baluchistan, 1904-05.  
Punjab Government.
- Archæological Survey, Northern Circle, 1905-06.  
Punjab Government.
- Archæological Survey of India, 1903-04.  
Government of India.
- Archæological Survey, U.P. and Punjab, 1904-05.  
Government, U.P.
- Board of Scientific Advice, India, 1904-05.  
Government of India.

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
REPORT, Bombay Chamber of Commerce, 1905.	Bombay Chamber of Commerce.
———— Bombay Improvement Trust, 1905-06.	Chairman, Improvement Trust.
———— Bombay Jail Department, 1905.	Bombay Government.
———— Bombay Millowners' Association, 1905.	The Association.
———— Bombay Port Trust, 1905-06.	Chairman, Bombay Port Trust.
———— Chemical Analyser to Government, Bombay, 1905.	Bombay Government.
———— Chenab, Jhang, Chunian and Jhelum Colonies, 1904-05.	Punjab Government.
———— Chief Inspector of Mines in India, 1905.	Chief Inspector of Mines.
———— Civil Hospitals and Dispensaries, Government of Bombay, 1905.	Bombay Government.
———— Civil Justice, Punjab, 1905-06.	Punjab Government.
———— Civil Veterinary Department, Bombay Presidency, 1904-05.	Bombay Government.
———— Criminal Justice, Punjab, 1905.	Punjab Government.
———— Department of Agriculture, Bombay Presidency, 1904-05.	Bombay Government.
———— Director of Public Instruction, Bombay Presidency, 1904-05.	Bombay Government.
———— Excise Administration, Punjab, 1905-06.	Punjab Government.
———— External Land Trade, Punjab, 1905-06.	Punjab Government.
———— External Land Trade, Sind and British Baluchistan, 1905-06.	Bombay Government.
———— Forest Administration, Punjab, 1904-05.	Punjab Government.
———— Forest Department, Madras, 1904-05.	Madras Government.
———— Government Central Museum, Madras, 1905-06.	Madras Government.

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
REPORT, Income Tax Administration, Punjab, 1902-05-06.	Punjab Government.
———— Income Tax Operation, Bombay Presidency. Three years ending 31st March 1905.	Bombay Government.
———— Incumbered Estates, Sind, 1905-06.	Bombay Government.
———— Internal Trade, Punjab, 1904-05.	Punjab Government.
———— Irrigation Revenue, Bombay Presidency, 1904-05.	Bombay Government.
———— Irrigation Revenue, Sind, 1904-05.	Bombay Government.
———— Land Records, Bombay Presidency, 1904-05.	Bombay Government.
———— Land Records and Agriculture, Punjab.	Punjab Government.
———— Land Revenue Administration, Punjab, 1904-05.	Punjab Government.
———— Lucknow Provincial Museum, 1905-06.	Government, U. P.
———— Lunatic Asylums, Punjab, 1903-1905.	Punjab Government.
———— Lunatic Asylums, Bombay Presidency, 1903-05.	Bombay Government.
———— Maritime Trade, Sind, 1905-06.	Bombay Government.
———— Meteorological Department, Government of India, 1905-06.	Government of India.
———— Municipal Commissioner, Bombay, 1904-05.	Municipal Commissioner, Bombay.
———— Municipalities, Punjab, 1904-05.	Punjab Government.
———— on the working of Co-operative Societies, Punjab, 1905-06.	Punjab Government.
———— Opium Department, Bombay Presidency, 1904-05.	Bombay Government.
———— on Public Instruction, Punjab, 1904-05.	Punjab Government.
———— on Search for Sanskrit Mss., 1905-06.	Asiatic Society, Bengal.

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
REPORT, Plague Research Laboratory, Bombay, 1904-05.	Lt.-Col. W. B. Bannerman.
———— Police Administration, Punjab, 1905.	Punjab Government.
———— Police of Bombay, 1905.	Bombay Government.
———— P. W. Dept., Bombay Presidency, Irrigation Works, 1904-05.	Bombay Government.
———— Rail-borne Trade, Bombay Presidency, 1904-05.	Bombay Government.
———— Railways in India, 1905.	Government of India.
———— Reformatory School, Yaravda, 1905.	Bombay Government.
———— Salt Department, Sind, 1905-06.	Bombay Government.
———— Sanitary Administration, Punjab, 1905.	Punjab Government.
———— Sanitary Measures in India, 1904.	Secretary of State for India.
———— Sanitary Commissioner, Government of Bombay, 1905.	Bombay Government.
———— Sanitation, Dispensaries, &c., Rajputana, 1904-05.	Government of India.
———— Sea-borne Trade and Customs Administration, Bombay Presidency, 1905-06.	Bombay Government.
———— Settlement Operations, Punjab, 1904-05.	Punjab Government.
———— Smithsonian Institution, 1904.	Smithsonian Institution.
———— Stamp Department, Sind, 1905-06.	Bombay Government.
———— Talukdari Settlement Officer, Bombay Presidency, 1904-05.	Bombay Government.
———— Trade and Navigation Returns, Aden, 1904-05-06.	Bombay Government.
———— Trade and Navigation, Sind, 1905-06.	Bombay Government.

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
REPORT, Vaccination, Punjab, 1905.	Punjab Government.
—— Working of the Punjab Alienation Land, Act XIII of 1900, 1904-05.	Punjab Government.
RESOLUTION, reviewing Reports of Local Boards, Bombay Presidency, 1904-05.	Bombay Government.
—— reviewing Reports on Municipal Taxation and Expenditure ; Bombay Presidency, 1904-05.	Bombay Government.
RETURN of Wrecks and Casualties in Indian Waters, 1905.	Government of India.
SOUVENIR of two progresses by T. R. H. the Prince and Princess of Wales through Bombay City on the 9th and 10th November 1905.	S. M. Edwardes, Esq.
SRAUTA-Sutra of Drahyayana, Ed. J. N. Reuter.	The Editor.
STATEMENT of Trade and Navigation, Bombay Presidency, 1905-06.	Bombay Government.
STATISTICAL Abstract, British India, 1895-96 to 1904-05.	Secretary of State for India.
STATISTICS, Registration Department, Bombay Presidency, 1905.	Bombay Government.
SUBJECT Index of Modern Works, British Museum, 1881-1900. Vols. I.-III.	Trustees of the Museum.
TABLES relating to Trade of British India, 1900-01 to 1904-05.	Secretary of State for India.
TECHNICAL Art Series, 1905.	Government of India.
TELEGRAPH Map of India, 1905.	Superintendent, G. T. Survey of India.
THEOSOPHY and Christianity. By Rev. E. R. Hull.	The Author.
TIDE Tables, Indian Ports, 1906.	Government of India.
TOBABATAKSCH Deutsches Worterbuch.	Government, Netherlands India.

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
VOYAGE from England to India. By E. Ives.	
—— to Surat. By F. Ovington.	
WHITNEY'S Athava-Veda Samhita, Translated.	Jivanji Jamsbedji Modi, Esq.
ZARATHUSHTRA and the Greeks. L. H. Mills.	Harvard University.
——— Trustees of the Parsee Panchayat Fund.	
——— and Zarathushtrianism in the Avesta. By R.E. Dastoor.	
	The Author.



*Proceedings of the Bombay Branch Royal  
Asiatic Society.*

1907.

A GENERAL MEETING of the Society was held on Wednesday, the 13th February 1907, to accept the offer of the subscribers to the Campbell Memorial Medal Fund and to appoint Trustees to hold the Fund.

Mr. James MacDonald, one of the Vice Presidents, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Read a letter from Mr. R. E. Enthoven, I.C.S., written on behalf of himself and other subscribers offering to hand over to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Port Trust Bonds of the nominal value of Rs. 3,000, being the investment of a Fund subscribed by members of the Indian Civil Service for the purpose of founding a gold medal to be known as "The Campbell Memorial Medal" upon the terms of the scheme, a copy of which is laid upon the table.

On the proposition of the Honorary Secretary, seconded by the Honorable Mr. Justice Chandavarkar, it was resolved that :—The offer be accepted and that the Fund be known as "The Campbell Memorial Medal Fund" and be held by the Society upon the terms and for the purposes of the scheme submitted ; the said scheme being as follows :—

*Scheme for the proper management of the Fund handed over to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for the founding of a Gold Medal to be known as "The Campbell Memorial Medal."*

1. The Fund at present consisting of Bombay Port Trust Four per cent. Bonds of the nominal value of Rs. 3,000 shall be known as "The Campbell Memorial Medal Fund" and shall be handed over to the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Chandavarkar, Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, I.C.S., and Mr. R. E. Enthoven, I.C.S., as the first Trustees thereof, who shall execute a declaration of Trust in respect of the same declaring that they hold the said Fund and the investments for the time being representing the same in trust for the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (hereinafter referred to as the Society) for the purposes of this Scheme.

2. The number of Trustees of the Fund shall never be less than three and the power of appointing new Trustees either in substitution for any existing Trustee or to fill a vacancy caused by the death or retirement of any Trustee shall vest in the Society.

3. The Fund may be maintained in its present state of investment or at the discretion of the Society may be sold and the proceeds of sale re-invested in any securities for the time being authorized by law for the investment of trust moneys with power for the Society from time to time to vary or transpose such investments into or for others of a like nature.

4. The income accrued from the investments for the time being representing the fund shall, from time to time, on demand be handed over by the Trustees to the Committee of the Society or to some person authorized by the said Committee to receive the same, and any income not required for the purposes of this Scheme and any accretions to the Fund from whatsoever source arising shall, from time to time, as the Society shall think fit, be invested in securities of the nature hereinbefore specified and be vested in the Trustees for the time being of the fund as part of the capital thereof.

5. The Capital of the fund shall not under any circumstances be drawn upon nor shall the income thereof be anticipated.

6. The Society shall apply the income of the fund or so much thereof as shall from time to time be required for the purpose in providing a gold medal to be known as the "Campbell Memorial Medal" and to be awarded in recognition of distinguished services in Oriental Research upon the terms hereinafter mentioned.

7. The services referred to in the last preceding clause shall consist in the publication since the year 1903 of a treatise pamphlet or book in English on the subject of Oriental History Folklore or Ethnology calculated to further the objects of the Society, namely the investigation and encouragement of Oriental Arts, Sciences and Literature.

8. Subject to the provisions of this clause and of clause 14 hereunder the first award of the medal shall be made in the year one thousand nine hundred and seven and subsequent awards shall be made at intervals of not less than three years unless the Committee of the Society under the power contained in clause 16 hereof shall decide to make more frequent awards, but so nevertheless that no award shall be made in the year one thousand nine hundred and seven or any subsequent year unless a fitting recipient be forthcoming

9. The selection of a recipient shall, subject to the approval of the Committee of the Society, be made by a Committee (hereinafter called the Selection Committee), the members of which shall be nominated by the President of the Society in each year in which the medal is proposed to be awarded and such nomination shall be communicated in writing to the Committee of the Society previously to and shall be considered by them at their first meeting held after the first day of February in any year in which the medal is proposed to be awarded and such nomination shall be subject to the approval of the Committee of the Society.

10. In the event of the Committee of the Society not approving of the nomination of any member or members of the Selection Committee, the President of the Society shall nominate another member or other members as the case may be until three members shall be so approved and in the event of any irreconcilable difference between the President and the Committee of the Society a committee shall be formed of three members, one of whom shall be chosen by the President of the Society, one by the Senior Vice-President of the Society and one by the Committee of the Society.

11. In the event of the Selection Committee not being unanimous a majority of the members thereof shall bind the minority.

12. The Selection Committee shall have the right in order to assist them in forming their judgment of consulting all or any of the Professors of Oriental subjects at the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Allahabad or any other scholars whom they may think fit to consult.

13. The Selection Committee may with the consent of the Committee of the Society award a sum of money not exceeding Rupees one hundred to the recipient of the medal in addition thereto when it appears to them that the recipient of the medal would accept a pecuniary honorarium in addition thereto.

14. In the event of the Committee of the Society not approving of any selection made by the Selection Committee the medal in that year shall not be awarded.

15. If in any year the medal shall not be awarded owing to a fitting recipient not being forthcoming as provided in clauses 8 and 14 hereof, the income of the fund which has accumulated since the date when the medal was last awarded and which would otherwise have been expended in providing the medal for such year shall be invested by the Society in any of the securities hereinbefore authorised and shall be treated as part of the capital of the fund.

16. The Committee of the Society may at any time hereafter, notwithstanding anything in clause 8 hereof if the income of the said fund shall, owing to accumulations arising under clause 15 hereof or from any other cause, be sufficient to enable them to do so, decide that the medal shall be awarded at a less interval or less intervals than three years.

17. The Committee of the Society may from time to time make and alter rules and regulations for the management of the medal, provided that no rules or regulations so made by them shall be contrary to the objects of the Society as defined in clause 7 hereof or to these presents.

18. With the exception of the appointment from time to time as occasion may arise of new Trustees of the fund which appointments shall be made by the Society, all acts and things by this scheme provided to be done by the Society shall be deemed to be duly done and performed if the same shall be done and performed by the Committee of the Society for the time being and the Trustees of the fund shall be discharged by the receipt of the said Committee or of any persons authorised by them in respect of any payments from time to time made by them out of the income of the fund.

19. The Trustees of the fund may from time to time reimburse themselves or pay and discharge out of the income of the fund all expenses incurred in or about the execution of the Trusts declared by the said Declaration of Trust.

On the proposition of the Honorary Secretary, seconded by Mr. James MacDonald, it was resolved that:—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice N. G. Chandavarkar, Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, I.C.S., and Mr. R. E. Enthoven, I.C.S., be appointed Trustees of the Fund and that they do execute a Declaration of Trust in the form laid upon the table, declaring that they hold the said fund in trust for the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for the purposes of the said scheme. The said declaration of trust should be as follows:—

TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME WE the Hon'ble Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar one of His Majesty's Judges of the High Court of Judicature at Bombay Arthur Mason Tippetts Jackson of His Majesty's Indian Civil Service and Reginald Edward Enthoven also of His Majesty's Indian Civil Service send GREETING WHEREAS the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (hereinafter referred to as the Society) is a Society incorporated with the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland and has for its objects the investigation and encouragement of Oriental Arts, Sciences and Literature AND WHEREAS an offer

was recently made to hand over to the Society certain Securities being the investment of a fund subscribed by Members of His Majesty's Indian Civil Service for the purpose of founding a gold medal to be known as "The Campbell Memorial Medal" upon the terms of a scheme which was at the same time submitted to the Society AND WHEREAS at a Meeting of the Society held in Bombay on the 13th day of February 1907 it was resolved that the offer above referred to should be accepted and that the fund should be known as "The Campbell Memorial Medal Fund" and be held upon the terms and for the purposes of the said scheme which scheme should be entered at length upon the minutes of the meeting and it was further resolved that we these Declarants should be the Trustees of the fund and should execute these presents for declaring that we hold the said fund in trust for the Society for the purposes of the said scheme AND WHEREAS a copy of the scheme submitted to the Society as aforesaid is subjoined to these Presents by way of schedule AND WHEREAS the fund consisting at the present time of Bombay Port Trust Four Per Cent. bonds of the nominal value of Rs. 3,000 has before the date of these presents been duly handed over to and transferred into the names of us these Declarants NOW THEREFORE KNOW YE and these presents witness and we the said Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar, Arthur Mason Tippetts Jackson and Reginald Edward Enthoven do hereby declare that we these Declarants and the survivors and survivor of us and the heirs executors or administrators of such survivor and so far as we lawfully can and may bind them the Trustees for the time being of the said Fund appointed from time to time hereafter by the Society whether in substitution for us or any of us or in the place of any one or more of us dying or retiring from the Trust by these presents declared *shall* and *will* at all times hereafter hold and possess the Fund so-called or known as "The Campbell Memorial Medal Fund" and all investments for the time being representing the same and any accretions thereto and the income from time to time to arise from the capital of such fund including all accretions thereto (if any). In Trust for the Society for the purposes of the said Scheme a copy whereof is subjoined hereto *To the Intent* that so far as the terms of the said scheme apply to and affect the Trustees of the said fund we these Declarants shall conduct and manage the same in accordance with the terms and provisions of the said scheme *In Witness whereof* we have hereunto set our hands and seals this 9th day of April 1907.

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A meeting of the Society was held on Friday, the 15th March, 1907. Mr. K. R. Cama, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. J. J. Mody then read a paper, "a few Notes on Broach," from an antiquarian point of view.

On the motion of Mr. S. T. Bhandare, seconded by the Hon'ble Mr. Logan, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Modi for the interesting paper he had read.

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The annual Meeting of the Society was held on Friday, the 22nd March 1907.

The Hon'ble Mr. E. M. H. Fulton, President, in the Chair.

The Honorary Secretary read the following Report of the Society for 1906.

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### The Annual Report for 1906.

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#### MEMBERS.

*Resident.*—57 New Members were elected during the year and 5 Non-Resident Members having come to Bombay, were added to the list of Resident Members. 27, withdrew; 4 died, 21 retired, and 3 having left Bombay, were placed on the list of Non-Resident Members; and 2 were removed from the roll for non-payment of subscription. The total number of Members at the close was thus 323 against 318 in the preceding year.

*Non-Resident.*—17 Members joined under this class and 3 were transferred from the list of Resident Members. 10 resigned, 1 retired, 1 died, 4 were removed from the list for non-payment of subscription, and 5 were added to the list of Resident Members. This leaves 96 on the roll at the end of the year. The number at the end of 1905 was 97.

Among the Members shown as retired are included several gentlemen, who have been absent from India for a number of years and from whom no formal notice of resignation has been received.

#### OBITUARY.

The Society record with regret the death of the following Members during the year :—

##### RESIDENT.

Harischandra Krishna Joshi, Esq.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Badrudin Tyabji.

A. Mackenzie, Esq.

S. Joyce, Esq.

##### NON-RESIDENT.

H. Pogson, Esq.

### THE PRESIDENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Chandavarkar has been asked, and has kindly consented, to accept the office of President of the Society for the current year in place of the Hon'ble Mr. E. M. H. Fulton who is retiring from India.

### ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

The following papers were contributed to the Society during the year :—

Nripatunga and the Authorship of Kaviraja Marga.

By K. B. Pathak, B.A.

An Epigraphical Note on Dharmapala, the Second Prince of the Pala Dynasty.

By S. R. Bhandarkar, M.A.

Macoudi on Volcanoes.

By Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.

The Date of the Death of Nizami.

By Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.

An Eklingji Stone Inscription and the Origin and History of the Lakulisa Sect.

By D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A.

The Death of Akbar.

By R. P. Karkaria, B.A.

The First Englishman in India and his Works, especially his Christian Puran.

By J. A. Saldanha, B.A., LL.B.

Bombay as seen by Dr. Ives in 1754.

By Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.

### LIBRARY.

The total issue during the year amounted to 45,106 volumes, comprising 30,455 Volumes of new books including periodicals, and 14,651 of the old. The daily average, excluding Sundays and holidays, was 149 volumes. The issue in the preceding year was 42,926.

The issues of each month are noted in the subjoined table.

### MONTHLY ISSUES.

					<i>Old Books.</i>	<i>New Books.</i>
January	...	...	..	...	1,446	2,311
February	...	...	...	...	1,416	1,593
March	...	...	...	...	1,629	2,104
April	...	...	...	...	1,467	2,827
May	...	...	...	...	1,079	2,499
June	...	...	...	...	1,277	2,454

					<i>Old Books.</i>	<i>New Books.</i>
July	...	...	...	...	1,257	2,735
August	...	...	...	...	1,155	2,731
September	...	...	...	...	1,107	2,780
October	...	...	...	...	1,020	2,904
November	...	...	...	...	910	2,888
December		...	...	...	888	2,629
					—	—
				Total	14,651	30,455

The volumes of issues of old and new books, arranged according to subjects, are shown in the following table :—

<i>Subject</i>	<i>Volumes.</i>
Fiction	17,718
Biography	2,226
History	1,590
Voyages, Travels, &c.	1,504
Miscellaneous, Collected Works and Essays	1,253
Oriental Literature	839
Reviews, Magazines, Transactions of Learned Societies (in bound volumes)	579
Naval and Military	508
Poetry and Drama	445
Art, Architecture, Engineering	420
Philology, Literary History	396
Politics, Political Economy, &c.	348
Religion and Theology	296
Natural History, Geology, &c.	263
Philosophy	236
Archæology, Antiquities, &c.	231
Foreign Literature	226
Government Publications, Public Records	159
Classics	151
Medicine	151
Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, &c.	119
Law	97
Botany, Agriculture, &c.	92
Grammatical Works and Dictionaries	79
Logic, Works relating to Education	13
Periodicals in loose numbers	14,777

## ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The accessions to the Library during the year number 1,302 volumes. Of these, 980 volumes were acquired by purchase and 322 were received as presents.

Presents of books were as usual received chiefly from the Bombay Government, the Secretary of State for India, the Government of India, and other local Governments; and also from the Trustees of the Parsee Panchayat Funds and individual authors and donors.

The number of volumes acquired by purchase and presentation is shown in the following table :—

<i>Subject.</i>	<i>Volumes purchased.</i>	<i>Volumes presented.</i>
Religion and Theology ... ..	16	...
Philosophy ... ..	6	...
Classics and Translations ... ..	15	...
Philology and Literary History ... ..	17	8
History and Chronology ... ..	52	10
Politics, Political Economy, Trade and Commerce ... ..	16	4
Law ... ..	1	6
Government Publications and Public Records	...	124
Biography ... ..	88	...
Archæology, Antiquities, Numismatics, Heraldry ... ..	15	3
Voyages, Travels, Geography, Topography	61	95
Poetry and Drama... ..	30	...
Fiction ... ..	326	...
Miscellaneous, Collected Works, Essays, &c. ... ..	28	3
Foreign Literature ... ..	10	...
Natural Philosophy, Mathematics, Astronomy ... ..	2	...
Art, Music, Engineering, Architecture ... ..	43	2
Naval and Military .. ...	28	1
Natural History, Geology, Chemistry ... ..	13	2
Botany, Agriculture .. ...	7	6
Medicine, Surgery and Physiology ... ..	6	1
Annuals, Serials, Transactions of Learned Societies ... ..	112	36
Dictionaries and Grammatical Works ... ..	3	...
Oriental Literature ... ..	85	21

### NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS.

The papers, periodicals, journals and transactions of Learned Societies subscribed for and presented to the Society during 1906 were :—

Literary Monthlies...	...	...	...	...	...	...	13
Illustrated ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	17
Scientific and Philosophical Journals, Transactions of Learned Societies, &c. ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	33
Reviews ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	16
English Newspapers ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	17
English Registers, Almanacs, Directories, &c. ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	13
Foreign Literary and Scientific Periodicals ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9
American Literary and Scientific Periodicals ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	11
Indian Newspapers and Government Gazettes ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	23
Indian Journals, Reviews, &c. ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	29

A Meeting of the Society as required by Article XX of the Rules, was held in November, for the revision of the list of Newspapers, Magazines, &c., taken by the Society.

At this Meeting it was resolved to discontinue—

“Photography,” “International Journal of Ethics,” “India,”

“Lancet,” “Hindustan Review” and “Indian Review”

and to subscribe to—

“Ladies' Realm” and “Ladies' Field.”

from the beginning of 1907.

### COIN CABINET.

The number of coins added to the Society's Cabinet during the year was 89. Of these, 7 were gold, 66 silver and 16 copper. Of the total 89, 2 were presented by the Political Agent, Dir Swat and Chitral, and 10 by the Political Agent, Tonk. The rest were acquired from different Governments under the Treasure Trove Act.

The Coins are of the following description :—

*Presented by the Government, United Provinces.*

**Mediaeval India.**

Coins of the Gupta type. Silver, 3.

Found, Fyzabad District.

**Moghul Emperors.**

Jahangir with name of Nur Jahan. Silver, 1.

Found, Mirzapur District.

Aurangzeb. Silver, 4.

Found, Jalaun District.

**Modern India.**

Coins of Native States bearing names of later Moghul Emperors. Silver, 2.

Found, Jalaun District.

*Presented by the Punjab Government.*

**Mediaeval India.**

Brahmin Kings of Kabul and Punjab.

Samant Deva. Silver, 2.

Spalapati Deva. „ 2.

Found, Shahapur District.

**Moghul Emperors.**

Farukh Siyar. Silver, 1.

Found, Sialkot District.

*Presented by the Political Agent,*

*Dir, Swat and Chitral.*

**Durrani Kings.**

Aiyub Shah Durrani. Silver, 2.

Found, Upper Swat, Malakand.

*Presented by the Political Agent, Tonk.*

**Mediaeval India,**

Indo-Sassanian. Copper, 10

Found, Tonk State.

*Presented by the Bombay Government.*

**Moghul Emperors.**

Aurangzib. Silver, 1.

Shah Alam Bahadur. Silver, 1.

Farruk Siyar. Silver, 1.

Muhammad Shah. Silver, 1.

Found, Larkhana District, Sind.

Shah-Jahan. Silver, 1.

Azam Shah. Silver, 1.

Kam Baksh. Silver, 1.

Shah Alam I. Silver, 1.

Farruk-Siyar. Silver, 1.

Muhammad Shah. Silver, 1.

Found, Ahmednagar District.

Aurangzib. Gold, 1.

Shah Alam I. Gold, 1.

Muhammad Shah. Gold, 1.

Alamgir II, Gold, 1.

Shah Alam II. Gold, 1.

Found, Poona District.

**Ottoman Sultans.**

Murad III. Gold, 1.

Found, Ratnagiri District.

**South India.**

Gold Pagoda Struck by Hindu  
Princes of Bijapur, before the  
Mohammadan Rule, 7th or 8th  
Century A. D. Gold, 1.  
Found, Ratnagiri District.

**Mediaeval India.**

Gadhaiya Coin. Silver, 1.  
Found, Ratnagiri District.

**Modern India.**

Native States. Nizam of Hyderabad. Silver, 1.  
Found, Ahmednagar District.

*Presented by the Bengal Government.*

**Sultans of Bengal.**

Shihabuddin Bagdah, Silver, 1.  
Found, Mursidabad District.

**Moghul Emperors.**

Muhammad Shah. Silver, 2  
Ahmad Shah. Do. 7  
Alamgir II. Do. 4  
Found, Murshidabad District.

*Presented by the Government, C. P.*

**Mediaeval India.**

Gadhaiya Coins. Silver, 3.  
Found, Narsinghpur District.

**Pathan Sultans of Delhi.**

Ghiasuddin Tughlaq Shah. Silver, 1.  
Found, Bilaspur District.

**Modern India.**

Native States (Indore). Coins bearing name of  
Shah Alam. Silver, 6.  
Found, Bital District.

**Moghul Emperors.**

Shah Alam. Silver, 2.  
Found, Bital District.  
Ahmadshah. Silver, 3.  
Found, Chhindwara District.  
Ahmadshah. Silver, 3.  
Found, Bital District.  
Ahmadshah. Silver, 1.  
Found, Wardha District.  
Shah Alam II. Silver, 1.  
Found, Hoshangabad District.

**Kings of Malwa.**

Nasir Shah Khilji. Silver, 1.

Found, Hoshangabad District.

Mahmud II. Silver, 2.

Found Balaghat District.

Mahmud II. Copper, 1.

Found, Balaghat District.

Kings of Malwa. Copper, 5.

Found, Nagpur District.

By order of Government the names of the Numismatic Collection attached to the Public Library at Shillong and of the Archæological Museum at Poona, were added to the list of Institutions to which coins are presented under the Indian Treasure Trove Act.

It was mentioned in the last year's report that a large hoard of Silver Coins of Nahapan the first of the Western Kshatrapas (A. D. 119) had been discovered in the Sinnar Taluka of the Nasik District. The hoard has since been received from the Collector of Nasik. It numbers about 14,000 Coins.

The discovery of the hoard aroused the curiosity of Numismatists and Antiquarians both in England and India, and several letters were received urging that the whole hoard should be most carefully scrutinised by an expert before distribution. A most careful classification is necessary in view of the great age of the coins and their connection with one of the oldest dynasties of foreigners in Western India. The Coins have accordingly been sent for decipherment to the Rev. H. R. Scott of Surat, who contributed a valuable paper to the Society's journal some years ago, on the Kshatrap coins found in Kahtiawar. Mr. Scott has very kindly undertaken the task of going through the hoard and writing a paper on it for the Society.

Besides coins, the Society obtained during the year the following objects of antiquarian interest :--

Three Stones bearing a Persian inscription from the Ankai Fort between Manmad and Yeola, Nasik District.

Two Silahara land grants surmounted by the sun and moon and a dome from Marole, Salsette.

One headless figure of a Lion from Marole, Salsette.

Two broken stone images of Vithoba and Rakhmai. A mutilated stone image of Gunpati. A stone slab bearing carved feet possibly those of a god or guru from Matunga, Bombay.

A portion of a stone image of considerable age.

A mutilated stone figure of a lion.

A block of stone containing several mutilated figures.

A carved stone lintel of a doorway.

An ornamental Gopura from a temple.

A head from a stone frieze.

A block bearing a mutilated female figure and portions of carving.

Two richly carved Gopuras.

A plain rectangular carved slab.

The head of an image (probably Shiva) with a high cap, elaborately carved.

A small slab bearing the figure of a Jain Tirthankara (?) with a canopy overhead supported by two pillars.

A block bearing two mutilated female figures standing.

A slab bearing the standing figure of a Hindu god (Shiva?) slightly mutilated, surmounted by a canopy resting on two pillars.

A small slab bearing two headless figures.

A brick bearing two human figures defaced.

A brick bearing a human figure with another resting on its loins, defaced.

A large block consisting of elaborately carved Gopuras.

An ornamental Gopura.

A slightly broken image of a Kichaka (Vira Kantha) generally placed on the top of pillars and in the centre of old Hindu arches.

A slab bearing an inscription in ancient Devnagari characters.

A Silahara land grant with the Ass Curse at the foot.

A defaced female image, probably of Parvati.

Two stones bearing a Persian inscription, dated A. H. 1002.  
From Thana.

## **CATALOGUE OF OBJECTS OF ANTIQUARIAN INTEREST, Etc., IN THE MUSEUM.**

All the curios, historical objects, and archæological remains preserved in the Society's Museum have been numbered, and a Catalogue of them has been prepared and printed.

**IRANIAN BOOKS PURCHASE FUND.**

The books which were ordered from England last year have been received. Being in paper covers they have all been rebound and placed on separate shelves by themselves in the Oriental Literature Room.

**CAMPBELL MEMORIAL MEDAL.**

With a view to recognise the distinguished services of the late Sir James Campbell in Oriental Research, some of his friends raised a memorial fund in his name. The sum collected for the fund amounts to Rs. 3,000, which have been invested in Bombay Port Trust 4% bonds.

Mr. R. E. Enthoven, I.C.S., on behalf of the subscribers to the memorial, intimated a desire to hand over the sum collected to the Society for founding a medal to be awarded for contributions on the subject of oriental history, folk-lore, ethnology, &c., calculated to further the objects of the Society.

A trust deed was drafted and submitted to the Committee of Management for approval. The Committee considered the draft at a meeting held on 10th July and signified their formal approval subject to a few minor alterations.

The Trust deed as finally prepared by Messrs. Little & Co., Solicitors, was placed before a general meeting of the Society held on 13th February 1907. It was unanimously adopted at the Meeting and three Trustees were appointed to be in charge of the fund.

**RE-ARRANGEMENT AND A NEW CATALOGUE  
OF WORKS OF FICTION.**

In deference to the openly expressed desire of many members, the entire stock of Novels in the Library has been re-arranged by authors in alphabetical order. Various works of individual authors which were formerly scattered over several shelves have been all brought together in one place.

Further, in accordance with a former resolution of the Committee of Management, some 400 Novels which were rarely required by members have been removed from the Novel presses after a careful scrutiny of the whole collection.

This work has rendered necessary the preparation of a new Catalogue of Novels. The new Catalogue which has been prepared is divided into two parts, the first consisting of an index of authors in alphabetical order and the second of an index of the titles of Novels, including entries of anonymous works.

The Catalogue is now in the press and will shortly be ready. When it is printed it will be sold to members at such price as may hereafter be settled.

#### REPAINTING AND VARNISHING THE SOCIETY'S ROOMS.

After a certain amount of delay the entire portion of the Town Hall in the occupation of the Society has been revarnished and repainted by the Public Works Department. This work was very necessary; for so far as can be gathered, no renewal had taken place for about ten years. The best thanks of the Society are due to Government for the thorough and satisfactory manner in which the work has been carried out.

#### JOURNAL.

Number 61 forming Part II of Vol. XXII of the Journal was published during the year. It contains all the papers received during the year, and two papers, "Comparison of the Avestic doctrine of the Fravashees with the Platonic Doctrines of the Ideas and other later doctrines" and "Marathi Historical Literature," read at meetings in 1904 and 1905, together with an abstract of the proceedings of the Society and a list of books, pamphlets, &c., presented to it from January to December 1906. One paper, "Bombay as seen by Dr. Ives in 1754," read at a meeting in October, has been held over and will appear in the next number of the Journal.

#### FINANCE.

A statement showing in detail the items of income and expenditure for 1906 is appended.

The actual total receipts by subscription from Members during the year under report amount to Rs. 13,712-4-0. The subscriptions in 1905 amounted to Rs. 12,726-3-4. There were, besides Rs. 880 received on account of Life subscriptions from one Resident Member and one Non-Resident Life Member who became a Resident Life Member during the year. This sum has been duly invested in Government securities in accordance with article XVI of the Rules.

The balance to the credit of the Society at the end of the year was Rs. 2,386-4-2.

The invested funds of the Society amount to Rs. 16,900.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice N. G. Chandavarkar proposed that the Report be adopted. Mr. James MacDonald seconded the proposal.

After a few remarks by the President, the Report was unanimously adopted.

The Honorary Secretary proposed that the following gentlemen should constitute the Committee of Management for 1907.

**COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT FOR 1907.**

*President.*

**The Honorable Mr. Justice N. G. Chandavarkar.**

*Vice-Presidents.*

**James MacDonald, Esq.**

**K. R. Cama, Esq.**

**The Honorable Mr. Justice H. Batty, L.C.S.**

**Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Esq.**

*Members.*

**F. R. Vicaji, Esq.**

**Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, Kt.**

**Dastur Darab P. Sanjana.**

**Darasha R. Chichgar, Esq.**

**J. R. Aspinwall, Esq.**

**Rao Bahadur G. N. Nadkarni.**

**L. C. H. Young, Esq.**

**Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar.**

**Prof. E. H. McDougall.**

**T. A. Savage, Esq.**

**V. P. Vaidya, Esq.**

**Fazulbhoy C. Ebrahim, Esq.**

*Hon. Secretary.*

**S.M. Edwardes, Esq., L.C.S.**

*Hon. Auditors.*

**H.R.H. Wilkinson, Esq.**

**Sadanand T. Bhandare, Esq.**

**Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson seconded the proposition.**

Sir Bhalchandra suggested that the names of the Rev. Dr. Scott and Mr. Wilkinson be substituted for those of the Rev. Drs. Mackichan and Abbott, as the former was about to leave for Europe and the latter had already left.

The suggestion being accepted, the proposition was unanimously carried.

Mr. Justice Chandavarkar then moved a vote of thanks to the retiring President, which was seconded by Mr. MacDonald and unanimously endorsed.

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A meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 26th September. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice N. G. Chandavarkar, President, in the Chair. The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

A paper on the Parās'ariya Dharma S'astra by the late Mr. Shamrao Vithal, communicated by the President, was then read.

The Honorary Secretary and the President made remarks on the paper.

A General Meeting of the Society was held on Saturday, the 23rd November 1907.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice N. G. Chandavarkar, President, in the Chair.

The following proposals about periodicals were laid before the meeting :—

By Lt.-Col. W. H. Quicke, I.M.S.

That "Pictorial Comedy" be taken.

By Mr. S. S. Setlur—

That "Hindustan Review,"

"Indian Review,"

"Modern Review,"

"Madras Review," be taken.

By Prof. E. H. McDougall—

That "Indian Educational Journal" (Monthly),

"New Asiatic Review" (Monthly), be taken.

The proposals for new additions were considered, and the existing list was examined, and it was resolved that the following be subscribed for from the beginning of 1908 :—

"Modern Review."

"Madras Review."

"The New Asiatic Monthly Review."

"Indian Education Journal."

"Indian Social Reformer."

and that those named below be discontinued from the same date :—

"Engineering."

"London, Edinburgh and Dublin Philosophical Magazine."

"Political Science, Quarterly."

"O. M. Fur den Orient."

The President referred to the approaching departure from Bombay of Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, and moved a vote of thanks to him for his services as Honorary Secretary of the Society.

The proposition being seconded by Mr. Tribhovandas Mangaldas was carried unanimously.

## *List of Presents to the Library.*

1907.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
ACCOUNTS, Trade by Rail and River, India, 1905-06.	Government of India
ACTS, Government of India 1906.	Government of India.
ADMINISTRATION Report, Ajmer-Merwara, 1905-06.	Government of India.
————— Report, Baluchistan Agency, 1905-06.	Government of India.
————— Report, Bengal, 1905-06.	Government of India.
————— Report, Burma, 1905-06.	Bengal Government.
————— Report, Eastern Bengal and Assam, 1905-06.	Burma Government.
————— Report, Irrigation Works, Bombay Presidency, 1905-06.	Government, Eastern Bengal and Assam.
————— Report, Madras, 1905-06.	Bombay Government.
————— Report, North-West Frontier, 1905-06.	Madras Government.
————— Report, Punjab, 1905-06.	Government of India.
————— Report, Railways in India, 1906.	Punjab Government.
————— Report, U.-P., 1905-06.	Secretary of State for India.
ANNUAL Report of the Working of the Punjab Alienation of Land Act, 1906.	Government, U.-P.
AGRICULTURAL Journal of India, Vol. I, 1906.	Punjab Government.
————— Journal of India, Vol. II, Pt. I.	Government of India.
————— Ledger, 1905-06.	Government of India.
	Government of India.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
AGRICULTURAL Statistics of India, 22nd Issue, 1901-02—1905-06.	Government of India.
AIWISRUTRIMA Ratu.	Parsee Panchayat.
ANCIENT KHOTAN, By M. A. Stein.	Government of India.
ANNALS, Royal Botanic Garden, Calcutta, Vol. IX, Part II.	Government of India.
ANTHROPOMETRIC Data from Bombay.	Government of India.
————— Data from Burma.	Government of India.
AREA and Yield of certain Principal Crops in India, 1907.	Government of India.
ARGUMENT A Priori, Gillespie.	Trustees of Mrs. Gillespie.
ASSAM District Gazetteer, Vol. X, Khesi and Jaintia Hills.	Government of India.
BENGAL Code, 3rd Edition, Vol. V.	Government of India.
BIBLIOTHECA Buddhica, Vol. VI.	St. Petersburg Academy.
BOMBAY University Calendar, 1907-08.	University of Bombay.
————Gazetteer, Supplementary Volume VIII B., Kathiawar.	Government of India.
———— Quarterly Civil List— 1907.	Bombay Government.
BULLETIN, Department of Land Records and Agriculture, Bombay, No. 28. Date Palm.	Bombay Government.
————— l'Academie Imperiale des Sciences de St. Petersburg, V. Ser. Tome XVII, No. 5, XVIII—XXI.	St. Petersburg Academy.
———— American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XXII., 1906.	Smithsonian Institution.
————— de l'Ecole Francaise D'Extreme Orient, Vol. V.	The Society.
————— of the Lloyd Library ; No. 9, 1907.	The Lloyd Library.
BUREAU of American Ethnology Bulletin, No. 30, Part I.	Smithsonian Institution.

<i><b>Titles of Books.</b></i>	<i><b>Donors.</b></i>
<b>CARTOONS from Hindi Punch, 1906.</b>	<b>The Proprietor, Hindi Punch.</b>
<b>CATALOGUE of Coins, Indian Museum, Calcutta.</b>	<b>Government of India.</b>
———— of Greek Coins, British Museum, (Phrygia).	<b>British Museum.</b>
———— of MSS., British Museum, Marathi, Gujerathi, Bengali, &c.	<b>British Museum.</b>
———— of Sanskrit MSS., Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras, Vol. IV.	<b>Government of Madras.</b>
<b>CATTLE of Bombay Presidency.</b>	<b>Bombay Government.</b>
<b>CLIMATOLOGICAL Atlas of India.</b>	<b>Government of India.</b>
<b>DIGEST of Indian Law Cases, 1904. C. E Grey.</b>	<b>Government of India.</b>
———— of Indian Law Cases (Wigley).	<b>Government of India.</b>
<b>DISTRICT Gazetteer, Baluchistan ; Quetta, Pishin District, Vols. A &amp; B.</b>	<b>Government of India.</b>
———— Gazetteer, Bengal ; Balasore, Darjeeling, Darbhanga, Cuttack, Shahabad, Gaya, Muzaffarpur, Patna, Palaman, Cham- paran.	<b>Government of India.</b>
———— Gazetteer, Central Provinces ; Narsingpur, Damboli, Wardha and Sangan Districts and Statistical Tables, Sambalpur, Seoni, Betul.	<b>Government of India.</b>
———— Gazetteer, Madras ; Tanjore District, Vol. I. ; South Arcot District, Vol. I. ; Vizagapatam, Madura and Statistical Appendices, Salem, Nellore and Ganjam.	<b>Government of India.</b>
———— Gazetteer, N.-W. Frontier Provinces, Vol. I. B., Hazara District.	<b>Government of India.</b>
———— Gazetteer, Punjab ; Hoshiarpur District, Jhelum Gazetteer Supplement, Statistical Tables, Lahore District, Chenab Colony.	<b>Government of India.</b>
———— Gazetteer, U. P., Vol. XA., Fatehpur.	<b>Government of India.</b>
<b>EAST and West Indian Mirror.</b>	<b>Bombay Government.</b>

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
EAST India Accounts and Estimates, 1907-08.	Secretary of State for India.
———— (Advisory and Legislative Councils, &c.)	Secretary of State for India.
———— Estimates, Revenue and Expenditure, 1906-07.	Secretary of State for India.
———— (Officers), (Exchange Compensation), Resolutions of Government of India.	Secretary of State for India.
———— Financial Statement, 1907-08.	Secretary of State for India.
———— Home Account, 1905-06-07.	Secretary of State for India.
———— Income and Expenditure, 1895-96 to 1905-06.	Secretary of State for India.
———— (Plague) Correspondence regarding measures for the Prevention of Plague.	Secretary of State for India.
———— Progress and Condition, 1905-06.	Secretary of State for India.
———— Punjab Land Colonisation Bill.	Secretary of State for India.
———— Tables relating to Trade of British India, 1901-02—1905-06.	Secretary of State for India.
EINLEITENDE Gedanken Zur dastellung der Morphologie der Turk Sprachen von Radloff.	St. Petersburg Academy.
FINANCE and Revenue Accounts of the Government of India, 1905-06.	Government of India.
FIRST Report of Fruit Experiments at Pusa.	Government of India.
GAUNCHES of Teneriffe, Second Series, (Hak. Soc.) Vol. 21.	Bombay Government.
GAZETTEER, Bombay Presidency, Vols. 2 B to 24 B and index.	Government of India.
GENERAL Statutory Rules and Orders, Vols. I—III.	Government of India.
GOWRISHANKAR Udayashankar Oza, a Biography (in Gujerathi).	Vasheshankar Gowrishankar, Esq.
G. T. SURVEY of India, Account of Operations, Vol. XVIII.	Government of India.
HARISCHANDRA Krishna Joshi, a Biography (Marathi).	The Author.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
HISTORY of Services, Gazetted Officers, Bombay—Corrected up to 1st July 1907.	Bombay Government.
———— of the Rise and Fall of the Persian Empire, Vol. I (Gujerathi). Parsee Panchayat and D. J. Tata, Esq.	
INCOME Tax Returns, Bombay Presidency, 1905-06.	Bombay Government.
IMPERIAL Gazetteer of India, Indian Empire, Vols. 1, 3, 4.	Government of India.
INDEX to the Reports of the Chamber of Commerce, Bombay, 1836-1905.	The Chamber.
INDIAN Insect Pests. H. M. Lefroy.	
———— Law Reports, Bombay, 1906.	Government of India.
—————Allahabad, 1906.	Bombay Government.
—————Madras, 1906.	U. P. Government.
—————Calcutta, 1906.	Madras Government.
—— Record Series, Old Fort William.	Bengal Government.
—— Weather Review. Annual Summary, 1905	Government of India.
INSCRIPCOES Indianas. J. H. DeMoara.	Government of India.
JOURNAL, American Oriental Society, Vols. 15, 16, 17, 22, 23, 27 (second half), 28 (first half).	The Author.
————, Bengal Asiatic Society, 1906, Part II.	The Society.
———— North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society., Vol. 38, 1907.	The Society.
——— R. A. Society, 1907.	The Society.
———— Straits Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, Nos. 46 & 47 (1906).	The Society.
——— of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute. Vol. 39.	The Institute.
JUDICIAL and Administrative Statistics, 1905-06.	Government of India.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
KEY to interpret the Veda.	R. R. Bhagvat.
KHORDA Avesta Arthah (Sanskrit).	Parsee Panchayat.
L'ARCHITECTURE Hindoue, en Extreme Orient.	L'Ecole Francaise d' Extreme Orient.
LIFE and Miracle of Takla Haymanot.	Lady Meux.
LINGUISTIC Survey of India, Vol. IV, Munda and Dravidian Languages.	Government of India.
—— — Survey of India, Vol. IX, Indo-Aryan Family, Central Group, Part III. (Bhil Languages).	Government of India.
LIST of Sanskrit and Hindi MSS.	Sanskrit College, Benares.
McKEAN, Historical Notes.	U. P. Government.
MADRAS Government Museum, Bulletin, Vol. V, Nos. 2 and 3, Anthropology.	The Author.
MARRIAGE under Ancient Hindu Law. By G. M. Tripathi.	Madras Government.
MEMOIRS of the American Museum of Natural History :—	R. V. Mehta, Esq.
Vol. IV, Part V.	
Vol. V, Part III.	
Vol. VIII.	
Vol. X.	
Vol. XI, Part I.	
Vol. XIV, Part I.	
—— of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. I, 1905-06.	The Museum.
—— Geological Survey of India, Palæontologia Indica, Series XV, Vol. V, No. 2.	The Society.
—— of the Indian Meteorological Department, Vol. XVIII, Part I.	Director, Geological Survey of India.
—— Royal Astronomical Society. Appendix to Vol. LVII.	Government of India.
METHOD in the Study of Indian Antiquities. By A. M. T. Jackson, M. A., I.C.S.	The Society.
MONOGRAPH on Carpet-making, Punjab, 1905-07.	The Author.
	Punjab Government.

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- NOTE on Dispensaries and Charitable Institutions, Punjab, 1906.  
Punjab Government.
- on Registration Returns, Punjab, 1906.  
Punjab Government.
- on the Stamp Statements, Punjab, 1906-07.  
Punjab Government.
- on Vaccination, Bombay Presidency, 1906-07.  
Bombay Government.
- on Vaccination, Punjab, 1906-07.  
Punjab Government.
- NOTICES of Sanskrit MSS., Series 2, Vol. 3.  
Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- ORIGIN of the Bantu.  
Government, Cape of Good Hope.
- PAPERS, Second Revision Survey Settlement, Bijapur Taluka, Bijapur.  
Bombay Government.
- Second Revision Survey Settlement, Kopargaon Taluka.  
Ahmadnagar District.  
Bombay Government.
- Second Revision Survey Settlement, Sangamner Taluka.  
Ahmadnagar District.  
Bombay Government.
- Revision Survey Settlement, Hala and Labdaria Talukas.  
Hyderabad District.  
Bombay Government.
- Revision Survey Settlement, Hyderabad District.  
Bombay Government.
- Revision Survey Settlement, Jacobabad Taluka, Upper Sind  
Frontier.  
Bombay Government.
- Revision Survey Settlement of certain Talukas of the Karachi  
and Upper Sind Frontier District.  
Bombay Government.
- Revision Survey Settlement, Ratoder Taluka, Larkhana  
District, Sind.  
Bombay Government.
- Revision Survey Settlement, Sukkar Taluka, Sind.  
Bombay Government.
- Revision Survey Settlement, Vingorla, Ratnagiri District.  
Bombay Government.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
<b>PAPERS, Revision Survey Settlement, Talukas of Thur and Parker, Hyderabad and Upper Sind Frontier Districts.</b>	<b>Bombay Government.</b>
———— <b>Technical Education, India, 1886—1904.</b>	<b>Government of India.</b>
<b>PARSI Dharmasthalo.</b>	<b>Parsee Panchayat.</b>
<b>POLICE Report, Bombay Presidency, 1905.</b>	<b>Bombay Government.</b>
<b>PRIVATE Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai, 2 Vols.</b>	<b>Madras Government.</b>
<b>PROCEEDINGS, Council of the Governor of Bombay for making Laws and Regulations, 1906.</b>	<b>Bombay Government.</b>
———— <b>Imperial Legislative Council, Vols. 44 and 45 (1905-06).</b>	<b>Government of India.</b>
———— <b>Royal Society of Edinburgh, Vols. 24 and 25 (2 parts).</b>	<b>The Society.</b>
———— <b>Royal Society, London, Series A, Vols. 76, 77, 78. Series B, Vols. 76, 77, 78.</b>	<b>The Society.</b>
<b>PUBLICATION of the International Commission for Scientific Aeronautics (in German), January 1905—May 1906.</b>	<b>Director-General of Observation in India.</b>
<b>PUNJAB University Calendar, 1906-07.</b>	<b>The University.</b>
<b>RECORDS, Botanical Survey of India, Vol. III, No. 3.</b>	<b>Government of India.</b>
<b>REPORT, Administration of Civil Justice, Punjab, 1906.</b>	<b>Punjab Government.</b>
———— <b>Administration of Criminal Justice, Punjab, 1906.</b>	<b>Punjab Government.</b>
———— <b>Agricultural Department, Punjab, 1906-07.</b>	
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<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
REPORT, Archæological Survey, Burma, 1906-07.	Burma Government.
———— Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle, 1905-06 and 1906-07.	Bengal Government.
———— Archæological Survey, India Frontier Circle, 1906-07.	Government, N. W. Frontier Province.
———— Archæological Survey, Northern Circle, 1905-06 and 1906-07.	Government, U.-P.
———— Archæological Survey, Southern Circle, 1906-07.	Madras Government.
———— Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle, 1905-06.	Bombay Government.
———— Board of Regents, Smithsonian Institution, 1905-06.	Smithsonian Institution.
———— Board of Scientific Advice for India, 1905-06.	Government of India.
———— Bombay Chamber of Commerce, 1906.	Bombay Chamber of Commerce.
———— Bombay Improvement Trust, 1906-07.	The Trustees.
———— Bombay Jail Department, 1906.	Bombay Government.
———— Bombay Millowners' Association, 1906.	The Association.
———— Bombay Port Trust, 1906-07.	The Chairman of the Trust
———— Bureau of American Ethnology, 1902-03.	Smithsonian Institution.
———— Chemical Analyser to Government, Bombay, 1906.	Bombay Government.
———— Chemical Examiner, Punjab, 1906.	Punjab Government.
———— Chenab, Jhang, Chunian and Jhelum Colonies, 1905-06.	The Punjab Government.
———— Chief Collector of Customs, Sind, On Maritime Trade of Sind, 1906-07.	Bombay Government.
	1906.
	Government of India.
	aries, under the Government of
	Bombay Government.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
REPORT, Civil Veterinary Department, Bombay Presidency, 1905-06.	Bombay Government.
———— Department of Agriculture, Bombay Presidency, 1905-06.	Bombay Government.
———— Department of Agriculture, Punjab, 1905-06.	Punjab Government.
———— Director-General of Archæology, 1905-06. Part I.	Government of India.
———— Director of Public Instruction, Bombay Presidency, 1905-06.	Director of Public Instruction.
———— Dispensaries, Jails, Hospitals, Vaccination, &c., Central India Agency, 1904-05.	Government of India.
———— Encumbered Estates, Sind, 1905-06.	Bombay Government.
———— Epigraphy, Southern Circle, 1906-07.	Madras Government.
———— Excise Administration, Bombay Presidency, 1905-06, 1906-07.	Bombay Government.
———— Excise Administration, Punjab, 1906-07.	Punjab Government.
———— External Land Trade, Punjab, 1906-07.	Punjab Government.
———— External Land Trade, Sind and British Baluchistan, 1906-07.	Bombay Government.
———— Factory, Bombay Presidency, 1906.	Bombay Government.
———— Forest Circles, Bombay Presidency, 1905-06.	Bombay Government.
———— Forest Department, Madras, 1905-06.	Madras Government.
———— Income Tax Administration, Punjab, 1906-07.	Punjab Government.
———— Indian Excise Committee, 1905-06.	Secretary of State.
———— Internal Trade, Punjab, 1905-06.	Punjab Government.
———— Land Records, Punjab, 1905-06.	Punjab Government.

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REPORT, Land Revenue Administration, Punjab, 1905-06.	Punjab Government.
———— Lucknow Provincial Museum, 1906-07.	The Museum.
———— Lunatic Asylum, Bombay Presidency, 1906.	Bombay Government.
———— Madras Government Museum and the Connemara Library, 1906-07.	Madras Government.
———— Meteorological Department, Government of India, 1906-07.	Government of India.
———— Missouri Botanical Garden, 1906.	Missouri Botanical Garden.
———— Municipal Commissioner, Bombay, 1905-06.	Municipal Commissioner, Bombay.
———— Municipalities, Punjab, 1905-06.	Punjab Government.
———— on Search for Hindi MSS., U. P., 1902-04.	Government, U. P. and Oudh.
———— Opium Department, Bombay Presidency, 1906-07.	Bombay Government.
———— Police, Town and Island of Bombay, 1906.	Bombay Government.
———— Police Administration, Punjab, 1906.	Punjab Government.
———— Public Instruction, Punjab, 1905-06.	Punjab Government.
———— Rail and River-borne Trade, Sind, 1905-06.	Bombay Government.
———— Rail-borne Trade, Bombay Presidency, 1905-06.	Bombay Government.
———— Railways in India, 1906.	Government of India.
———— Reformatory School at Yeravda, 1906.	Bombay Government.
———— Salt Department, Bombay Presidency, 1906-07.	Bombay Government.
———— Salt Department, Sind, 1906-07.	Bombay Government.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
REPORT, Sanitary Administration, Punjab, 1906.	Punjab Government.
———— Sanitary Commissioner, Bombay, 1906.	Bombay Government.
———— Sanitation, Dispensaries and Jails, 1905, and Vaccination 1905-06, Rajputana.	Government of India (1)
———— Sanitary Measures in India, 1905-06.	Secretary of State for India.
———— Sea-borne Trade and Customs Administration, Bombay Presidency, 1906-07.	Bombay Government.
———— Season and Crops, Punjab, 1905-06.	Punjab Government.
———— of Second Tour in Search for Sanskrit MSS. in Rajputana and C. India by S. R. Bhandarkar.	Bombay Government.
———— Settlement Operations, Punjab, 1905-06.	Punjab Government.
———— Smithsonian Institution, U.S. Natural History Museum, 1906.	The Smithsonian Institute.
———— Smithsonian Institution, 1905.	Smithsonian Institution.
———— Stamp Department, Bombay Presidency, 1906-07.	Bombay Government.
———— Survey of India, 1904-05.	Surveyor-General of India.
———— Talukdari Settlement Officer, Bombay Presidency, 1905-06.	Bombay Government.
———— Textile Factories Labour Committee, 1906.	Government of India.
———— Trade and Navigation, Aden, 1906-07.	Bombay Government.
RESOLUTION reviewing Reports of the Local Boards, Bombay Presidency, 1905-06.	Bombay Government.
RESOLUTION reviewing Municipal Taxation and Expenditure, Bombay Presidency, 1905-06.	Bombay Government.
RETURN of Wrecks and Casualties in Indian Waters, 1905.	Government of India.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
REVIEW, Forest Administration, British India, 1904-05.	Government of India.
——— Trade of India, 1905-06, 1906-07.	Secretary of State for India.
SANSKRIT Studies in India. S.R. Bhandarkar.	The Author.
SCULPTURE and Inscription of Darius the Great.	Trustees of the British Museum.
SEASON and Crop Report, Bombay Presidency, 1905-06.	Bombay Government.
SHAHNAMANA Dastâno (Gujerathi).	Parsee Panchayat.
SMITHSONIAN Miscellaneous Collection, Vol. III, Part 3 ; Vol. IV, Part I, 1907.	Smithsonian Institution.
SPORT and Pastimes of the English People by Strutt.	F. A. Reddie, Esq.
STATISTICAL Abstract relating to British India, 1896-97 to 1905-06.	Secretary of State for India.
——— Atlas of the Bombay Presidency, 2nd Edition.	Bombay Government.
STATISTICS, Punjab Lunatic Asylum, 1906.	Punjab Government.
——— Registration Dept., Bombay Presidency, 1906.	Bombay Government.
STORIA DoMogor. Manuci, 2 Vols.	Government of India.
STUDIES in the Medicine of Ancient India, Part I.	Delegates, Clarendon Press, Oxford.
SUBJECT Index, British Museum Library, 1901-1905.	British Museum.
TIDE Tables of Indian Ports, 1907.	Government of India.
TRANSACTIONS and Proceedings, American Philological Association, 1905.	The Association.
——— Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. 34.	The Society.
——— Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol. 12, 1904-07.	The Academy.

